

Foreigners at Karnak

Utilising the “Other” for the Study of Egyptian Identity
from the Second Intermediate Period until the reign of Thutmose III
(c. 1803 - 1425 BC)

by

Laura Peirce, BA (MQ), MRes (MQ).

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Ancient History, Faculty of Arts

Macquarie University, Sydney

February, 2019.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signed:

Laura Peirce

Date: 25th February 2019

Abstract

Research to date on representations of foreign peoples in ancient Egypt has focused on the smiting and battle scenes that dominate temple walls. However, these studies have often omitted the accompanying captions that are found throughout sacred spaces and are arguably, upon closer investigation, more prevalent. This thesis aims to address this issue through a quantitative and qualitative study of all references to foreigners at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak dating from the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the reign of Thutmose III (1803-1425 BC). A corpus of 136 sources was compiled, drawn from a range of text types including artistic representations, textual sources, and symbols.

This thesis argues that Karnak, as a *lieu de mémoire*, played an essential role in disseminating and stabilising a sense of cultural identity. In order to demonstrate this, the research focuses on one facet of the concretion of cultural memory: comparison and contrast between those who belong and those who do not. By selecting representations of foreign peoples, this research is able to show that ideas of Egyptian identity can be elucidated from representations of the “other”.

A second objective is an investigation into the placement of references to foreigners within the architectural space of the temple to determine if the walls of Karnak were capable of disseminating notions of Egyptian identity to a broader population. Through the creation and analysis of spatial distribution maps, this study can reveal that the references to foreigners are architectonically organised according to the flow of the movement of people throughout the space. This thesis is able to test earlier notions of the spatial distribution of references to foreigners at Egyptian temples together with raising and discussing questions regarding the audiences that had the potential to engage with these documents.

To Mu, Archibald, and Diago

Table of Contents

Volume One: The Study

<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>List of Figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of Plates</i>	xxii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xxiii
<i>Chronology</i>	xxvii
<i>Conventions</i>	xxx
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxxi

Part One: Introductory Chapters..... 1

<i>Chapter 1: Introduction</i>	3
1.1 Research Problems	4
1.2 Research Objectives	5
1.3 Research Method	7
1.4 Limitations	8
1.5 Research Outline	10
<i>Chapter 2: Previous Scholarship</i>	11
2.1 Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak	11
2.1.1 Early European Expeditions to Karnak	11
2.1.2 Early Scholarship and the Egyptian Antiquities Service	13
2.1.3 Karnak and Memory Studies.....	15
2.1.4 Karnak and Representations of Foreigners	17
2.1.5 Current Scholarship	19
2.2 Foreigners in Ancient Egypt	21
2.2.1 Early Scholarship	21
2.2.2 The Role of the Theban Tombs	22
2.2.3 Current Research in the Broader Field	24
2.3 Summary	30

<i>Chapter 3: Methodology</i>	31
3.1 Phase One: Data Collection and Analysis	31
3.1.1 Representations of Foreigners as a Case Study.....	31
3.1.2 Research Aims and Selection of Data	32
3.1.3 Data Analysis	34
3.2 Overview of Stereotypical Representations of Foreigners	35
3.2.1 Nubians	36
3.2.2 Puntites	38
3.2.3 The Tjehenu (Westerners)	39
3.2.4 Asiatics	40
3.2.4.1 Southern Levantines	40
3.2.4.2 Northern Levantines	41
3.2.5 The Hanebu	42
3.2.6 The Keftiu	43
3.2.7 The Nine Bows.....	44
3.3 Phase Two: Interpretation of the Data through the Lens of Memory Studies....	45
3.3.1 Memory Studies: A Summary of Previous Developments	45
3.3.2 Cultural Memory and Identity	48
3.3.3 The Conceptual Hermeneutical Triangle	48
3.4 Summary	49
 Part Two: Representations of Foreigners at Karnak	 51
 <i>Chapter 4: The Second Intermediate Period - Setting the Scene</i>	 53
4.1 The Socio-Political Context of the Second Intermediate Period.....	53
4.2 The Middle Kingdom Temple	56
4.3 The Second Intermediate Period Temple	60
4.4 Sources for the Second Intermediate Period.....	61
4.4.1 The Thirteenth Dynasty.....	61
4.4.2 The Sixteenth Dynasty	68
4.4.3 The Seventeenth Dynasty.....	75
4.5 Observations and Spatial Distribution in the Second Intermediate Period.....	88
 <i>Chapter 5: Karnak at the Advent of the Eighteenth Dynasty</i>	 93

5.1	The Socio-Political Context from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II	93
5.2	The Temple from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II	95
5.3	The Texts from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II	100
5.4	Observations and Spatial Distribution from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II.....	121
<i>Chapter 6: A Chapel of One's Own - The Reign of Hatshepsut</i>		126
6.1	The Socio-Political Context from the Reign of Hatshepsut	126
6.2	The Temple during the Reign of Hatshepsut	128
6.3	The Texts from the Reign of Hatshepsut	132
6.3.1	Miscellaneous texts found throughout Karnak.....	132
6.3.2	The Obelisk Inscriptions of Hatshepsut	146
6.3.3	Texts found on the Chapelle Rouge	152
6.4	Observations and Spatial Distribution from the Reign of Hatshepsut.....	166
<i>Chapter 7: The Reign of Thutmose III - The Annals</i>		177
7.1	The Socio-Political Context from the Reign of Thutmose III	177
7.2	The Temple during the Reign of Thutmose III	179
7.3	The Annals	184
7.4	Observations and Spatial Distribution of the Annals in the Reign of Thutmose III	213
<i>Chapter 8: The Reign of Thutmose III - Stele and Monumental Inscriptions</i>		218
8.1	The Stele	218
8.2	The Monumental Inscriptions.....	232
8.3	Observations and Spatial Distribution of the Stele and Monumental Inscriptions from the reign of Thutmose III	243
<i>Chapter 9: The Reign of Thutmose III - Iconography.....</i>		248
9.1	Smiting Scenes and Topographical Lists.....	248
9.2	Statues with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	266
9.3	Small Scenes.....	279
9.4	Observations and Spatial Distribution of the Artistic Depictions in the Reign of Thutmose III	285

<i>Chapter 10: The Reign of Thutmose III - Captions</i>	290
10.1 The Akhmenu	290
10.2 Chapelle Rouge.....	297
10.3 Other Bark Shrines and Chapels.....	300
10.4 Seventh Pylon	304
10.5 Central Karnak.....	307
10.6 Miscellaneous	316
10.7 Non-Royal Monuments	319
10.8 Observations and Spatial Distribution of Captions in the Reign of Thutmose III.	322
 Part Three: Findings and Discussion	329
 <i>Chapter 11: The Development of Representations of Foreigners and the Concretion of</i> <i>Egyptian Identity</i>	331
11.1 The Development of Representations of Foreigners.....	331
11.1.1 The Nubians	332
11.1.2 The Puntites.....	334
11.1.3 The Tjehenu (Westerners).....	334
11.1.4 The Asiatics.....	335
11.1.4.1 The Southern Levantines	335
11.1.1.2 The Northern Levantines	337
11.1.5 The Hanebu	338
11.1.6 The Keftiu	338
11.1.7 The Egyptians.....	338
11.1.8 Discussion of Iconography.....	340
11.2 The Development of Terminology Associated with Foreigners.....	342
11.2.1 Terminology Associated with Nubia.....	342
11.2.2 Terminology Associated with Punt.....	344
11.2.3 Terminology Associated with Tjehenu (Westerners).....	344
11.2.4 Terminology Associated with the Levant	345
11.2.5 Terminology Associated with the Hanebu.....	347
11.2.6 Terminology Associated with the Fenkhau	348
11.2.7 Terminology Associated with the Keftiu	348
11.2.8 Terminology Associated with the <i>ḥ3s.t</i>	349
11.2.9 Trends: Terminology Associated with the Foreigners	352

11.2.10	Trends: Terminology Associated with the Egyptians	354
11.2.11	Discussion of Terminology	356
11.3	The Development of <i>Topos</i> -Phrases in Captions.....	358
11.3.1	Development of <i>Topos</i> -Phrases relating to the <i>h3s.t</i>	358
11.3.2	Development of <i>Topos</i> -Phrases relating to the Nine Bows.....	361
11.4	The Development of Symbols: The Nine-Bow Motif on Statuary	363
11.5	Perceptions of Egyptian Identity as Contrasted by the “Other”.....	365
11.6	Summary	366
 <i>Chapter 12: Spatial Distribution of References to Foreigners</i>		367
12.1	General Trends of Spatial Distribution.....	367
12.1.1	Spatial Distribution from a Statistical Perspective	367
12.1.2	Spatial Distribution from a Diachronic Perspective	369
12.2	Patterns of Spatial Distribution.....	371
12.2.1	Spatial Distribution of Smiting Scenes.....	372
12.2.2	Spatial Distribution of Larger Texts	373
12.2.3	Spatial Distribution of Captions	373
12.2.4	Observations on Spatial Distribution.....	374
12.3	Accessibility and Potential Audience	376
12.4	The Question of Literacy	379
12.5	Summary.....	380
 <i>Chapter 13: Conclusion</i>		382
13.1	An Overview of the Research.....	382
13.2	Key Findings.....	383
13.3	Research Limitations and Possible Areas for Research	384
13.4	Concluding Remarks	385
 <i>Bibliography</i>		387

Volume Two: Catalogue of Sources

<i>Catalogue of Attestations</i>	10
<i>Second Intermediate Period</i>	11
[13.29.01] Seated Statue of a King with the Nine Bow Motif (Louvre AF 8969)	11
[13.29.02] Stela of Sobekhotep IV (Cairo JE 51911)	12
[13.30.01] Statue of Sobekhotep V (Cairo CG 42027)	13
[13.30.02] Statue of Sobekhotep V (Cairo CG 42028)	14
[13.30.03] Statuette of Sobekhotep V (Cairo JE 39258)	15
[13.38.01] Statue of Sobekhotep VII (Cairo JE 43599)	16
[13.0B.01] Statue of Neferhotep II (Cairo CG 42023)	17
[13.0B.02] Statue of Neferhotep II (Cairo CG 42024)	18
[16.03.01] Stela of Neferhotep III (Cairo CG 20799).....	19
[16.04.01] Stela of Montuhotpi	20
[16.0E.01] Stela of Senwosret IV	22
[17.02.01] Statuette of Sobekemsaf I (Cairo CG 42029)	23
[17.03.01] Statuette of Sobekemsaf II (Petrie Museum UC 14209)	24
[17.09.01] First Stela of Kamose (Cairo TN 11.1.35.1).....	25
[17.09.02] Second Stela of Kamose (Luxor J. 43)	26
[17.09.03] Third Stela of Kamose (Cairo CG 34001)	30
Eighteenth Dynasty	31
<i>The Reign of Ahmose</i>	31
[18.01.01] Stela of Ahmose (Cairo CG 34001).....	31
[18.01.02] Storm Stela of Ahmose.....	34
<i>The Reign of Amenhotep I</i>	35
[18.02.01] Gate of Amenhotep I(?).....	35
[18.02.02] Façade of the Calcite Kiosk of Amenhotep I.....	37
[18.02.03] Amenhotep I Smiting Enemies.....	39
<i>The Reign of Thutmose I</i>	40
[18.03.01] Southern Obelisk of Thutmose I.....	40

[18.03.02]	Statue Base with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	41
<i>The Reign of Thutmose II</i>		42
[18.04.01]	Statue of Thutmose II with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	42
[18.04.02]	Colossal Statue of Thutmose II with the Nine-Bow Motif	43
<i>The Reign of Hatshepsut</i>		44
[18.05.01]	Vertical Frames of Hatshepsut.....	44
[18.05.02]	Two Blocks of Hatshepsut Mentioning Nubia	45
[18.05.03]	Scene with Kneeling Foreigners.....	46
[18.05.04]	Statue Base with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	47
[18.05.05]	Thutmose I before Theban Triad Thanking Amun.....	48
[18.05.06]	Scene of Thutmose II with the Theban Triad	50
[18.05.07]	Standing Obelisk of Hatshepsut	52
[18.05.08]	Fallen Obelisk of Hatshepsut.....	53
[18.05.09]	Oracle Text of Hatshepsut	55
[18.05.10]	Hatshepsut Offering Bread to Amun (Block 14 of the Chapelle Rouge)	59
[18.05.11]	Hatshepsut before Osiris (Block 183 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	60
[18.05.12]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Kheprsh</i> -Crown (Blocks 53 & 157 of the Chapelle Rouge)	61
[18.05.13]	Ritual Text of Amun from E. Sanctuary (Block 262 of the Chapelle Rouge)	62
[18.05.14]	Ritual Text of Amun from Vestibule E. Wall (Block 133 of the Chapelle Rouge) ...	63
[18.05.15]	Hatshepsut Offering Milk to Amun (Block 164 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	64
[18.05.16]	Hatshepsut Consecrating <i>b3kw</i> from <i>h3s.wt</i> (Block 196 of the Chapelle Rouge)....	65
[18.05.17]	Hatshepsut Consecrating <i>b3kw</i> from <i>h3s.wt</i> (Block 53 of the Chapelle Rouge)	66
[18.05.18]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Nemes</i> -Crown (Block 186 of the Chapelle Rouge) ..	67
[18.05.19]	Underbody 10.o (Block 225 of the Chapelle Rouge)	68
[18.05.20]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Nemes</i> -Crown (Blocks 172 & 261 of the Chapelle Rouge)	69
[18.05.21]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Kheprsh</i> -Crown (Block 23 of the Chapelle Rouge)	70
[18.05.22]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Atef</i> -Crown (Block 95 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	71
[18.05.23]	Hatshepsut before Amun at her Coronation (Block 141 of the Chapelle Rouge) ...	72
[18.05.24]	Ritual Text of Amun from West Sanctuary (Block 43 of the Chapelle Rouge).73	
[18.05.25]	Coronation Scene of Hatshepsut (Block 145 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	74
<i>The Reign of Thutmose III</i>		75

[18.06.01]	The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück I.....	75
[18.06.02]	The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück II.....	87
[18.06.03]	The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück V-VI.....	88
[18.06.04]	Reused Blocks of the Annals, Stück VII	103
[18.06.05]	King receiving life from Amun, Stück VIII	110
[18.06.06]	Thutmose III's Poetical Stela (Cairo CG 34010)	114
[18.06.07]	Fragmentary Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34011)	119
[18.06.08]	Granite Stela from the Temple of Ptah (Cairo CG 34013).....	121
[18.06.09]	Stela of Thutmose III from the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished.....	123
[18.06.10]	Thutmose III Thanking Amun for Victory at Megiddo from the Akhmenu	125
[18.06.11]	Obelisk of Theodosius	128
[18.06.12]	Obelisk Fragment from before the Seventh Pylon	130
[18.06.13]	<i>Le Texte de la Jeunesse</i>	131
[18.06.14]	Doorway of the Seventh Pylon of Thutmose III.....	134
[18.06.15]	Thutmose III before Amun on the NW Face Sixth Pylon	137
[18.06.16]	Five Rows of Northern Name Rings from the NW Face Sixth Pylon.....	139
[18.06.17]	Five Rows of Southern Name Rings from the SW Face Sixth Pylon	141
[18.06.18]	Northern Name Rings in the Chamber of Kings	143
[18.06.19]	Thutmose III Smiting Asiatic Captives on the NE Face Seventh Pylon	145
[18.06.20]	Thutmose III Smiting Southern Captives on the NW Face Seventh Pylon.....	149
[18.06.21]	Thutmose III Smiting Asiatic Captives on the SW Face Seventh Pylon.....	152
[18.06.22]	Thutmose III Smiting Southern and Northern Captives on the SE Face Seventh Pylon.....	155
[18.06.23]	Green Breccia Statue of Thutmose III with Name Rings.....	157
[18.06.24]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows (Cairo CG 42053)	158
[18.06.25]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the NE Face Seventh Pylon	159
[18.06.26]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the NW Face Seventh Pylon...	160
[18.06.27]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the SW Face Seventh Pylon...	161
[18.06.28]	Statue Base with the Nine Bows from the Akhmenu	162
[18.06.29]	Striding Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42057) ..	163
[18.06.30]	Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42055) ..	164
[18.06.31]	Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo JE 43614A) ..	165
[18.06.32]	Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 1226) ..	166
[18.06.33]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42058)	167
[18.06.34]	Group Statue of Thutmose III with Amun (Cairo CG 42066)	168

[18.06.35]	Seated Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo JE 39260) ...	169
[18.06.36]	Statue Base with Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo SR 211)	170
[18.06.37]	Seated Group Statue of Thutmose III from the Palace of Maat	171
[18.06.38]	Statue of Thutmose III as the Nile-God with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42056)	172
[18.06.39]	Group Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42064) ..	173
[18.06.40]	The Botanical Garden Reliefs from the Akhmenu	174
[18.06.41]	Thutmose III Erecting Posts	176
[18.06.42]	Thutmose III with <i>ka</i> bringing incense from Punt from the Akhmenu	177
[18.06.43]	Thutmose III with Thoth Dedicating Treasure to Amun from the Akhmenu...	178
[18.06.44]	Thutmose III bringing Metals and Minerals to Amun from the Akhmenu	180
[18.06.45]	Thutmose III presenting oil from the Akhmenu	181
[18.06.46]	Architraves A-A from the Akhmenu	182
[18.06.47]	Architraves G-G from the Akhmenu	183
[18.06.48]	Speech of [Seth] from Room XII of the Akhmenu.....	184
[18.06.49]	Speech of the Ennead from the Akhmenu	185
[18.06.50]	Speech of Sodpu from the Akhmenu.....	186
[18.06.51]	Pillar I from Room XX of the Akhmenu	187
[18.06.52]	Architraves B-B from the Akhmenu.....	188
[18.06.53]	Architraves E-E from the Akhmenu	189
[18.06.54]	West Wall of the Southern Chapel of the Akhmenu	190
[18.06.55]	North Wall of the Entry Passage of the Akhmenu	191
[18.06.56]	Pillar 9, E. Face from the Akhmenu	192
[18.06.57]	Thutmose III Offering Bread to Amun (Block 108 of the Chapelle Rouge)	193
[18.06.58]	Thutmose III Offering Incense to Amun (Block 192 of the Chapelle Rouge)	194
[18.06.59]	Thutmose III Consecrating Vases to Amun (Block 224 of the Chapelle Rouge) ...	195
[18.06.60]	Thutmose III Offering a Cow Leg to Amun (Block 253 of the Chapelle Rouge) ..	196
[18.06.61]	Thutmose III's Benefactions to Amun	197
[18.06.62]	Jambs of Chamber II of the Contra Temple of Thutmose III	200
[18.06.63]	West Wall of the Contra Temple of Thutmose III.....	201
[18.06.64]	West Façade of the Calcite Chapel of Thutmose III.....	202
[18.06.65]	Inscriptions on the Flag Mast Niches, South Face of the Seventh Pylon.....	203
[18.06.66]	Scene of Thutmose III from the Doorway of the Seventh Pylon	204
[18.06.67]	Speech of Horus in Room XLII.....	205
[18.06.68]	South Wall of the House of Gold	206

[18.06.69]	Amun Thanks Thutmose III.....	207
[18.06.70]	Jambs around Entry Door of the North Chapels.....	208
[18.06.71]	Papyrus Column of Thutmose III from the Colonnade of Thutmose I.....	209
[18.06.72]	Scene of Thutmose III from the Fifth Pylon.....	211
[18.06.73]	West Side of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary.....	212
[18.06.74]	East Side of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary	213
[18.06.75]	Sandstone Jambs of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary.....	214
[18.06.76]	Pillar Fragment from the Vestibule of Thutmose III.....	215
[18.06.77]	Thutmose III Offering Incense with Text Concerning Punt.....	216
[18.06.78]	Thutmose III Consecrating Treasure to Amun	217
[18.06.79]	Scene of Thutmose III from Room XX of the Palace of Maat.....	218
[18.06.80]	Reverse Side of an Offering Table of Thutmose III (Cairo JE 88803)	219
[18.06.81]	Blocks of Thutmose III from the Netery-Menou.....	220
[18.06.82]	Scene of Thutmose III with Hathor from the Temple of Ptah.....	221
[18.06.83]	Niche Inscription from South Wall of the Temple of Ptah.....	222
[18.06.84]	Niche Inscription from the North Wall of the Temple of Ptah.....	223
[18.06.85]	Lateran Obelisk.....	224
[18.06.86]	Granite Statue of Neferperet (Cairo CG 42121)	225

List of Tables

4.1	A comparison between the groups and individuals in [16.04.01].....	70
4.2	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [16.04.01]	70
4.3	A comparison between the groups and individuals in [16.05.01].....	72
4.4	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [16.05.01]	73
4.5	A comparison between the groups and individuals in [17.09.01].....	79
4.6	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [17.09.01]	79
4.7	A comparison between the groups and individuals in [17.09.02].....	84
4.8	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [17.09.02]	85
4.9	Verbs and attributes associated with the addressee in [17.09.02]	85
4.10	A comparison between the groups and individuals in [17.09.03].....	86
4.11	Overview of the sources from the Second Intermediate Period.....	92
5.1	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor(s) in [18.01.01]	103
5.2	Verbs and attributes associated with the foreigners in [18.01.01]	103
5.3	A comparison between the groups and products in [18.01.01].....	104
5.4	A comparison between the groups and products in [18.02.01].....	111
5.5	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.02.02]	115
5.6	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.03.01]	118
5.7	Overview of sources from the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II.....	125
6.1	A comparison between the regions in [18.05.01]	135
6.2	A comparison between the groups and regions in [18.05.05]	140
6.3	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.05]	142
6.4	A comparison between the groups and regions in [18.05.06]	144
6.5	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.06]	144
6.6	A comparison between the groups and products in [18.05.08]	150
6.7	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.08]	151
6.8	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.09]	157
6.9	A comparison between the groups and products in [18.05.09]	157
6.10	Overview of the sources from the reign of Hatshepsut.....	176
7.1	Examples of the verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.06.01]	198
7.2	Examples of the verbs and attributes associated with the foreigners in [18.06.01] ...	199
7.3	Examples of the verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.06.03]	203
7.4	Examples of the variety of foreign regions listed in [18.06.03].....	207
7.5	Overview of the sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter...	217

8.1	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.06.06]	224
8.2	A comparison between the groups and products in [18.06.09].....	231
8.3	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.06.09]	231
8.4	A comparison between the groups and products in [18.06.13].....	238
8.5	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.06.14]	241
8.6	Overview of the sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter...	247
9.1	Overview of the sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter...	289
10.1	A comparison between the groups and qualifiers in [18.06.68]	309
10.2	A comparison between the products in [18.06.69]	309
10.3	A comparison between the products in [18.06.77]	313
10.4	Verbs and attributes associated with the actor(s) in [18.06.86]	321
10.5	Overview of the sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter...	326
11.1	Summary of the iconographic features associated with Nubians.....	334
11.2	Summary of the iconographic features associated with Libyans	334
11.3	Summary of the iconographic features associated with southern Levantines.....	337
11.4	Summary of the iconographic features associated with northern Levantines.....	337
11.5	Summary of the iconographic features associated with the Egyptians	340
11.6	Summary of the terminology associated with Nubia	343
11.7	Summary of the terminology associated with Punt.....	344
11.8	Summary of the terminology associated with Libya.....	345
11.9	Summary of the terminology associated with the Levant.....	346
11.10	Summary of the terminology associated with the Hanebu.....	348
11.11	Summary of the terminology associated with the Fenkhau	348
11.12	Summary of the terminology associated with the Keftiu.....	349
11.13	Summary of the terminology associated with the <i>h³s.t.</i>	350
11.14	Terminology associated with foreigners across the corpus.....	353
11.15	Terminology associated with the Egyptians across the corpus.....	355
11.16	The development of stereotypical phrases referring to the <i>h³s.t.</i>	360
11.17	The development of stereotypical phrases referring to <i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	362

List of Figures

Volume One: The Study

1.1	The layout of Karnak today. The red indicates the demarcations of the site of the Temple of Amun-Re as studied in this research. Kadish in <i>OEA II</i> (2001), 223).	6
3.1	A group of captive foreigners. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies. Access Number 33.8.8.....	36
3.2	A Nubian princess in TT 40. Davies and Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Paintings</i> , vol. 2, pl. LXXXI	37
3.3	A close up of a Nubian name ring on the colossus of Amenhotep III at his mortuary temple.....	37
3.4	The Nubian-type of foreigner. Davies, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' (TT100)</i> , pl. XIX.....	37
3.5	Puntites represented at Deir el-Bahari after Cairo CG 89661	38
3.6	The Punt-type of foreigner in TT 100. Davies, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē'</i> , pl. XIX.....	39
3.7	A “Tjehenu” or Westerner as represented on a footstool of Tutankhamun after Cairo JE 62048. Eaton-Krauss (2008), 215, pl. LXV	40
3.8	A mix of Levantines in TT 63. Davies and Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Paintings</i> , vol. 1, pl. XLII.....	41
3.9	Types of Asiatics. Left to right: southern Levantine, northern Levantine, and southern Levantine. Drawing by Peirce after Cairo JE 62048. Eaton-Krauss (2008), 215, pl. LXV	41
3.10	Northern Levantine foreigners in TT 131. Davies (1926), fig. 4.....	42
3.11	The Hanebu-type of foreigner as depicted on the walls of the Fourth Court at Karnak after Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 8800	43
3.12	The Keftiu-type of foreigner. Davies, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē'</i> , pl. XIX.....	44
3.13	The nine bows engraved beneath the feet of the king on Cairo JE 39258. Karnak Cachette website.....	45
3.14	The hermeneutical triangle	49
4.1	The political situation during the Second Intermediate Period.....	54
4.2	The red granite blocks of the Middle Kingdom Temple in situ. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	57
4.3	Plan of the Middle Kingdom Temple as proposed by Gabolde (1998), pl. 1	58
4.4	The Temple of Senwosret I as proposed by Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde (2010), 179, fig. 23	59
4.5	[13.29.01] Delange, (1987), 48	62

4.6	The nine bows as represented on [13.29.01].....	62
4.7	[13.30.01] Legrain (1906), pl. 17	64
4.8	[13.30.02] Karnak Cachette website	64
4.9	[13.30.03] Karnak Cachette website	64
4.10	The nine bows as represented on [13.30.02]	65
4.11	The nine bows as represented on [13.30.03]	65
4.12	[13.38.01] Drawing by Peirce after Hornemann (1966)	66
4.13	[13.0B.01] Karnak Cachette website	66
4.14	[13.0B.02] Karnak Cachette website	66
4.15	The nine bows as represented on [13.0B.01]	67
4.16	The nine bows as represented on [13.0B.02]	67
4.17	[17.02.01] Karnak Cachette website	76
4.18	The nine bows as represented on [17.02.01]	76
4.19	[17.03.01] Petrie Museum website.....	76
4.20	Spatial distribution as it may have looked in the Second Intermediate Period.....	90
4.21	Hypothetical placement of the texts grouped according to provenance. Image by Peirce after Gabolde (1998), pl. XXXVIII.....	91
5.1	The expansion of the empire in the early Eighteenth Dynasty	95
5.2	The temple in the reign of Amenhotep I	97
5.3	The temple in the reign of Thutmose I.....	98
5.4	A reconstruction of the “cour de fêtes” of Thutmose II. Gabolde (1993), pl. III.	100
5.5	A close up of the block in [18.02.01].....	111
5.6	The same block as reproduced in Redford (1979), 271, pl. 1	111
5.7	A reconstruction of the gate [18.02.01]. Drawing by Peirce after Le Saout (1987), 333 (fig. 2).....	113
5.8	The placement of the inscriptions on either side of the chapel on [18.02.02]	115
5.9	The south face of [18.03.01] Photograph by Peirce (2016)	119
5.10	The misleading hybrid statue [18.03.02] attributed to Thutmose I. SITH website....	119
5.11	The statue of Thutmose II [18.04.01]. Karnak Cachette website.....	121
5.12	The colossal statue of Thutmose II [18.04.02]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).....	121
5.13	Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Thutmose II. Image by Peirce after Digital Karnak and reconstructions by Gabolde (1993)	123
5.14	Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Thutmose II.	124
6.1	The political situation under Hatshepsut.....	127
6.2	Karnak as it may have looked at the end of the reign of Hatshepsut.....	131

6.3	The reference to the Fenkhou from the “Monument of Niches” [18.05.01]. Gabolde (2005), pl. XLlb	133
6.4	The blocks referring to Nubia in [18.05.02]. Gabolde and Rondot (1996), 210, fig. 17.	135
6.5	The kneeling foreigners in [18.05.03]. Müller (1906), 152 (fig. 59)	136
6.6	Thutmose I before the Theban Triad in [18.05.05]. LD III, pl. 18	140
6.7	Thutmose II in front of the goddess Weret-Hekau and Hathor, behind him is the bark of Amun-Re in [18.05.06]. LD III, pl. 14	144
6.8	Amun giving Hatshepsut <i>h3s.wt</i> on Block 14 [18.05.10]. Burgos and Larché, pl. 70..	160
6.9	Produce from <i>h3s.wt</i> on Block 196 [18.05.16]. Burgos and Larché, pl. 76	164
6.10	The Nine Bows on Block 23 [18.05.21]. Burgos and Larché, pl. 80	166
6.11	The view of Block 196 [18.05.16] on the sixth course from the ground. Photograph by Peirce (2016).....	168
6.12	Spatial distribution on the west façade of the Chapelle Rouge.....	169
6.13	Spatial distribution on the east wall of the vestibule of the Chapelle Rouge.....	169
6.14	Spatial distribution on the south façade of the Chapelle Rouge	170
6.15	Spatial distribution on the north façade of the Chapelle Rouge.....	171
6.16	Spatial distribution on the east wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge.....	172
6.17	Spatial distribution on the west wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge.....	172
6.18	Spatial distribution on the south wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge	173
6.19	Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Hatshepsut ..	174
6.20	Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Hatshepsut. Drawing by Peirce after Golvin (1993), 34-35	175
7.1	The political situation under Thutmose III.....	179
7.2	Karnak as it may have looked at the end of the reign of Thutmose III.....	184
7.3	Spatial distribution of the Annals at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III	215
7.4	Spatial distribution of the Annals at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak.....	216
8.1	Spatial distribution of the stele and monumental inscriptions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III	245
8.2	Spatial distribution of the stele and monumental inscriptions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak.....	246
9.1	The remains of the smiting scene in [18.06.16]	251
9.2	The five rows of name rings below the smiting scene. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	251
9.3	A close up of the name rings in [18.06.16]	252
9.4	The remains of the smiting scene in [18.06.17]	252

9.5	A close up of the name rings in [18.06.17]	254
9.6	The name rings in [18.06.18]	255
9.7	The remains of the smiting scene in [18.06.19]	256
9.8	The remains of the smiting scene with three rows of name rings below in [18.06.20]	258
9.9	A close up of the Asiatics in [18.06.21]	259
9.10	Thutmose III smiting Asiatics in [18.06.21]	260
9.11	A close up of the name rings in [18.06.21]	261
9.12	Thutmose III smiting southern and northern captives in [18.06.22]	262
9.13	A close up of the captives in [18.06.22]	263
9.14	A close up of the name rings in [18.06.22]	264
9.15	Cairo CG 42053 [18.06.24]. Karnak Cachette website	268
9.16	The base of Cairo CG 42053 [18.06.24]. Karnak Cachette website	268
9.17	The statue before the NE Face of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.25]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	268
9.18	The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.25]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	268
9.19	The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.25]	268
9.20	The statue before the NW Face of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.26]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	269
9.21	The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.26]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	269
9.22	The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.26]	269
9.23	The colossal statue of Thutmose III [18.06.27]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	271
9.24	The nine bows in [18.06.28]. SITH website	271
9.25	The nine bows in [18.06.28]	271
9.26	[18.06.29] Karnak Cachette website	272
9.27	[18.06.29] A close up of the nine bows	272
9.28	[18.06.30] Karnak Cachette website	273
9.29	The nine bows beneath the legs in [18.06.30]	273
9.30	[18.06.31] Laboury (1998), 130 (fig. 37)	274
9.31	[18.06.32] Laboury (1998), 221 (fig. 112)	274
9.32	[18.06.33] Karnak Cachette website	275
9.33	[18.06.34] Karnak Cachette website	275
9.34	A close up of the nine bows on [18.06.34]	275
9.35	A close up of the nine bows on [18.06.35]	276

9.36	Cairo JE 39260 [18.06.35]. Karnak Cachette website	276
9.37	Cairo SR 211 [18.06.36]. Karnak Cachette website	276
9.38	A close up of the nine bows on [18.06.36]	276
9.39	[18.06.37] Laboury (1998), 149 (fig. 53).....	277
9.40	[18.06.38] Laboury (1998), 137 (fig. 46).....	278
9.41	[18.06.39] Laboury (1998), 165 (fig. 68).....	278
9.42	The flora and fauna of Retenu in [18.06.40]. Mariette, Karnak, pl. 28A.....	281
9.43	The flora and fauna in [18.06.40]. Beaux (1990), pl. VII.....	281
9.44	The flora and fauna in [18.06.40]. Beaux (1990), pl. XI	282
9.45	The flora and fauna in [18.06.40]. Beaux (1990), pl. XXIII.....	282
9.46	The Egyptian king in [18.06.41]	283
9.47	Figures climbing masts in [18.06.41]. Drawing by Peirce after Schwaller de Lubicz....	284
9.48	Spatial distribution of the images and statues in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III	287
9.49	Spatial distribution of the images and statues in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak	288
10.1	The upper architrave of A-A in [18.06.46]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	293
10.2	The painted remains of the lower architrave of B-B [18.06.52]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	295
10.3	The placement of the three types of captions discussed above within the Akhmenu. Image after Image after Carlotti (2001); Pécoil (2001), and PM II ² , plan XII.	296
10.4	Spatial distribution on the west façade of the Chapelle Rouge.....	299
10.5	Spatial distribution on the north wall of the vestibule of the Chapelle Rouge	299
10.6	Spatial distribution on the south wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge	299
10.7	Spatial distribution on the south façade of the Chapelle Rouge	300
10.8	Spatial distribution of captions in the Contra Temple	303
10.9	The placement of the caption from the doorway of the Seventh Pylon on [18.06.66]	306
10.10	Spatial distribution of captions on the Seventh Pylon	306
10.11	The doorjambs of [18.06.70].....	309
10.12	Spatial distribution of captions around Central Karnak	316
10.13	Spatial distribution of captions at the Temple of Ptah	318
10.14	Spatial distribution of captions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III	324

10.15	Spatial distribution of the images and statues in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak.....	325
11.1	The Nubian in [18.05.03].....	333
11.2	The kneeling Nubians in [18.06.17].....	333
11.3	A Nubian name ring in [18.06.17].....	333
11.4	The kneeling Nubians in [18.06.20].....	333
11.5	A Nubian name ring in [18.06.20].....	333
11.6	The kneeling northerners and southerners in [18.06.22].....	333
11.7	A close up of a southerner in [18.06.22].....	333
11.8	A Nubian name ring in [18.06.22].....	333
11.9	A Nubian (?) in [18.06.41].....	333
11.10	The Tjehenu in [18.05.03]. Müller (1906), 152 (fig. 59).....	335
11.11	The Tjehenu (?) in [18.06.41].....	335
11.12	A southern Levantine from the Gate of Amenhotep I(?) in [18.02.01].....	336
11.13	A name ring in [18.06.16].....	336
11.14	The remains of the kneeling Levantines in [18.06.16].....	336
11.15	A name ring from the Chamber of Kings [18.06.18].....	336
11.16	The kneeling southern Levantines in [18.06.19].....	336
11.17	A name ring in [18.06.19].....	336
11.18	The kneeling southern Levantines in [18.06.21].....	336
11.19	A close up of the southern Levantines in [18.06.21].....	336
11.20	A name ring in [18.06.21].....	336
11.21	A northern Levantine in [18.05.02]. Müller (1906), 152 (fig. 59).....	337
11.22	The remains of the feet of the king in [18.06.16].....	339
11.23	The remains of the leg of the king in [18.06.19].....	339
11.24	The remains of the king in [18.06.20].....	339
11.25	The king in [18.06.21].....	339
11.26	The king overseeing the mast scene in [18.06.41].....	339
11.27	The non-royal Egyptian assisting in the mast scene in [18.06.41].....	339
11.28	The cowering captives in [18.06.21].....	341
11.29	The kneeling Nubian in [18.05.03].....	341
11.30	The southern Levantine offering vases in [18.02.01].....	341
11.31	The contrasts and characterisations between foreigners and Egyptians as established through terminology.....	357
11.32	Ideational representation for “I gave to you all <i>ḥ3s.t</i> under your sandals”.....	359

11.33	Ideational representation for “the Nine Bows are bound together under your sandals”	361
11.34	Ideational representation for “who smites the Nine Bows”	362
11.35	The nine bows on [13.30.02]	364
11.36	The nine bows on [13.30.03]	364
11.37	The nine bows on [13.0B.01]	364
11.38	The nine bows on [17.02.01]	364
11.39	The nine bows on [18.06.28]	364
11.40	The nine bows on [18.06.30]	364
11.41	The nine bows on [18.06.35]	364
11.42	The nine bows on [18.06.36]	364
12.1	A breakdown of the spatial distribution by provenance over the corpus	368
12.2	Spatial distribution for the entire corpus for artefacts in situ or where their provenance can be determined	369
12.3	Spatial distribution of smiting scenes as at the end of the reign of Thutmose III	372
12.4	Spatial distribution of longer texts as at the end of the reign of Thutmose III	373
12.5	Spatial distribution of captions as at the end of the reign of Thutmose III	374
12.6	Passing through the Sixth Pylon towards the Central Bark Shrine, the name rings are immediately visible in [18.06.16]. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	376
12.7	The possible route of the bark procession (after Sullivan, 2012) during the reign of Thutmose III compared with the overall spatial distribution of the references to foreign lands	379

Volume Two: Catalogue of Sources

1	[13.29.01] Statue Louvre AF 8969. Delange (1987), 48	11
2	[13.29.02] Statue CG 42027. Legrain (1906), pl. 17.	13
3	[13.30.02] Statue CG 42028. Karnak Cachette website	14
4	[13.30.03] Statuette JE 39258. Karnak Cachette website	15
5	[13.38.01] Statue Cairo JE 43599. Drawing by Peirce after Hornemann (1966)	16
6	[13.0B.01] Statue Cairo CG 42023. Karnak Cachette website	17
7	[13.0B.02] Statue Cairo CG 42024. Karnak Cachette website	18
8	[16.04.01] Stela Cairo CG 20799. Vernus (1982), pl. 1	19
9	[16.05.01] Stela Luxor CL 223 G. Vernus (1989), pl.6	21
10	[17.02.01] Statuette Cairo CG 42029. Karnak Cachette website	23
11	[17.03.01] Statuette Petrie Mus. UC 14209. Petrie (1888), pl. XXI2	24

12	[18.02.01] A reconstruction of the gate with offering bearers. Drawing by Peirce after Le Saout (1987).....	36
13	[18.02.02] The placement of the inscriptions on either side of the chapel	38
14	[18.03.02] Statue south of the Fifth Pylon. SITH website	41
15	[18.04.01] Statue JE 41205. Karnak Cachette website	42
16	[18.04.02] Colossal Statue of Thutmose II. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	43
17	[18.05.03] Scene of foreigners. Müller (1910) 152 (fig. 59)	46
18	[18.05.10] Block 14. Burgos and Larché, pl. 70	59
19	[18.05.11] Block 183. Burgos and Larché, pl. 118	60
20	[18.05.12] Blocks 53 and 157. Burgos and Larché, pl. 138.....	61
21	[18.05.13] Block 262. Burgos and Larché, pl. 202	62
22	[18.05.14] Block 133. Burgos and Larché, pl. 192	63
23	[18.05.15] Block 164. Burgos and Larché, pl. 237	64
24	[18.05.16] Block 196. Burgos and Larché, pl. 76	65
25	[18.05.17] Block 53. Burgos and Larché, pl. 128	66
26	[18.05.18] Block 186. Burgos and Larché, pl. 127	67
27	[18.05.19] Block 225. Burgos and Larché, pl. 27	68
28	[18.05.20] Blocks 172 and 261. Burgos and Larché, pl. 79.....	69
29	[18.05.21] Block 23. Burgos and Larché, pl. 80	70
30	[18.05.22] Block 95. Burgos and Larché, pl. 83	71
31	[18.05.23] Block 141. Burgos and Larché, pl. 125	72
32	[18.05.24] Block 43. Burgos and Larché, pl. 198	73
33	[18.05.25] Block 145. SITH website	74
34	[18.06.16] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	140
35	[18.06.17] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	142
36	[18.06.18] The name rings from the Chamber of Kings	144
37	[18.06.19] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	148
38	[18.06.20] The remains of the smiting scene with three rows of name rings below....	151
39	[18.06.21] The smiting scene above the name rings	154
40	[18.06.22] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	156
41	[18.06.26] Statue before the NW Face of the Seventh Pylon. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	160
42	[18.06.27] Statue before the SW Face of the Seventh Pylon. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	161
43	[18.06.28] The base inscription with the nine-bow motif.....	162

44	[18.06.29] Cairo CG 42057. Karnak Cachette website.....	163
45	[18.06.30] Cairo CG 42055. Karnak Cachette website.....	164
46	[18.06.31] Cairo JE 43614A. Laboury (1998), 130 (fig. 37).....	165
47	[18.06.32] Cairo CG 1226. Laboury (1998), 221 (fig. 112)	166
48	[18.06.33] Cairo CG 42058. Karnak Cachette website.....	167
49	[18.06.34] Cairo CG 42066. Karnak Cachette website.....	168
50	[18.06.35] Cairo JE 39260. Karnak Cachette website	169
51	[18.06.36] Cairo SR 211. Karnak Cachette website	170
52	[18.06.37] Reconstruction by Laboury (1998), 149 (fig. 53).....	171
53	[18.06.38] Cairo CG 42056. Laboury (1998), 137 (fig. 46)	172
54	[18.06.39] Laboury (1998), 165 (fig. 58).....	173
55	[18.06.41] The mast climbing scene	176
56	[18.06.45] Pécoil (2000), pl. 118	181
57	[18.06.48] LD III, pl. 35a.....	184
58	[18.06.50] LD III, pl. 35d.....	186
59	[18.06.51] LD III, pl. 34d.....	187
60	[18.06.54] Pécoil (2000), pl. 119	190
61	[18.06.56] Pécoil (2000), pl. 48	192
62	[18.06.57] Block 108. Burgos and Larché, pl. 69	193
63	[18.05.58] Block 192. Burgos and Larché, pl. 142	194
64	[18.05.59] Block 224. Burgos and Larché, pl. 172	195
65	[18.06.60] Block 253. Burgos and Larché, pl. 255	196
66	[18.06.61] Nims (1969), fig. 7	199
67	[18.06.66]	204
68	[18.06.70] The jambs of the chapel.....	208
69	[18.06.72] Larché (2007), pl. XLL (3).....	211
70	[18.06.76] SITH website	215
71	[18.06.80] Biston-Moulin (2010), 40 (fig. 6).....	219
72	[18.06.83] Biston-Moulin and Thiers, II (2016), 134	222
73	[18.06.84] SITH website	223
74	[18.06.86] Cairo CG 42121. Karnak Cachette website.....	227

List of Plates

- Pl. I The temple during the reign of Senwosret I. Image drawn after Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde (2010), 179, fig. 23.
- Pl. II The temple during the reign of Amenhotep I.
- Pl. III The temple during the reign of Thutmose I.
- Pl. IV The temple during the reign of Thutmose II.
- Pl. V The temple during the reign of Hatshepsut.
- Pl. VI The temple during the reign of Thutmose III.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used predominantly follow Bernard Mathieu, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Fifth Edition (Cairo, 2010).

<i>AAR</i>	<i>African Archaeological Review</i>
<i>AAWMainz</i>	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>AcOr(B)</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>ÄgLev</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>ATP</i>	<i>Akhenaten Temple Project</i>
<i>ÄZ</i>	<i>Ägyptische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BACE</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<i>BARCE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CFEETK</i>	<i>Le Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak</i>
<i>Chic. Or. Inst. Photo.</i>	<i>Photographs taken by the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, Luxor, Egypt. Available online through <https://oi.uchicago.edu/collections>.</i>
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>

<i>CRIPEL</i>	<i>Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>
<i>DossArch</i>	<i>Les dossiers d'archéologie</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>Égypte</i>	<i>Égypte. Afrique & Orient</i>
<i>EJARS</i>	<i>Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies</i>
<i>Enchoria</i>	<i>Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i>
<i>ENiM</i>	<i>Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
<i>ÉtudÉg</i>	<i>Études d'égyptologie</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>ISSJ</i>	<i>International Social Science Journal</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>J. Comp. Physiol. A</i>	<i>Journal of Comparative Physiology A</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch Gezelschap, Ex Oriente Lux VI</i>
<i>JML</i>	<i>Journal of Memory and Language</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>Karnak</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak</i>
<i>KIU</i>	<i>Karnak Identifiant Unique</i>
<i>Kyphi</i>	<i>Kyphi. Bulletin du Cercle lyonnais d'égyptologie Victor Loret</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie, 7 vols., W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds) (Wiesbaden 1972-1989).</i>
<i>LD</i>	<i>Karl Richard Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849-1859).</i>
<i>MAIBL</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutsche Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>

MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i>
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
NARCE	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NGC	<i>New German Critique</i>
Not. descr.	Jean Champollion, <i>Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux</i> . vol. II (Paris, 1889).
OEAE	Donald B. Redford (ed.) <i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> , 3 vols (Oxford and New York, 2001).
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Orientalia NS</i>	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>
PAPhS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>Phenom Cogn Sci</i>	<i>Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences</i>
PM I ²	Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Volume I: <i>The Theban Necropolis</i> . Part 1. <i>Private Tombs</i> , Second Edition (Oxford, 1960).
PM II ²	Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Volume II: <i>Theban Temples</i> , Second Edition (Oxford, 1972).
PM VII	Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Volume VII: <i>Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt</i> (Oxford, 1975).
<i>Psychon Bull Rev</i>	<i>Psychonomic Bulletin and Review</i>
<i>Psychol. Bull</i>	<i>Psychological Bulletin</i>
PUMB	<i>Pennsylvania University Museum Bulletin</i>
RAIN	<i>Royal Anthropological Institute News</i>
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RC	<i>La Revue du Caire</i>

<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>Rev. Philos. Psychol.</i>	<i>Review of Philosophy and Psychology</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SDAIK</i>	<i>Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>SITH</i>	Système d'Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphique, Available online through < http://sith.huma-num.fr/ >.
<i>TrabEg</i>	<i>Trabajos de Egiptología</i>
<i>TRSL</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature</i>
<i>TSBA</i>	<i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology</i>
<i>Urk. IV</i>	<i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV</i>
<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
<i>Wb</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> (Leipzig and Berlin, 1926-1963).
<i>WdO</i>	<i>Die Welt die Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Chronology

For the Second Intermediate Period, only the Theban rulers are listed, namely, the Thirteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Dynasties. It follows Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period* (1997) and Polz, *The Hyksos Ruler Khyam and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2018), 218.

For the Eighteenth Dynasty, the dates follow von Beckerath, *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1997). Considering the use of these different chronologies, there is a one-year overlap between the reigns of Kamose and Ahmose.

Code	Reign	Dates
13.01	Sobekhotep I	1803 - 1800 BC
13.02	Sonbef Sekhemkare	1800 - 1796 BC
13.03	Nerikare	- 1796 BC
13.04	Amenemhat V	1796 - 1793 BC
13.05	Qemaw	1793 - 1791 BC
13.06	Siharnedjheritef	1791 - 1788 BC
13.07	Jewefni	- 1788 BC
13.08	Amenemhat VI	1788 - 1785 BC
13.09	Nebnun Semenkare	1785 - 1783 BC
13.10	Sewesekhatawy	1783 - 1781 BC
13.11	Sewadjkare	- 1781 BC
13.12	Nedjemibre	- 1780 BC
13.13	Sobekhotep II Khaankhre	1780 - 1777 BC
13.14	Ranisonb	- 1777 BC
13.15	Hor I	1777 - 1775 BC
13.16	Khabaw	1775 - 1772 BC
13.17	Djedkheperew	1772 - 1770 BC
13.18	Seb	- 1770 BC
13.19	Kay	1770 - 1769 BC
13.20	Amenemhat VII	1769 - 1766 BC
13.21	Wegaf Khutawyre	1766 - 1764 BC
13.22	Khendjer Woserkare	1764 - 1759 BC

13.23	Imyremeshaw	- 1759 BC
13.24	Antef V Schotepkare	-
13.25	Seth Meribre	- 1749 BC
13.26	Sobekhotep III Sekhemresewaditaawy	1749 - 1742 BC
13.27	Neferhotep I	1742 - 1731 BC
13.28	Sihathor Menwadjre	- 1733 BC
13.29	Sobekhotep IV Khaneferre	1732 - 1720 BC
13.30	Sobekhotep V Merhotepre	1720 - 1717 BC
13.31	Sobekhotep VI Khahotepre	1717 - 1712 BC
13.32	Ibiaw Wahibre	1712 - 1701 BC
13.33	Aya Merneferre	1701 - 1677 BC
13.34	Ini Merhotepre	1677 - 1675 BC
13.35	Sewadjtew Sankhenre	1675 - 1672 BC
13.36	Ined Mersekhemre	1672 - 1669 BC
13.37	Hori II Sewwadjkare	1669 - 1664 BC
13.38	Sobekhotep VII Merkawre	1664 - 1662 BC
13.39-13.57	[Names lost and dates uncertain]	1662 - 1649 BC
13.0A	Ini	uncertain
13.0B	Neferhotep II	uncertain
13.0C	Sonbmijew	uncertain
13.0D	Sekhaenre	uncertain
16.01	[Lost]	1649 - 1648 BC
16.02	Djehuty Sekhemresegmentawy	1648 - 1645 BC
16.03	Sobekhotep VIII	1645 - 1629 BC
16.04	Neferhotep III	1629 - 1628 BC
16.05	Montuhotpi	1628 - 1627 BC
16.06	Nebiryraw I	1627 - 1601 BC
16.07	Nebiryaw II	- 1601 BC
16.08	Semenre	1601 - 1600 BC
16.09	Bebiankh	1600 - 1588 BC
16.10	Sekhemreshedwaset	- 1588 BC
16.11-16.15	[last five kings lost]	1588 - 1582 BC
16.0A	Dedumose I	uncertain
16.0B	Dedumose II	uncertain
16.0C	Monthemsaf	uncertain

16.0D	Monthhotep VI	uncertain
16.0E	Senwosret IV	uncertain
17.01	Rahotep	1580 - 1576 BC
17.02	Wadj-Khau Sobekemsaf I	1576 - 1573 BC
17.03	Shed-Taui Sobekemsaf II	1573 - 1571 BC
17.04	Sekhem-Re Wep-Maat Antef VII	1571 - 1566 BC
17.05	Nub-Kheper-Re Antef VIII	- 1568 BC
17.06	Heru-Her-Maat Antef IX	1566 - 1559 BC
17.07	Senakhtenre Ahmose	1559 - 1558 BC
17.08	Sequenre Tao	1558 - 1554 BC
17.09	Kamose	1554 - 1549 BC
18.01	Ahmose	1550 - 1525 BC
18.02	Amenhotep I	1525 - 1504 BC
18.03	Thutmose I	1504 - 1492 BC
18.04	Thutmose II	1492 - 1479 BC
18.05	Hatshepsut	1479/1473 - 1458/7 BC
18.06	Thutmose III	1479 - 1425 BC
18.07	Amenhotep II	1428 - 1397 BC
18.08	Thutmose IV	1397 - 1388 BC
18.09	Amenhotep III	1388 - 1351/50 BC
18.10	Amenhotep IV	1351 - 1334 BC
18.11	Smeckare	1337 - 1333 BC
18.12	Tutankhamun	1333 - 1323 BC
18.13	Ay	1323 - 1319 BC
18.14	Horemheb	1319 - 1292 BC

Conventions

The sources for this thesis have their own unique code, based on the dynasty, king, and the number of sources for that king. For example, the first example from the reign of Ahmose, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, would be: **[18.01.01]**; the last number being a reference to the group of sources from that reign.¹

As these texts are exclusively from Karnak, some also have a KIU number (“Karnak Identifiant Unique”) which links back to the “Système d’indexation des textes hiéroglyphiques” (SITH) website. Each number has a webpage with an image, hieroglyphic transcription, and bibliographic reference list. The primary link is: <[http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/\[number\]](http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/[number])>. For example, if an artefact has a code KIU 245, the webpage link will be: <<http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/245>>. To compact the references and footnotes, only the KIU number is provided, instead of the URL.

For transparency, the added appendix in Volume Two lists the hieroglyphic transcription that the translation is derived from, any sources for transliteration used, as well as the translations that the author’s own work is based upon. Overall, the transliteration adopts the grammatical system presented in Ockinga’s *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, wherein dots are used to indicate and clearly separate a word from its grammatical ending. General bracketing systems have been used according to the common conventions:

- ()| Text within round brackets and a vertical bar indicate a name within a cartouche.
- () Texts within round brackets are often used for grammatical clarification and to indicate signs omitted in the hieroglyphs.
- [] Texts within square brackets indicate reconstructions in sections of broken text.
- < > Texts within angular brackets indicate emendations added by the author.
- (...) Ellipsis within round brackets indicate the author’s deliberate omission of a section of text.
- { } Texts within curvy brackets indicate errors in the hieroglyphic text
- /// One group of three slashes indicate one group of text lost.
- /// /// Two groups of three slashes indicate two groups of text lost.
- /// /// /// Three groups of three slashes indicate three *or more* groups of text lost.

¹ This same approach to coding was used by Ryholt, *The Second Intermediate Period* (1997), 333.

Acknowledgements

As with any Doctor of Philosophy student, I started my candidature with Great Expectations. I aimed to study the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak for an immense period of time: the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the New Kingdom. Over time, however, this was, out of necessity, cut to encompass just the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III. I am indebted to my supervisors, Dr Susanne Binder and Associate Professor Boyo Ockinga, for reinforcing the importance of establishing the correct foundation and helping me see “the light at the end of the tunnel”. Over these whirlwind three-years, their expertise, suggestions, and reassurances were invaluable.

I wish to give my sincerest thanks to Dr Robert Vergnien for answering my queries about the Amarna *talatat* and sharing some of his recent discoveries regarding a smiting scene discovered in the Ninth Pylon. I also wish to thank the openness of the Oriental Institute in gaining access to their photographic archives, and in particular, Dr Kiersten Neumann, for answering my emails, as well as Dr Sébastien Biston-Moulin of CNRS for providing unpublished photographs of Karnak. The feedback that I have received from Macquarie staff and international scholars at conferences and seminars during various stages of my candidature was also supportive and thought-provoking; these comments have helped to shape the project as it stands today. The examiners also provided constructive and enhancing feedback, and I must offer them thanks for helping to improve the thesis in its final form.

Many thanks go to my family who have supported me during this period, from reading (often displaced) sections of the thesis and acting as a sounding board to some of my more outrageous ideas, specifically, my parents, my sister Jessica Peirce, and partner, Bryson Doak. Joshua Russell has also been a great help with some of the technical issues regarding line drawings in Adobe Illustrator and their subsequent exportation to Microsoft Word. I also wish to thank Laura Harris, Emily Corbin, Ilana Chaffey, and Marianna Peneva for assisting with my research on-site at Karnak in December 2016.

Last, but not least, I would like to acknowledge the Darug people as the traditional custodians of the land on which I worked during my time at University, as well as the Wodi Wodi people of my hometown, and pay my respects to all their Elders, past and present, of this nation and the continuation of the cultural, spiritual, and educational practices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

Part One

Introduction

Chapter 1

Introduction

“At the entrance to the park there are two stone gateposts,
four-sided, bevelled at the top, Egyptian-looking.
No triumphal inscriptions however,
no bas-reliefs of chained enemies kneeling.
Only No Loitering and Keep Dogs on Leash”.
Atwood, *The Blind Assassin*.¹

Egyptian identity is brought into sharp relief when the Egyptians interact with foreigners.² The juxtaposition created within textual sources and images that aim to demonstrate the encounter between Egyptians and foreigners is fundamental, since in this way the individual and the group can learn to distinguish between themselves and the “other”.³ This contrast is one of the defining characteristics in the concretion of identity within the context of cultural memory, and in ancient Egypt, it was also key to state ideology.⁴ Within this framework, the ethnic stereotypes and depictions of the “other” were often exaggerated and forged in such a way that they represented a symmetrical *anti-culture* that was the complete opposite to the ancient Egyptians.⁵

One of the most famous sites in ancient Egypt for the negative depiction of foreign peoples is the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. Karnak was the state temple during the New Kingdom and remains the largest in Egypt, expanding over 60 acres on the east bank of the Nile at Luxor.⁶ The ancient name of the temple, *Ip.t-S.wt*, means “Most-Secret-of-Places” and is dedicated to the primeval deity with a hidden nature, Amun, who was the supreme god of the Egyptian pantheon.⁷ As a state temple, Karnak had a significant impact on the construction, dissemination, and preservation of the past in Ancient Egypt.⁸ Through this constant

¹ Margaret Atwood, *The Blind Assassin* (New York, 2000), 20.

² Camilla Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 364.

³ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 60.

⁴ Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-130; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London and New York, 2003), 5.

⁵ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 5; Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 23.

⁶ Willeke Wendrich, “Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality”, in J. F. Osborne (ed.), *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology* (Albany, 2014), 409; Gerald E. Kadish, “Karnak”, in D. B. Redford (ed.), *OEA II* (Oxford, 2001), 222-226.

⁷ Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2017), 92-93; Elizabeth Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (New York, 2006), 8.

⁸ Wendrich, “Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality”, *Approaching Monumentality*, 409; Kadish, “Karnak”, *OEA II*, 222-226; Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance,*

documentation, the Karnak Temple is arguably a *lieu de mémoire*, where the collective heritage and identity of the group was harnessed and crystallised.⁹

The current study focuses on the representations of foreigners at Karnak from the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period until the reign of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1803-1425 BC).¹⁰ Primarily, it seeks to understand how foreigners were represented at the state temple in terms of imagery, textual sources, and symbols. The contrasts that are anticipated between Egyptians and foreigners will be used to shed light on the concretion of *Egyptian* identity within the sacred space of Karnak.

1.1 Research Problems

In studying representations of foreigners within temples, many researchers have concentrated on artistic and longer textual inscriptions, effectively omitting the small captions that refer to foreign lands and the Nine Bows.¹¹ Captions, such as “all flat lands and all *ḥ3s.wt* being bound under your sandals”, are frequently overlooked despite their high frequency across ancient sites and the values that they encapsulate. They are often microaggressive, in that they are commonplace derogatory statements or hostile slights towards a minority group: the ethnic “other”.¹² As a whole, the reliance on the images and longer texts has led to misconceived notions of the spatial distribution of references to foreigners in the temple, together with a dismissal regarding the information that can be derived from these short texts. However, the

and *Political Imagination* (New York, 2011), 157-162; Byron E. Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview”, in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2005), 1.

⁹ Pierre Nora, “From *Lieux de mémoire* to Realms of Memory”, in P. Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past Volume One: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York, 1996), xv; Kyle Arvid Greenwalt, *The School as a Site of Memory* (PhD Thesis: University of Minnesota, 2007), 137.

¹⁰ The author first proposed that Karnak was a *lieu de mémoire* in 2015. This was because a number of sources for the Second Intermediate Period that documented conflict with the Hyksos were erected at the Temple of Amun-Re. Laura Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos: A Study in Cultural Memory and Identity* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2015), 23 (no. 135), 71. Available through Macquarie University Library.

¹¹ See Chapter 2.1.4, 2.1.5 and 2.2.3 for more detail. Some notable examples include G. A. Gaballa, “Minor war scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak”, *JEA* 55 (1969), 82-88; Emma Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Munich, 1986); Susanne Constanze Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna, 2001); Heather Lee McCarthy, “The Function of ‘Emblematic’ Scenes of the King’s Domination of Foreign Enemies and Narrative Battle Scenes in Ramesses II’s Nubian Temples”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 59-74; Agnès Degrève, “La campagne asiatique de l’an 1 de Séthi Ier représentée sur le mur extérieur nord de la salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon à Karnak”, *RdE* 57 (2006), 47-64.

¹² More specifically, after Sue (et. al, 2007), the microaggressive captions at Karnak can be understood as “microinsults” that demean a person’s racial identity or heritage. Chester Pierce, “Offensive Mechanisms”, in F. Barbour (ed.), *In the Black Seventies* (Boston, 1970), 265-282; Derald Wing Sue, Christina M. Capodilupo, Gina C. Torino, J. M. Bucceri, A. M. Holder, Kevin L. Nadal, and M. Esquilin, “Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice”, *The American Psychologist* 62:4 (2007), 271-86.

consistent and repetitive use of these captions suggests that they encapsulate cultural knowledge and are thus integral to the concretion of Egyptian identity.¹³

Furthermore, representations of foreign peoples have, in the past, been used to derive data for the historical reality of the connections between Egypt and the outside world. This is particularly an issue in relation to the study of foreigners as represented in the Theban Tombs, where scholars have used the images of the “other” as evidence for historical contact.¹⁴ This is problematic, as these illustrations of foreigners can be incorrect, hybridised with different cultures, and perhaps more significantly, they are often manufactured to adhere to the goals of the tomb owner and the decorative program of the tomb itself.¹⁵ These same issues abound within the depictions of foreigners in temples, in which the artistic and textual depictions of foreigners are highly stereotyped, exaggerated, and derogatory. As they cannot necessarily be used for historical data regarding interconnections, a new approach is needed that can study these depictions and extract meaningful information from them. In turn, this study aims at developing a new methodological approach that combines pictorial images, longer textual inscriptions, captions, and symbols such as the nine-bow motif, to provide a comprehensive picture of how foreigners are represented in sacred precincts. Through the application of the concept of cultural memory and identity, this research aims to illuminate and utilise these resources in a constructive manner.

1.2 Research Objectives

By utilising the Karnak Temple as a case study, this project aims to examine the concretion of Egyptian identity over a specific period. It intends to do this through a thorough examination of representations of foreigners within this space from the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the reign of Thutmose III. It takes into consideration all textual sources, artistic representations, and statues. Texts are limited to where interethnic connections are made or implied. This can include evidence of trade, conflict, or diplomatic relations. The contrast between the various cultures assists in emphasising the prominent motifs and characterisations of both the Egyptians and the “other”.

¹³ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-130.

¹⁴ Shelley Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs* (Leuven, 1987).

¹⁵ Alaa El-Din M. Shaheen, *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes Involving Western Asiatics and Nubians in Private Theban Tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty* (PhD Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1988).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 1.1 The layout of Karnak today. The red indicates the demarcations of the site of the Temple of Amun-Re as studied in this thesis. Kadish in OEAE II (2001), 223.

The corpus is entirely sourced from the Karnak Temple of Amun-Re as delineated by modern boundaries, namely, the Temple of Ptah in the north, the Temple of the Hearing Ear in the east, the Tenth Pylon in the south, and the First Pylon in the west (see Fig. 1.1). In-depth analysis of these documents will be made, specifically in regard to how foreigners are treated, represented, and described, and how these compare to the images or descriptions of Egyptians in the same text. In such a view, the Egyptians within these sources can be understood as acting in a socially acceptable manner, and the foreigners by actions that are not.¹⁶

The research seeks answers to the following questions:

1. How do the representations of foreigners, in art, textual, and symbolic sources, at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak develop during the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III?

¹⁶ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 11.

2. What does the Karnak Temple reveal about Egyptian identity?
3. To what extent was the Karnak Temple capable of disseminating this information?

The project has a number of aims to answer these questions:

1. To create a corpus of all representations of foreigners throughout the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak during the Second Intermediate Period and the Eighteenth Dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III, and organise them into various types and themes. The corpus consists of all artistic, textual, and symbolic sources from this period that discuss, refer or depict foreigners, and/or their products within the Karnak Temple.¹⁷
2. To understand the spatial and diachronic distribution of this corpus of attestations throughout the temple.
3. To identify and record changes that occur in the representations of specific groups of foreigners over time.
4. To use these representations of foreigners to understand aspects of Egyptian identity.

Apart from creating an extensive catalogue of representations of foreigners at Karnak, this study will establish a lexicon of terminology and iconographic features used to represent foreigners in sacred spaces. This data will then be used to extract features, characteristics, and values associated with foreigners and, by association, Egyptian identity, over an extended period of time.¹⁸

1.3 Research Method

The methodology adopted for this thesis has two parts in order to achieve the above aims. The first involves the collection of a corpus of texts and its examination through traditional methods of textual and art historical analysis. As discussed previously, this corpus of references to foreigners is sourced exclusively from the Temple of Amun-Re from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III. The second phase studies these texts within the framework of Memory Studies. In sum, the examination of the sources is multifaceted:

¹⁷ Only products of foreign origin that are designated as such are included. For example, myrrh of Punt is included, but not myrrh referred to on its own.

¹⁸ Anna-Latifa Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 2015), 13-14.

1. A textual, semantic, art historical, and iconographical examination of the sources. This phase aims to extract terms and features associated with various foreign groups and the Egyptians, as well as to track them over time.
2. Applying models, both theoretical and methodological, of Memory Studies to each text, with an emphasis on context. To accomplish this, it is integral to understand each scene, text, or statue within its historical background together with its architectural and spatial context, where known.

1.4 Limitations

One of the major problems for this study is that various facets of the temple are still being excavated, analysed, and published. This is inevitable due to the vast size of the complex, but it also leads to the fact that a significant amount of material has probably been inadvertently omitted in this thesis. Another caveat concerns the publication of a particular type of monument at Karnak, namely, statues with the nine-bow motif beneath the feet of the king. Many of the statues across Karnak have suffered water damage at the base, which, in turn, has worn away the engraved motif.¹⁹ Occasionally, the remains of the bows are visible near the feet, but often only personal examination can determine its presence. Unfortunately, only a few statues have been seen by the author in order to make this determination.

There are many limitations surrounding the study of spatial distribution and accessibility at Karnak, the key focal point of the third research question (see above, Section 1.2). Many of the texts used for this study, such as the Kamose Stele, were found by archaeologists beneath the pylons or reused as architectural elements. Accordingly, they were discovered in secondary locations and not the original context that the creator intended them to be situated. In an attempt to overcome this, we must be aware of the secondary location and any associated objects, to reconstruct its original location where possible. However, especially for the Second Intermediate Period and the early Eighteenth Dynasty, many of the reconstructions of spatial distribution are entirely hypothetical and may not be reflective of the original placement of a number of the scenes and objects.

Another important observation to be made is in regard to temple access during the period studied and how this alters the communication of various ideas. Though the gods of the temple

¹⁹ A. Abd-Elkareem, M. Asran, and A. El Shater, "Damage Blocks Granite of Philip Arrhidaeus Compartment and its Source and Treatment, Karnak, Egypt", *EJARS* 7:2 (2017), 111-121.

are, first and foremost, the designated audience of the texts and images within sacred spaces, there is no denying that other, perhaps unintentional, but definitely real audiences can be considered. Though the temple was sealed off to the general population, on festival days the gates were opened during the divine procession as the cult statue of the god Amun left the temple.²⁰ At Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III, fifty-four feast days are known per year, and there is evidence that courts in later periods, such as the Hypostyle Hall in the Nineteenth Dynasty, were open, to an extent, to the public.²¹ This “opening up” of the sacred space of the temple on such a frequent basis is salient, as the larger scenes which depict foreigners are located on the sides of the pylons that face their respective entryway and may have been visible from a distance.²² This was probably accentuated by the use of paint, most of which is lost today. On the other hand, as argued by Baines, many of the scenes found on temple walls are placed too high to be readable by the general public.²³ Though these scenes of foreigners were not necessarily hidden from the public eye, it is still largely unresolved how widely known they were in ancient times. This issue is to be explored further in Chapter 12.

Further, if it is assumed Karnak had some degree of accessibility, there is still an issue regarding the levels of literacy in ancient Egypt and how well the scenes and texts would have been understood. As articulated by Bryan, we need to reckon with degrees of illiteracy in the ancient world.²⁴ Individuals may have had more knowledge of hieroglyphic script than others, though it can be agreed that much of the visual imagery at Karnak could be read and the meaning grasped by the general viewer. Goldwasser articulated this concept: “because of its attractively iconic nature, parts of the hieroglyphic script were probably comprehensible even to foreigners and the illiterate”.²⁵ Accordingly, it is possible that the ancient Egyptians had deep knowledge of their own culture and values, which may have equipped them with the knowledge necessary to read and interact with the messages on the temple walls, a concept which is elaborated upon in Chapter 12.²⁶

²⁰ Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca, 2001), 32; Steven Snape, *Egyptian Temples* (Princes Risborough, 1996), 10.

²¹ Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, Second Edition (Glasgow, 2006), 270; Ashraf Iskander Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (Hildesheim, 1987), 47.

²² This is also dependent on the height on the mudbrick enclosure walls during various periods.

²³ John Baines, “Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity”, in J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz (eds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (Winona Lake, 1996), 349.

²⁴ John Baines and C. J. Eyre, “Four Notes on Literacy”, *GM* 61 (1983), 65-96; Betsy Bryan, “The Disjunction of Text and Image in Egyptian Art”, in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), 163.

²⁵ Orly Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 23.

²⁶ Bryan, “The Disjunction of Text and Image”, *Studies*, 163.

1.5 Research Outline

This thesis is presented in three parts. The first section, Chapters 1 to 3, presents the introduction, literature review, and methodology. Chapter 2, being the literature review, examines the state of research in regard to the Karnak Temple on the one hand and the theme of foreigners across Egyptology as a whole on the other. Chapter 3 explains in detail the methods used for the project, including data accumulation and theoretical analysis.

The second part of the work, Chapters 4 to 10, deals with texts, symbols, and representations of foreign peoples from the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the reign of Thutmose III. The intention is to shed light on what was regarded as “foreign” together with the types of relationships that the Egyptians held with different groups over time. Each of these seven chapters follows a specific layout and design to situate each source within its historical and spatial context. This is achieved through an overview of the socio-political context, followed by changes that occurred at Karnak during that era, before discussing and interpreting the sources themselves.

The third part of the work, Chapters 11 to 13, compiles the results and conclusions. Chapter 11 examines the development of representations of foreigners from an iconographic, terminological, and symbolic perspective as evidence for Egyptian identity, whilst Chapter 12 discusses the results of the spatial distribution analysis and particular trends. Chapter 13 presents an overview of the project and the possible directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

“A survey of the Theban monuments naturally begins with the ruins of Karnak. Here stood the great royal temple of the hundred-gated Thebes, which was dedicated to Ammon-Re, the king of the Gods...”
Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt* (1853), Letter XXX.¹

Over the centuries, explorers, antiquarians, and Egyptologists alike have been enthralled by the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, from its striking architecture to the wealth of textual and artistic material across the site. The focus of this thesis, namely, representations of foreigners at Karnak, has only been partially studied, with the majority of research undertaken on the battle or smiting scenes, whilst the captions that accompany these scenes have virtually escaped scholarly attention. A further point of concern is the emphasis placed in the literature on the study of representations of foreigners in Theban Tombs over those found in sacred spaces, thus often overlooking the value of the latter examples. This appears to be related to the highly stereotyped nature of depictions of foreigners in temples, which has often led to their value being discounted on a variety of levels. Accordingly, this chapter provides an overview of the history of the publication of Karnak itself, with a particular focus on the recordings of foreign peoples where applicable, as well an exploration of how foreigners have been studied across the broader field.

2.1 Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak

2.1.1 Early European Expeditions to Karnak

The first mission to Egypt with a scientific purpose occurred before the decipherment of the hieroglyphic language. Most famously, the savants who travelled with Napoleon Bonaparte (1798-1801) included Karnak as part of their recording of both the natural world and history of Egypt, culminating in the multi-volume folio work *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1829).² The mission spent just a few months in Thebes in 1799, and accordingly, only the sources of

¹ Karl Richard Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, trans. L. Horner and J. B. Horner (London, 1853), 248 (Letter XXX).

² *Description de l'Égypte: ou, Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1809-1822); Joyce Tyldesley, “The History of KV Exploration Prior to the Late Twentieth Century”, in R. H. Wilkinson and K. R. Weeks (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings* (New York, 2016), 482-483.

interest to the team were recorded.³ The images of conflict on the northern walls of the Hypostyle Hall appear to have held particular interest to the scientists, as numerous illustrations of the battle scenes of Seti I were created. However, these battle scenes were not systematically recorded to their full extent. Not only were the accompanying inscriptions omitted as the savants were not yet able to read hieroglyphs, but the renderings of the figures were often idealised, such as the emphasised muscular physique of Seti I.⁴ The tableaux themselves were simplified, which is evident in one of Seti I's battle narratives where the *Description de l'Égypte* rendering includes twelve foreigners, whilst the original has fifteen.⁵

Champollion's decipherment of hieroglyphics changed this approach to recording in his *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (1845, 1889), the result of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition that he worked with from 1828-1829.⁶ In many cases, Champollion re-recorded scenes from Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte*, with the emphasis again placed on the large battle scenes but with new attention paid to the textual inscriptions along with the images.⁷ Champollion's survey also dedicated a significant amount of space to the Temples of Karnak, with some 290-pages of detailed notes, plans, and plates. In addition, this trend of incorporating the texts with the images appears to be a legacy of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition, as the leader, Rosellini, followed the same practice in his *I Monumenti dell'Egitto* (1832).⁸

However, it was only with the Prussian Expedition by Karl Richard Lepsius in 1842 to 1845 that all the accompanying texts with the scenes were copied in a comprehensive manner, which eventuated in the twelve-volume work *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849-1859).⁹ The mission arrived in the Theban area on the 4 November 1844¹⁰ and left on the 16 May 1845, during which time the Theban Tombs, as well as the various temples, were visited and

³ *Description de l'Égypte* II, 408-409 (no. 3); Michel Azim, *Karnak et sa topographie*. Volume 2: *Les relevés anciens du temple d'Amon-Rê de 1589 aux années 1820* (Paris, 2012), 128.

⁴ *Description de l'Égypte* III, pl. 38.

⁵ This comparison was made between the plate in *Description de l'Égypte* and personal photographs of the scene. *Description de l'Égypte* III, pl. 38.

⁶ Jean Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux sous la direction de Champollion-le-jeune, et les descriptions autographes qu'il en a rédigées* (Paris, 1845); Jean Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux*, volume II (Paris, 1889).

⁷ These tableaux are more accurate, with the same battle scene of Seti I discussed above not including the "idealised" muscular physique of the king and the number of foreigners was correctly rendered as fifteen. Champollion, *Not. descr.* III, pl. CCXCVII.

⁸ Ippolito Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e Della Nubia (Band 1,1): Monumenti Storici* (Pisa, 1832); Jean Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1992), 166.

⁹ Karl Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849-1859); Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt*, 166.

¹⁰ Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, 243 (Letter XXVII).

recorded.¹¹ This work resulted in some 70-pages dedicated specifically to the Temple of Karnak, in addition to the high-quality plates and renderings of the scenes and accompanying inscriptions.¹² The texts were not restricted to the large monumental inscriptions, but captions were also recorded.¹³

2.1.2 Early Scholarship and the Egyptian Antiquities Service

In 1858, the temples of Karnak began to be excavated and restored under the newly formed Egyptian Antiquities Service by Auguste Mariette.¹⁴ His 88-page work, *Karnak* (1875) was the result of numerous years of excavation and survey work at the temple.¹⁵ This study provided plans, hieroglyphic inscriptions, and line drawings of the site, though some inscriptions were taken out of context. In addition, one of the main focuses being the topographical lists or name rings of Thutmose III, comprising of ten plates, the name rings themselves were rendered without the foreign figures attached to the ring containing the toponym.¹⁶ This omission of detail in the recording suggests uniformity where there is variation.

In 1895, Georges Legrain was appointed as the overseer of antiquities at Karnak, and like Mariette before him, faced numerous difficulties surrounding the restoration of the site, including the collapse of eleven columns in the Hypostyle Hall in 1899.¹⁷ During his twenty-two year tenure as overseer (1895-1917), Legrain restored and excavated a significant portion of the temple and published annual reports.¹⁸ In 1903, the excavations in the first court along the southern processional way resulted in the discovery of the Karnak Cachette containing

¹¹ Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, 322 (Letter XXXV).

¹² *LD III Texte*, 1-77.

¹³ For example, a number of the captions and scenes not depicting smiting or battle include: *LD III*, pl. 4(a), 6, 14, 15, 16 (b-g), 18, 22, 23, 24, 28(12), 30, 31(a), 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36. Many of these recording have preserved the short texts referring to *h3s.t* and the Nine Bows.

¹⁴ Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt*, 166-168.

¹⁵ Auguste Mariette, *Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak* (Leipzig, 1875), 1; Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt*, 168.

¹⁶ Mariette, *Karnak*, 52-54, pls. 17-27.

¹⁷ Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt*, 68.

¹⁸ Some selected works of Legrain include: Georges Legrain, "Notes prises à Karnak. V-VIII", *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 61-65; Georges Legrain, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak", *ASAE* 2 (1901), 265-80; Georges Legrain, "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", *ASAE* 4 (1903), 1-40; Georges Legrain, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 21 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903", *ASAE* 5 (1904), 1-43; Georges Legrain, "Les récentes découvertes de Karnak", *BIE* 5 (1904), 111-119; Georges Legrain, "Notes d'inspection XXVII", *ASAE* 6 (1905), 192; Georges Legrain, "Fouilles et recherches à Karnak", *BIE* 6 (1905), 109-27; Georges Legrain, "La grande stèle de Toutankhamanou à Karnak", *RecTrav* 29 (1907), 163-73; Georges Legrain, "Au pylône d'Harmhabi à Karnak (Xe pylône)", *ASAE* 14 (1914), 13-44; Georges Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Paris, 1929).

thousands of statues and stele.¹⁹ Perhaps the most lasting legacy associated with Legrain's work at Karnak was the introduction of photography.²⁰ Legrain photographed the excavations as they unfolded, and instead of creating line drawings of his discoveries, they were published as photographs. Inaccuracies and artistic license no longer overshadowed the publication of the monuments.

With the assistance of Legrain and the Egyptian Antiquities Service, the German Egyptologist Ludwig Borchardt aimed to determine the various building phases of the Karnak Temple at the beginning of the twentieth century.²¹ This eventuated in the 48-page publication *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak* (1905). Despite the brevity of the work, Borchardt published the first analysis of the development of the building phrases from the Middle Kingdom until the reign of Thutmose III. This work provided detailed plans and analysis of the architectural changes at the site, and the results of his study still hold relevance today, despite new archaeological discoveries changing our understanding of the evolution of the temple since this work was first published.

After the death of Legrain, Maurice Pillet took over the excavation and restoration of Karnak (1920-1925), with his annual reports influenced by Legrain's approach to publication, using a combination of photography and line drawings.²² Henri Chevrier later became Director of Works at Karnak (1926-1954) and continued with the submission of yearly reports to the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.²³ Other notable directors of Karnak include Ramadan Sa'ad (1954-1967), Jean Lauffray (1967-1980), Jean Claude-Golvin (1979-1989), François Larché (1989-2004), Emmanuel Laroze (2005-2008), Christophe Thiers (2008-2018), and Luc Gabolde (2019-present).²⁴

¹⁹ Georges Legrain, "Les récentes découvertes de Karnak", *BIE* 5 (1904), 111-119.

²⁰ Michel Azim and Gérard Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain, Volume I: Texte* (Paris, 2004), xvii.

²¹ Ludwig Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak* (Leipzig, 1905).

²² Maurice Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1922-1923)", *ASAE* 23 (1923), 99-138; Maurice Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)", *ASAE* 24 (1924), 53-88; Maurice Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1924-1925)", *ASAE* 25 (1925), 1-24; Richard A. Fazzini, "Karnak, precinct of Mut", in K. A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1999), 398; Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt*, 168; Morris L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology?*, Fourth Edition (London, 2012), 434.

²³ Henri Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1952-1953", *ASAE* 53 (1956), 7-19; Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostri Ier a Karnak* (Cairo, 1956); Vercoutter, *The Search for Ancient Egypt*, 169; Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology?*²⁴, 120.

²⁴ Ramadan Sa'ad, "New Light on Akhenaten's Temple at Thebes", *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 64-67; Jean Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte. Domaine du divin. Dix ans de recherches archéologiques et de travaux de maintenance en coopération avec l'Égypte* (Paris, 1979); Jean Lauffray, "Les travaux du Centre Franco-Egyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak de 1972 à 1977", *Karnak* 6 (1980), 1-65; Jean Lauffray, "Les 'talatat' du IXe pylône de Karnak et le Teny-Menou (assemblage et première reconstruction d'une paroi du temple d'Aton dans le musée de Louqsor)", *Karnak* 6 (1980), 67-89; Jean-Claude Golvin, "La restauration antique

From 1947 to 1951, Paul Barguet conducted research at Karnak as a resident of the *Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* (1953, 1962).²⁵ Though initially discouraged by the ruinous state of the temple, Barguet worked alongside the architect Robichon out of a desire to clarify, explain, and understand the site.²⁶ This research resulted in the foundational work *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (1962) that included photographs, plans, and surveys, aimed at detailing and explaining the successive stages of construction of Karnak itself.²⁷ Today, Barguet's comprehensive study, though outdated, has yet to be replaced with a work equal in description and analysis of temple.

2.1.3 Karnak and Memory Studies

In 1971, Björkman explored the ideology surrounding the reuse of material by kings and others at Karnak.²⁸ Focusing on the written sources particularly from the early New Kingdom, she concluded that the re-use and conservation of works by previous kings, as well as dedication of new monuments, were amongst the king's responsibilities towards the gods and his royal predecessors.²⁹ An issue that warrants scrutiny is Björkman's methodology, which compares the “ ‘official’ statements of the written material and the ‘unbiased’ evidence of the archaeological remains”.³⁰ Despite this implied linguistic approach, Björkman does not examine the texts thoroughly on a grammatical level, and further, oftentimes relies on Faulkner's *Dictionary* over the more comprehensive *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. These issues aside, Björkman's work provides an important milestone in the study of the temple as it was the first that considered why the Egyptians would preserve buildings of the past through the notion of *remembrance*.³¹

From this point onwards, it was clear that Karnak was becoming recognised as a place that

du passage du IIIe pylône”, *Karnak* 8 (1985), 189-206; Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (New Jersey, 1987), 67; Sébastien Biston-Moulin and Christophe Thiers, *Le Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak. Livre du cinquantième anniversaire 1967-2017* (Luxor, 2017), 10. Luc Gabolde's new directorship was announced via the CFEETK website, see <<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/actualite/voeux-2019-luc-gabolde-nouveau-directeur-du-cfeetk/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

²⁵ Paul Barguet, “La structure du temple Ipet-sout d'Amon à Karnak du Moyen Empire à Aménophis II”, *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 145-155; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: essai d'exégèse* (Cairo, 1962).

²⁶ Barguet, *Temple*, vii-viii.

²⁷ Barguet, *Temple*, vii-viii, xiv.

²⁸ Gun Björkman, *Kings at Karnak: A Study of the Treatment of Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom* (Uppsala, 1971).

²⁹ Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 54.

³⁰ Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 13.

³¹ It should be noted that this work actually predates the studies by Jan Assmann that brought the concept of cultural memory to Egyptology and ancient history as a whole, for example, Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992); Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 125-133.

preserved Egypt's past.³² Murnane (1994) described this process as "Historical Memory", which was used to describe a sense of "historical continuity" through the restoration and revival of monuments, together with a desire for self-promotion.³³ Murnane described this renewal of past-styles as an "extended homage to great Egyptian rulers of antiquity".³⁴ Nonetheless, the term "memory" was applied to this study in a general manner with no reference to cognition or the processes of memory creation. History *is not* memory; *memory* is the conscious recollection of the past by an individual or a group and is often revived to adhere to contemporary concerns.³⁵ The way in which these two fields are studied clarifies the difference between the two, with Memory Studies examining what is remembered and forgotten over time by an individual or group, while history often aims to provide an objective understanding of the past of a society or culture. It is this lack of theoretical background surrounding the term "memory" that has hindered the potential of studies that aim to be interdisciplinary.

It was only with Wendrich (2014) that the theory of cultural memory was applied to the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak together with a diachronic understanding of the architectural changes at the site.³⁶ Wendrich, drawing on Assmann's theory of cultural memory, argued that the recording of events at Karnak made the record public entities, and as such, part of the collective past of the ancient Egyptians.³⁷ Through the use of Digital Karnak, a detailed three-dimensional virtual reality program that presents the temple into renderings of the space through time, Wendrich was able to reinforce the importance of understanding the spatial context in any study of a monument. Wendrich has effectively explored the role of the royal institution in mediating the past, issues with access, and the importance or role of power in these representations.³⁸ However, Wendrich, while focusing on the importance of images and architectural features to legitimise power, does not discuss another critical role that these scenes can have, namely, the role of the site in sustaining notions of Egyptian identity.³⁹ In turn, whilst laying the foundation for the synchronic and diachronic analysis of monumental spaces, such

³² William J. Murnane, "Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory: New Light on the Ancients' 'Uses of the Past' from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak", *KMT* 5:3 (1994), 15-24, 88.

³³ Murnane, "Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory", *KMT* 5:3 (1994), 22.

³⁴ Murnane, "Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory", *KMT* 5:3 (1994), 24.

³⁵ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 180.

³⁶ Willeke Wendrich, "Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality", in J. F. Osborne (ed.), *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology* (Albany, 2014), 409-430.

³⁷ For an in-depth discussion on Assmann and Memory Studies as a whole see Chapter 3.3. Wendrich, "Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality", *Monumentality*, 413.

³⁸ Wendrich, "Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality", *Monumentality*, 415.

³⁹ Wendrich does discuss Egyptian identity though not in relation to foreigners in Willeke Wendrich, "Identity and Personhood", in W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology* (Chichester, 2010), 200-219.

work can be expanded to examine the ramifications of the records at Karnak for the concretion of Egyptian identity.

2.1.4 Karnak and Representations of Foreigners

As yet, a comprehensive study of the occurrence of references to foreigners in inscriptions and decorations within the space of the Karnak Temple, tracking them through space and time, has not been undertaken. Scholars are focused on specific types of scenes, such as war reliefs (e.g. Lushington, 1878; Degère, 2006), the decorative programs of specific areas (Revez and Brand, 2012), or texts and monuments from a particular reign (Gundlach, 2009; Brand, 1998, 2000; Abbas, 2015).⁴⁰

The most frequently and intensively studied text that represents foreign peoples at Karnak, excluding, perhaps, Thutmose III's Annals (e.g. Spalinger, 1977; Goedicke, 2000; Redford, 2003, 2006; Grimal, 2009; Gabolde and Gabolde, 2015), are the texts accompanying the war reliefs of Seti I on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall.⁴¹ As discussed above (Section 2.1.1), these scenes gained almost legendary status in the nineteenth century AD, when scholarly expeditions recorded these battle tableaux with the northern peoples. In general, these scenes have not been used for iconographical studies, but rather for the historical content that they can provide regarding the campaigns of Seti I and their chronological order (Breasted, 1889; Faulkner, 1947; Spalinger, 1979, 2013; Broadhurst, 1989; Murnane, 1990; el-Saady, 1992; Brand, 2000, 2011; Degère, 2006).⁴² Gaballa (1969, 1976) studied these scenes in a different

⁴⁰ Edmund Law Lushington, "The Victories of Seti I, Recorded in the Great Temple at Karnak", *TSBA* 6 (1878), 509-534; Agnès Degère, "La campagne asiatique de l'an 1 de Séthi Ier représentée sur le mur extérieur nord de la salle hypostyle du temple d'Amon à Karnak", *RdE* 57 (2006), 47-64; Jean Revez and Peter Brand, "Le programme décoratif des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: bilan de la mission canado-américaine de 2011", *BSFE* (2012) 184, 10-38; Schafik Allam, "Le traité égypto-hittite de paix et d'alliance entre les rois Ramsès II et Khattouchili III (d'après l'inscription hiéroglyphique au temple de Karnak)", *JEH* 4:1 (2011), 1-39; Rolf Gundlach, "Der Obelisk Thutmosis' I. in Karnak und seine Bedeutung für den Tempel des Amun-Re", in R. Preys (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: structuring religion. Leuven, 28. September - 1. Oktober 2005* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 133-149; Peter Brand, "Photo Essay: The Seti I Reliefs Inside the Hypostyle Hall of the Amen Temple at Karnak", *KMT* 9:3 (1998), 58-61; Peter Brand, *Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 2000); Mohamed Raafat Abbas, "The Triumph Scene and Text of Merenptah at Karnak", *Karnak* 15 (2015), 243-252.

⁴¹ Anthony J. Spalinger, "A Critical Analysis of the 'Annals' of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)", *JARCE* 14 (1977), 41-54; Hans Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore, 2000); Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmosis III* (Leiden and Boston, 2003); Donald B. Redford, "The Northern Wars of Thutmose III", in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 325-343; Nicholas Grimal, "Nouveaux fragments des Annales de Thoutmosis III à Karnak", in U. Rössler-Köhler (ed.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, *SDAIK* 16 (2009), 105-120; Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde, "Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III", *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 44-111.

⁴² James Henry Breasted, "Ramesses II and the princes in the Karnak reliefs of Seti I", *ZÄS* 37 (1889), 130-39; R. O. Faulkner, "The Wars of Sethos I", *JEA* 33 (1947), 34-39; Anthony J. Spalinger, "The Northern

approach, to gain an understanding of how events in time are presented through the artistic narrative, while Sanchez (2000) examined the injuries of the soldiers from a neurological perspective.⁴³ Overall, scholars have attempted to establish historical links between the battle scenes at Karnak through their depictions, captions, and the ideas evident in the broader textual record.

It was only in 2012 that Davies discussed the representations of foreign peoples specifically within the battle reliefs of Seti I.⁴⁴ In this brief article, Davies articulated the issues associated with using these images as textual sources and points to the discrepancy between text and image, together with the ideological context that has shaped these reliefs as a whole. Davies points out that the inscriptions refer to tribute from foreign lands, and yet the foreign peoples are depicted as bound captives. Davies concludes that this discrepancy appears to have been deliberate in order to communicate various levels of foreign submission (those who bring gifts and products to Egypt) and Egyptian domination (over the defeated countries). Though Davies' work was inherently short, the current study aims to apply similar methods, but in a more detailed fashion, by considering all the texts and images and thus uncovering further dimensions in the representations of foreigners at Karnak.

Other notable works discussing the artistic depictions of foreigners at the Temple of Amun include the talatat, which were studied by Redford (1988).⁴⁵ These talatat, from the buildings constructed by Amenhotep IV at east Karnak, have provided a rich corpus of varied interactions with foreign peoples, including the "traditional" smiting scenes, festivals, and musicians in the court of the king. Despite this wide range of thematic genres, Redford inevitably focused on the images that are evidence for physical conflict in the context of war. Johnson (1992) later discussed the Asiatic battle blocks of Tutankhamun, some of which were reengraved onto

Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study", *JARCE* 16 (1979), 33-37; Anthony J. Spalinger, "Egyptian New Kingdom triumphs: a first blush", in A. Spalinger and J. Armstrong (eds), *Rituals of triumph in the Mediterranean world* (Leiden, 2013), 95-112; Clive Broadhurst, "An Artistic Interpretation of Sety I's War Reliefs", *JEA* 75 (1989), 229-234; William J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh. A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, Second Edition (Chicago, 1990); Hassan el-Saady, "The Wars of Sety I at Karnak: A New Chronological Structure", *SAK* 19 (1992), 285-294; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, 193, 201-206; Peter J. Brand, "The Date of the War Scenes at Karnak and the History of the Late Nineteenth Dynasty", in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 51-84; Agnès Degrevé, "La campagne asiatique de l'an 1 de Séthi Ier représentée sur le mur extérieur nord de la salle hypostyle du temple d'Amon à Karnak", *RdE* 57 (2006), 47-64.

⁴³ G. A. Gaballa, "Minor war scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak", *JEA* 55 (1969), 82-88; G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976); Gonzalo M. Sanchez, "A Neurosurgeon's View of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I: Aspects of Neurological Importance", *JARCE* 37 (2000), 143-165.

⁴⁴ Vanessa Davies, "The Treatment of Foreigners in Seti's Battle Reliefs", *JEA* 98 (2012), 73-85.

⁴⁵ Donald B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 2: Rwd-Mnw and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1988), 13-27.

Amenhotep IV's talatat.⁴⁶ However, as the talatat extracted from Karnak are numbered in the tens of thousands, the study of the representations of foreigners on these blocks is ongoing. This is being undertaken by Robert Vergnien⁴⁷ and the ATON-3D project, though the results of the catalogue of the latter have not yet come to fruition.⁴⁸ Despite the rich data that can be sourced from the talatat, the general inaccessibility of the corpus, the focus on scenes of conflict, together with the tendency to study Asiatics over Nubians, has affected what has so far been obtained from the material.

A final focus of the representations of foreigners at Karnak is the smiting scenes. Swan Hall's 1986 work *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies* tracks representations of the king smiting from the Archaic Period through to the Meroitic Period, with some inclusion of the scenes at Karnak.⁴⁹ This broad overview obfuscates changes, with some scenes taken to be representational of entire eras. A more recent study by Luiselli (2011) briefly includes the smiting scenes at Karnak in her discussion of cultural memory.⁵⁰ Luiselli's work is groundbreaking for forging a connection between foreign peoples (albeit "enemies" in smiting scenes; foreigners are not mentioned) to the concept of cultural memory. Her work can be taken further to consider the various ethnic groups that are in these scenes together with the concept of "space" that grounds these tableaux of the Egyptian king dominating his foes.

2.1.5 Current Scholarship

Recent studies have been able to progress due to the Digital Karnak Project by the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).⁵¹ The archive for this project is substantial and allows

⁴⁶ William Raymond Johnson, *An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes: A late Amarna antecedent of the Ramesside Battle Narrative Tradition* (PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 1992).

⁴⁷ Personal communication from Vergnien, who kindly showed me some preliminary work on blocks depicting foreigners. See also Robert Vergnien, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenhotep IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques. Méthodes et résultats*, 2 vols. (Lyon, 1999); Robert Vergnien, "Les constructions thébaines du règne d'Amenhotep IV revisitées par les nouvelles technologies", in C. Leblanc (ed.), *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 2010), 315-323.

⁴⁸ Vergnien, "Les constructions thébaines du règne d'Amenhotep IV revisitées", *Les temples de millions d'années*, 315-323; Nathalie Prévôt, "The Digital Puzzle of the talatat from Karnak: A Tool for the Three-Dimensional Reconstruction of Theban buildings from the Reign of Amenhotep IV", in S. Polis and J. Winand (eds), *Texts, Languages & Information Technology in Egyptology: Selected Papers from the Meeting of the Computer Working Group of the International Association of Egyptologists (Informatique & Égyptologie)*, Liège, 6-8 July 2010 (Liège, 2013), 129-138.

⁴⁹ Emma Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Munich, 1986).

⁵⁰ Maria Michela Luiselli, "The Ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies': an attempt to visualize cultural memory?", in M. Bommas (ed.), *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies* (London and New York, 2011), 10-25; see 17, fig. 1.3 (mislabelled as Eighth Pylon).

⁵¹ See Elaine A. Sullivan, "Visualizing the Size and Movement of the Portable Festival Barks at Karnak Temple", *BMSAES* 19 (2012), 1-37; Digital Karnak Project by University of California, Los Angeles. Available from <<http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

artefacts to be placed within their historical and physical context, and equally as salient, it enables the viewer to progress through a virtual reality of the temple and experience how the ancient Egyptians would have travelled through the complex. As articulated by Wendrich (2014), “understanding the development of Karnak necessitates removing the overburden of later buildings, to understand what the temple looked like at any particular moment in time”.⁵² The Digital Karnak site is, however, not without its tribulations, and caution must be used. One salient issue is that the site does not consider the relocation of monuments over time, such as the edifice of Amenhotep II which was repositioned and rebuilt in the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons in the reign of Horemheb.⁵³ The “time map” section of the website locates this edifice in its *second location* during the reign of Amenhotep II.⁵⁴ Another issue is that the site was archived in 2016, resulting in outdated descriptions and bibliographic references for artefacts and monuments.

Another key institution is the *Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak* (CFEETK), which is a joint French and Egyptian archaeological project founded in 1967 that aims to publish new material and allow broad access to the documentation of the site.⁵⁵ Lauffray published the first comprehensive account of their excavations and restorations at Karnak in 1979.⁵⁶ This well-illustrated guide covers various discoveries including the Cachette Court, the talatat of the Ninth Pylon, and the Temple of Khonsu. Today, the archaeological focuses at Karnak include the excavation and documentation of the Middle Kingdom Courtyard, the recording of the columns of the Hypostyle Hall, and the Ptah Temple.⁵⁷ Furthermore, there has been a shift to the online publication of monuments within CFEETK, *Le Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS), and the *Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (IFAO), in order to increase the accessibility and study of the objects discovered at Karnak. Two major sites include the *Karnak Cachette* and the *Système d'indexation des textes hiéroglyphiques* (SITH), which often include a photograph of the source, a comprehensive

⁵² Wendrich, “Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality”, *Monumentality*, 409.

⁵³ See Charles C. Van Siclen III, “The Edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak: An Architectural Pious Fraud”, in C. Leblanc (ed.), *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 2010), 81-89.

⁵⁴ Van Siclen III, “The Edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak”, *Les temples*, 81-89.

⁵⁵ See the CFEETK website, available from: <<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

⁵⁶ Jean Lauffray, *Karnak d'Égypte. Domaine du divin. Dix ans de recherches archéologiques et de travaux de maintenance en coopération avec l'Égypte* (Paris, 1979).

⁵⁷ Guillaume Charloux, “The Middle Kingdom Temple of Amun at Karnak”, *EA* 27 (2005), 20-24; Luc Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê: la genèse d'un temple, la naissance d'un dieu* (Cairo, 2018); Sébastien Biston-Moulin and Christophe Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (Cairo, 2016); Sébastien Biston-Moulin and Christophe Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak II. Relevé photographique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (Cairo, 2016).

bibliographical list, and, in the case of SITH, a transcription and transliteration of the hieroglyphs present on that particular object.⁵⁸

The most recent work that provides an overview of Karnak today is Elizabeth Blyth's *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (2006).⁵⁹ This study synthesised all the known information and historical developments of the temple from its origins in the Predynastic Period to the Roman era. The work is interspersed with informative maps and images that assist the reader to envisage the changes clearly within distinct political phases. The concise format of the publication has, however, necessarily forced Blyth to condense and simplify the complexities of Karnak, and though presented in a coherent and approachable manner, some features and changes have been circumvented and overlooked, though, like Barguet's 1962 work, it remains hugely relevant as an introductory guide to the temple.⁶⁰

Thus, the Temple of Karnak has been central to a multitude of studies from the Middle Kingdom onwards. The issue of dismissing the textual sources and captions associated with the images on temple walls can be traced back to the first scientific mission at the temple, namely, Napoleon's savants. This has continued throughout the centuries, and it is only now, through the long history of recording the temple, that foundations, scenes, and buildings with these captions are becoming readily available for further study. This in itself justifies reanalysis of the temple, and together with the changing availability of sources, it allows for new studies to be conducted and fresh insight to be reached.

2.2 Foreigners in Ancient Egypt

2.2.1 Early Scholarship

In the nineteenth century, the focus that scholars placed on the study of foreigners was guided by the connections perceived between Egyptology and the biblical world.⁶¹ It was only with Müller's three-volume series *Egyptological Researches* (1906-1920) that the landscape in

⁵⁸ Both websites are funded by CNRS. The Karnak Cachette is available from <<http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/>> and the "Système d'Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques" (SITH) website: <<http://sith.huma-num.fr/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

⁵⁹ Elizabeth Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (London and New York, 2006).

⁶⁰ For example, Blyth did not question the attribution of a smiting scene of Amenhotep I, of which no image has been published. Blyth, *Karnak*, 34.

⁶¹ Phyllis Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality* (London, 2016), 3; Sara Y. Stevenson, "On the remains of the foreigners discovered in Egypt by Mr Flinders-Petrie, 1895: now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania", *PAPhS* 35:150 (1896), 56-64; Alan H. Gardiner, "Kjj-bw 'foreigners' ", *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 160.

regards to foreigners changed.⁶² This work was explicitly aimed at “recording the relations of ancient Egypt to foreign countries, especially to Asia and Europe”.⁶³ The first two volumes deal with these relationships, studying artefacts from the Cairo Museum together with other Theban inscriptions, both inscriptional and pictorial. The aim to reach conclusions regarding the relations between Egypt and foreign countries was hindered by Müller’s reliance on Egyptian material together with insufficient quantitative data, as the material was selected over broad periods from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. This attempt to utilise the Egyptian depictions of foreigners to reach historical conclusions regarding ancient interconnections is an issue that continues today.

2.2.2 The Role of the Theban Tombs

At the turn of the twentieth century, the focus shifted to representations of foreigners in the Theban Tombs. Eduard Meyer’s (1913) *Fremdvölker* was the first to produce an extensive photographic record of seventeen Theban Tombs that contained representations of foreigners.⁶⁴ As this work was restricted in its corpus, textual analysis, and chronology, Norman de Garis Davies recorded various tombs that were not included in Meyer’s publication (e.g. 1913, 1917, 1944), and also commented on the thematic contexts for the representations of foreigners within these spaces.⁶⁵ Davies’ numerous works gave scholars access to new materials to study the representations of foreigners in detail (Pritchard, 1951).⁶⁶

Theban Tombs have continued to play a significant role in the study of foreigners, such as Vercoutter’s 1956 study on the contact between pre-Hellenic Aegeans and the Egyptians, based on epigraphic, textual, and pictorial sources, the latter of which were drawn mostly from these tombs.⁶⁷ The figures of the Aegean foreigners were, in turn, studied by their costumes, hairstyles, and other accoutrements. Vercoutter’s work later inspired Wachsmann’s 1987

⁶² Wilhelm Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Volume I: *Results of a Journey in 1904* (Washington, 1906); Wilhelm Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Volume II: *Results of a Journey in 1906* (Washington, 1910); Wilhelm Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Volume III: *The Bilingual Decrees of Philae* (Washington, 1920).

⁶³ Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 1.

⁶⁴ Eduard Meyer, *Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur Erforschung der Darstellung der Fremdvölker* (Berlin, 1913).

⁶⁵ Norman de Garis Davies, “Foreigners in the Tomb of Amenemḥab (No. 85)”, *JEA* 20:3/4 (1934), 189-192; Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs (Being Those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Dagi, Nehemawäy and Tati)* (London, 1913); Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York, 191); Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes* (North Stratford, 1944).

⁶⁶ James B. Pritchard, “Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs”, *BASOR* 122 (1951), 36-41.

⁶⁷ Jean Vercoutter, *L’Egypte et le monde égéen préhellénique. Étude critique des sources égyptiennes, du début de la XVIIIe dynastie à la fin de la XIXe dynastie* (Cairo, 1956).

Aegeans in Theban Tombs, a study that catalogued the examples of Aegeans in the tombs and commented on their historical significance, drawing new and revised conclusions.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Wachsmann brings to light issues of hybridism, transference, and the potential existence of pattern-books, whilst constantly focusing and emphasising that these images are a product of Egyptian culture. Though Wachsmann touches on this concept that representations of foreigners are a conduit for reflection on the Egyptians themselves, he still uses the Theban Tombs, together with archaeological evidence, in order to reconstruct contact between Egypt and the Aegean in the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶⁹

Shaheen's 1988 thesis discussed scenes of Asiatics and Nubians from nineteen Theban Tombs.⁷⁰ This work also aimed at examining the historical significance of these scenes, the role of the tomb owner, together with an analysis of the placement of scenes within tombs.⁷¹ The scenes from the Theban Tombs were compared against contemporary textual sources, such as the Annals of Thutmose III at Karnak, to determine the validity of the events depicted. A terminological analysis was well-integrated into the study, with focus on *in.w* (translated by Shaheen as "produce" and "gifts"), *b3k.w* ("revenue" and "taxes"), and *h3k* ("spoils").⁷² Shaheen concluded that the foreigner scenes, though in some cases reflecting historical fact, were part of the "episodic sequence and symbolism of the tomb's decoration".⁷³ This study represents a change in direction towards using representations of foreigners as a tool for the analysis of word meaning, as well as exploring the significance of the spatial placement of these representations.

Though some brief studies occurred in the early 2000s (e.g. Brock, 2000; Strudwick, 2001; Panagiotopoulos, 2001), the next comprehensive study occurred in 2006.⁷⁴ This work by Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches*, marked a point of departure from previous studies as she reassessed tribute scenes from *both* tombs and temples to extract historical information.⁷⁵ Furthermore, Hallmann analysed the iconography and *captions* associated with

⁶⁸ Shelley Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs* (Leuven, 1987).

⁶⁹ Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 122-125.

⁷⁰ Alaa El-Din M. Shaheen, *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes Involving Western Asiatics and Nubians in Private Theban Tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty* (PhD Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1988).

⁷¹ Shaheen, *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes*, vi.

⁷² Shaheen, *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes*, xxv.

⁷³ Shaheen, *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes*, 348.

⁷⁴ Lyla Pinch Brock, "Art, industry and the Aegeans in the tomb of Amenmose", *ÄgLev* 10 (2000), 129-137; Nigel Strudwick, "A fragment of a scene of foreigners from the Theban Necropolis", *JARCE* 38 (2001), 133-140; D. Panagiotopoulos, "Keftiu in context: Theban tomb-paintings as a historical source", *OJA* 20:3 (2001), 263-283.

⁷⁵ Silke Hallmann, *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 2006); Susanne Binder, "Reviewed Work(s): Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament, vol. 66 by Silke Hallmann", *JAOS* 129:2 (2009), 347-349.

these scenes from forty tombs and six temples, cataloguing each text by how it is designated in the caption, from *in.w* (“Gabe”), *ḥ3ḳ* (“Beute”), to *b3ḳ.w* (“Abgabe”). Through this large database, Hallmann reached similar results to Shaheen, concluding that the tribute scenes of foreign peoples were stereotypical, and further, that the various relationships that Egypt had with foreign lands cannot be derived from the gestures and postures in the depictions of the foreigners themselves. In drawing this conclusion, Hallmann disregarded what information *can* be derived from the gestures, such as different postures depicting the degrees of respect that *the Egyptians* expected from a particular group. A reassessment is needed regarding the conceptual framework by which to approach these scenes, one that moves away from the focus of deriving solely historical data relating to interconnections.

The most recent work was undertaken by Anthony (2017), which discussed the symbolic and the iconographical representations of foreigners in twenty Theban Tombs during the early Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷⁶ This work, despite having a clear focus on tombs, is comprehensive regarding how various foreign groups are treated in Egyptian art. Anthony studied the content of these scenes and emphasises the importance of the placement of the tableaux and the personal choices made by the tomb owner which are shaped by their own identity. One criticism, however, is that the name rings in the Theban Tombs are equated with the Nine Bows.⁷⁷ This does not explain the increasing occurrence of the name rings in tombs, which are based from the topographical lists that cover temple walls, nor does it try to explain that the Nine Bows are *only* depicted as name rings within the funerary decorations of the Theban Tombs for a specific period of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷⁸ Consequently, it would have been advantageous for Anthony to make this distinction clearer as it may have shed more insight into the identity of the tomb owner and their ambitions to replicate depictions found on royal monuments.

2.2.3 Current Research in the Broader Field

Since the 1990s, studies around foreigners have exploded in number, with a wide variety of topics and approaches, from the analysis of bound foreigners in chariot scenes to the

⁷⁶ Flora Brooke Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550 - 1372 BC)* (London and New York, 2017).

⁷⁷ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 37-39.

⁷⁸ The author has only been able to find the list of the Nine Bows in the form of name rings from the reigns of Thutmose III to Amenhotep III, including TT 42, TT 93, TT 77, TT 64, TT 57, and TT 48. This is based on some preliminary research undertaken on the iconography of name rings in the Theban Tombs, to distinguish between those found on temple walls. For name rings on the latter, see Laura Peirce, “Some Observations on Name Rings: Towards a Typology”, *JEH* (forthcoming).

examination of the ethnic groups living in Egypt in the Twentieth Dynasty.⁷⁹ Perhaps the most comprehensive study on the nature of Egyptian relations with foreigners is the work by Valbelle (1990), *Les neuf arcs*.⁸⁰ Valbelle documents millennia of Egyptian relations with foreigners, with a particular focus on how the Egyptians behaved towards the “other”. Valbelle draws on an impressive array of sources, from archaeological material in Kerma, textual content in the form of the Amarna letters, and art in various scenes of triumph and battle, in a successful attempt to reconcile the archaeological and textual sources. Valbelle concludes “...ces compositions (representing foreigners) traitent finalement plus de l’Égypte et des Égyptiens que des pays où elles situent l’action principale qu’elles développent”.⁸¹ Consequently, Valbelle moves away from the iconography of foreigners in order to trace the history of contact between foreign peoples and Egypt throughout the whole study. Overall, Valbelle’s compelling argument that the representations of foreign peoples can reflect on the Egyptians can benefit from further clarification.

One of the most significant publications that has shaped scholarly work on the study of foreigners is Loprieno’s *Topos und Mimesis* (1988).⁸² Loprieno’s structuralist framework distinguishes between the Egyptians’ dual attitudes towards foreigners, within fictional texts, as either *topos* or *mimesis*.⁸³ *Topos* is conceived as the society’s idealised view of reality (virtually a cultural stereotype), and *mimesis* is the reflection of daily experience with foreigners.⁸⁴ In relation to foreigners, this term then classifies an individual statement that is free from the stereotypes of that society.⁸⁵ *Mimesis* replaces the traditional reality of the living world and is an attempt at expressing novelty.⁸⁶ The benefit of this dichotomising approach is

⁷⁹ Earl L. Ertman, “Akhenaten’s Use of Bound Foreign Prisoners in Chariot Scenes: A Commemoration of Specific Events or the King Victorious?”, *ASAE* 73 (1998), 51-60; Ben Haring, “Libyans in the Theban Region, 20th Dynasty”, in J. Leclant (ed.), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti*, vol. II (Turin, 1993), 159-165; Peter Warren, “Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt”, in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 1-18; Manfred Bietak, “Connections Between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris”, in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 19-28; Eric H. Cline, “Egyptian and Near Eastern Imports at Late Bronze Age Mycenae”, in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 91-115; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (New Jersey, 1992).

⁸⁰ Dominique Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs: l’égyptien et les étrangers de la préhistoire à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Paris, 1990).

⁸¹ Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs*, 188.

⁸² Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988).

⁸³ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 10-12; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 16.

⁸⁴ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 10-12.

⁸⁵ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 10-12.

⁸⁶ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 12, 41-60; Donald B. Redford, “Reviewed Work: *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* by Antonio Loprieno”, *JAOS* 112:1 (1992), 134-135.

that the contrast clarifies dominant characteristics of particular groups, and in turn, what was desired and what was not. Loprieno then continued to apply these divisions of *topos* and *mimesis*, with a focus on the latter, to the literature of the Middle and New Kingdoms. By focusing on the Egyptian literature, Loprieno does not address the deeper problem of the increased contrast between *topos* and *mimesis* in the heavily relied upon historical sources, and it is in this field that this distinction may be more fruitful. Overall, Loprieno's work has inspired a variety of new interpretations of foreigners (Smith, 1995, 2003, 2007, 2014, 2018; Di Biase Dyson, 2013; Mourad, 2014, 2015; Saretta, 2016), together with refuting the common assumption that foreigners only had a negative connotation in ancient Egypt.⁸⁷

Most of the studies on representations of foreigners are typically related to warfare and the campaigns of the Egyptian kings. In particular, studies by Assmann (1984), Redford (1986, 2000, 2003), and Spalinger (1980, 2005) have examined various scenes and stele to shed light on the campaigns of the New Kingdom.⁸⁸ McCarthy in 2003 studied the function and distribution patterns of "emblematic" (stereotypical) scenes such as the king smiting foreigners and "narrative" (historical) battle scenes within eight Nubian Temples during the reign of Ramesses II.⁸⁹ This study demonstrated that the stereotypical scenes were commonly found close to doorways or short walls, while the historical battle scenes were located in the first hall or court. McCarthy thus concluded that different scenes have distinct functions and their placement is of supreme importance when we study the accompanying texts. This study was, however, limited in that it only examined art from the reign of Ramesses II, and further work

⁸⁷ Hannes Buchberger, "Zum Ausländer in der altägyptischen Literatur: Eine Kritik", *WdO* 20/21 (1989/1990), 5-34; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (London and New York, 1995), 184-188; Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London, 2003), 4; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Ethnicity and Culture", in T. Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World* (London and New York, 2007), 218-241; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity", in J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2014), 194-212; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt", *JEH* 11 (2018), 115-116; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories* (2013); Anna-Latfia Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to Early Second Intermediate Period* (PhD Thesis: Macquarie University, 2014); Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt* (2015); Phyllis Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality* (London, 2016).

⁸⁸ Jan Assmann, "Krieg und Frieden im alten Ägypten: Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Kadesch", *Mannheimer Forum* 1983 (83/84), 175-231; Donald B. Redford, "The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela", *IEJ* 36:3 (1986), 188-200; Redford, *ATP* 2, 13-27; Donald B. Redford, "Egypt and Western Asia in the late New Kingdom: An Overview", in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia, 2000), 1-20; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*; Anthony J. Spalinger, "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia", *JEA* 66 (1980), 83-99; Anthony J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom* (Oxford, 2005).

⁸⁹ Heather Lee McCarthy, "The Function of 'Emblematic' Scenes of the King's Domination of Foreign Enemies and Narrative Battle Scenes in Ramesses II's Nubian Temples", *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 59-74.

is needed to see if this rule of emblematic versus narrative scenes is standard on other temples in other periods, and how textual sources fit into this scheme.

Schneider's two-volume work, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit* (1998, 2003) tackles the social structure and assimilation of people of foreign origin in Egypt.⁹⁰ While the first volume focuses on foreign rulers, volume two is dense with philological information concerning the ethnonyms and terms associated with various foreign groups. Schneider also raised questions regarding the work that these foreigners undertook in Egypt, their integration into society, and explores the multiple roles foreigners had in the palace, treasury, military, and crafts. Though this work is by definition restricted to the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, it is a salient resource for determining the various social and professional roles of foreigners, expanded from their usual submissive position of captives or slaves within the art.⁹¹

In most cases, the focus is the role that foreigners played in Egyptian society and how their representation is distinguished in the artistic realm. Heinz's *Bildanalyse* (2001) study on New Kingdom scenes of foreign domination, from the reigns of Thutmose I to Ramesses IV, exemplifies this trend.⁹² Heinz's work aimed to identify the compositional elements of battle scenes, from the camp, the battle, and the presentations of captives, and to track them throughout her corpus.⁹³ In order to understand how specific features were used within the context of the broader scenes, Heinz studied the compositions of these iconic themes, the canon of proportion used, the grouping of figures, and overlapping techniques employed.⁹⁴ This methodological approach presents a model that could also be applied to earlier tableaux with foreigners outside the context of battle, which may provide additional insight into the development of artistic representations of foreigners in sacred spaces.

Although studies on representations of foreigners abound, the first extensive work to classify the iconographical material into "types" was Booth's *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*

⁹⁰ Thomas Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit. Teil 1: Die ausländischen Könige* (Wiesbaden, 1998); Thomas Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit: Teil 2: Die ausländische Bevölkerung* (Wiesbaden, 2003); Thomas Schneider, "Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context", in W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology* (Chichester, 2010), 143-163.

⁹¹ Schneider, "Foreigners in Egypt", *Egyptian Archaeology*, 143-163.

⁹² Susanne Constanze Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna, 2001).

⁹³ Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 19-23.

⁹⁴ Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen*, 89-95.

(2005).⁹⁵ This publication reinforced the importance of studying foreigners to understand ideas of Egyptian identity and the various iconographic features that distinguish different foreign groups.⁹⁶ Booth details the features in the art that can be used to identify the various ethnic peoples, though she presupposes that all representations of foreigners can be divided into stereotypical and non-stereotypical portrayals, with “stereotypical” classifying scenes demonstrating royal domination, and “non-stereotypical” all those that fall *outside* of this classification.⁹⁷ However, Booth’s initial distinction of the foreign groups is based entirely upon secondary English scholarship, and thus excludes significant works on foreigners in other languages, which has ramifications for her further divisions of foreign peoples.⁹⁸ For example, Booth contradicts herself, specifically, in regard to the differentiation between Asiatics and Syrians. Asiatics is a term that is used to refer to all the people of the Levant, whilst the Syrians are a group from the northern Levant only. Booth’s arbitrary argument that they are two different groups calls into question her division of the ethnic groups, with those with “Syrian” characteristics included within her “Asiatic” (effectively *southern* Levantine) catalogue and vice versa.⁹⁹ Based on these observations, it is clear that further work is required to understand the Egyptians’ identifications of various foreign groups. In the same vein, modern political terms (such as Syria) appear to obfuscate the differentiation of places in the ancient world.

Di Biase-Dyson undertook an in-depth linguistic approach to the characterisation of foreigners in Late Egyptian Stories in 2013.¹⁰⁰ This work combined linguistics and literary analysis to four Late Egyptian stories, specifically, *The Doomed Prince*, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seneferu*, *The Taking of Joppa*, and *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*. The project aimed to examine representations and the characterisations of the protagonists in these sources and is specifically aimed at foreigners and Egyptians to highlight the contrast between the two groups. The use of Systematic Functional Linguistics and lexicogrammar that analyses the mode, field,

⁹⁵ It is worth noting that Helck did discuss foreigner types as a brief reference entry in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, though Booth does not seem to have been aware of this publication. Wolfgang Helck, “Fremdvölkerdarstellung”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LÄ II* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 315-321; Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt* (2005).

⁹⁶ Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 5.

⁹⁷ And yet, a number of “royal” examples are still included in her “non-stereotypical” catalogue, such as fig. 2.4, which is a talatat from Karnak from the royal monument of Amenhotep IV depicting a bowing soldier and theoretically being dominated. Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9.

⁹⁸ For example, Booth does not include Drenkhahn’s significant work on southerners, which includes discussions on Nubians and Puntites. Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negern in Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1967).

⁹⁹ For example, fig. 1:5 a-b. This figure has a beard and short hair, a hairstyle associated with Syrians. In the Syrian catalogue, see fig. 2.4. See Chapter 3.2.4 which provides a more differentiated description of how Asiatics can be represented as either southern Levantines (Canaanites) or northern Levantines (Syrians).

¹⁰⁰ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 16.

and tenor of each clause and text proved to be extremely fruitful. Though Di Biase-Dyson's methodology is complex, and her approach is inherently very detailed, she demonstrates the benefits of studying characterisation (and by extension, identity) through the contrast achieved between foreigners and Egyptians.

In the past five years, studies have focused on the theme of “perception versus reality”.¹⁰¹ The ancient texts that discuss foreigners often appear to be in response to various socio-political, cultural, and economic changes.¹⁰² As the archaeological evidence for the various groups does not often match the Egyptian descriptions, there has been a move to rectify this image and promote the “reality” of these people and not the Egyptians' perception of them.¹⁰³ Mourad's work (2015) on the Hyksos aimed to challenge the assertion of invasion through an examination of the evidence for contact between Egypt and the Levant. Furthermore, like Di Biase-Dyson, Mourad is interested in the interaction between Egypt and the “other” as a tool to understand the concepts of ethnic identity.¹⁰⁴ Mourad then utilises the archaeological material to complement the ethnic identities presented in textual sources. The quantifiable analysis of these two comparable Egyptian sources allowed Mourad to account for the Egyptian voice in the textual sources affecting the depiction of Asiatics and, in turn, reach a more objective understanding of the ethnicity of the Asiatics.

In 2016, Saretta's revised version of her doctoral thesis demonstrated the effectiveness of combining archaeological, textual, and artistic material from a variety of cultures to reach a more adequate reflection of Asiatics during the Middle Kingdom.¹⁰⁵ Notably, Saretta examines the terminology associated with Asiatics in order to come to an understanding of the Egyptians' perceptions of these groups, together with an in-depth analysis of artistic representations of Asiatics from the Old to the Middle Kingdom. Another approach by this author (Peirce, 2015) was to determine how the representations of the Hyksos was shaped over an extended period in the textual sources by socio-political concerns and cultural memory, to demonstrate the

¹⁰¹ Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality* (2016), 1.

¹⁰² Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 1-3.

¹⁰³ In the example of the Hyksos in particular, archaeology has played a significant role in shifting perceptions, a process which began with Engberg in 1939 and was cemented with the work of Manfred Bietak at Tell el-Dab'a. See Robert M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (Chicago, 1939); Manfred Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a)”, E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 87-140; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015); Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt* (2016).

¹⁰⁴ Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 13-14.

¹⁰⁵ Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 189-191.

problems of relying solely on the Egyptian material for the study of foreign groups.¹⁰⁶ Others have examined the nature of the ideas surrounding iconography and understood them as reflections of Egyptian ideology as opposed to tangible elements of the historical reality (Poo, 2005; Janzen, 2013; Hsu, 2017; Giménez, 2017).¹⁰⁷

In sum, there were multiple ways in which foreigners are represented in Egyptian art and textual sources, and they have been studied from a variety of contexts and text types, with most exploring the relationship between art and reality. In current scholarship, the move has been towards using the contrast between Egyptians and the “other” to highlight specific types of “identities”, from the characterisations of groups to the broader context of their ethnicity.

2.3 Summary

The Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak has a long history of recording, publishing, and analysis, and yet there is still a phenomenal amount of data to be uncovered and studied at this extensive site. Despite the focus on the battle scenes, a comprehensive examination of representations of foreigners in sacred spaces as a whole, from their occurrence in captions to narrative scenes, has so far not been conducted. The recent advancements in publishing the site of Karnak justify not only a renewal of the analysis of the larger smiting scenes of foreigners, but now more than ever it is possible to track the captions that border scenes and gateways, a feat that has been undertaken in the context of the Theban Tombs for decades. These advancements, together with increasing scholarly interest in the role of foreigners, their artistic representations, and the forging of identity against the “other”, creates an opportunity to illuminate how foreigners are referred to within the space of the state temple and its implications for our understanding of Egyptian identity.

¹⁰⁶ Laura Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos: A Study in Cultural Memory and Identity* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2015).

¹⁰⁷ Mu-chou Poo, *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China* (Albany, 2005); Mark D. Janzen, *The Iconography of Humiliation: The Depiction and Treatment of Bound Foreigners in New Kingdom Egypt* (PhD Thesis: University of Memphis, 2013); Shih-Wei Hsu, “Captured, Defeated, Tied and Fallen: Images of Enemies in Ancient Egypt”, *GM* 252 (2017), 71-87; Javier Giménez, “Integration of Foreigners in Egypt: The Relief of Amenhotep II Shooting Arrows at a Copper Ingot and Related Scenes”, *JEA* 10 (2017), 109-123.

Chapter 3

Methodology

“The scientific study of memory is not and should not be restricted to the examination of processes occurring within the brain.”
Sutton et. al, 2010.¹

The review of the literature discussed in Chapter 2 reaffirms the need for new methodologies to approach the study of representations of foreigners at Karnak. This study draws on the increasing trend of applying categories of contrast, namely, *topos* and *mimesis*, together with Assmann’s concept of cultural memory and identity, in the analysis of art, texts, and symbols. The fundamentals of the method used for this research are outlined in this chapter, of which there are two distinct parts. The first phase of the research (Section 3.1) is focused on the collection of a corpus of texts and images and its examination through traditional methods of analysis. The foreigner types for the examination of the images are detailed in Section 3.2. The second phase (Section 3.3) concentrates on the interpretation of the data as sources of information for the concretion of Egyptian identity within the concept of cultural memory.

3.1 Phase One: Data Collection and Analysis

3.1.1 Representations of Foreigners as a Case Study for the Concretion of Egyptian Identity

This study hinges on the idea that contrast is an effective tool for artists and authors to create and forge a sense of identity.² Identity, as understood in this research, is the perception of one’s self in relation to the wider society, including concepts of ethnicity, physical appearance, status, and the principles and values of the group that can forge a sense of belonging.³ It represents a collective self-consciousness that can be forged and presented through a wide range of mediums and mechanisms by the delineation of shared characteristics.⁴ The values that can

¹ John Sutton, Celia B. Harris, Paul G. Keil, and Amanda J. Barnier, “The Psychology of Memory, Extended Cognition, and Socially Distributed Remembering”, *Phenom Cogn Sci* 9:4 (2010), 529.

² David O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’”, in J. Tait (ed.), *“Never Had the Like Occurred”: Egypt’s View of Its Past* (London, 2003), 155.

³ Wendrich, “Identity and Personhood”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 209; Julian Thomas, *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretive Archaeology* (London and New York, 1996), 46; O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’”, *“Never Had the Like Occurred”*, 155.

⁴ Erich S. Gruen, “Introduction”, in E. S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2011), 1; Dominique Valbelle, “La notion d’identité dans l’Égypte pharaonique”, *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, vol. II (Turin, 1993), 551-556.

forge a particular sense of identity are often controlled and contrasted off the dissimilar, namely, the “other”, resulting in distortion and dichotomising attitudes between those who belong and those who do not.⁵ This concept of contrast is of particular importance within the formation of cultural memory and identity, and by selecting representations of foreign peoples, this research is aimed at facilitating reflection on the effect of the dissimilarities and comparisons evoked in these sources for the concretion of Egyptian identity.⁶

3.1.2 Research Aims and Selection of Data

As discussed in Chapter 1.2, this research aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the representations of foreigners, in art, textual, and symbolic sources, at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak develop during the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III?
2. What does the Karnak Temple reveal about Egyptian identity?
3. To what extent was the Karnak Temple capable of disseminating this information?

Accordingly, the first phase of this project involves the collection of data. The sources have been selected according to specific criteria to ensure the corpus will be able to answer the above research questions:

1. These sources originate from the precinct of Amun-Re at Karnak. The Karnak Temple has been selected as a case study in order to allow for a comprehensive contextual examination of representations of foreigners. This site has been chosen because it was the state temple of Egypt and used consistently over hundreds of years. Accordingly, it is in a unique position in that it can be used as a gauge to understand various events and changes in ideology.
2. The sources date from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This period has been selected to determine the effect of the Hyksos Period on contemporary and later portrayals of foreigners. A later start date has also been chosen as there is a dearth of sources available for the Middle

⁵ Gruen, “Introduction”, *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 1; O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’”, “*Never Had the Like Occurred*”, 164; Smith, “Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt”, *JEH* 11 (2018), 115-116. See also Eleanor Rosch, “Principles of Categorization”, in E. Rosch and B. Lloyd (eds), *Cognition and Categorization* (Hillsdale, 1978), 28-49.

⁶ Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-131.

Kingdom temple (see Chapter 4.1).⁷ The study finishes with the reign of Thutmose III as his reign marks a high point of imperialistic attitudes towards foreign lands in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

3. The sources, whether textual, artistic, or symbolic, mention, or represent foreigners and their products, which in turn can provide evidence for the ancient Egyptians' perceptions of these groups.

The corpus was initially compiled from reference works, specifically, through Porter and Moss, *Volume II: Theban Temples*, as well as the various publications of Karnak, to determine any further representations of foreigners.⁸ This involved cataloguing the monuments, inscriptions, scenes, statues, and stele of each king in the period covered, and determining whether they adhered to the above criteria. Significant works consulted include Sethe's and Helck's *Urkunden IV* and the multi-volume series *Les Cahiers de Karnak* (1968-), together with various publications on statues.⁹ The *Système d'indexation des textes hiéroglyphiques* (SITH) website was also an essential resource for the compilation of data.¹⁰

After the completion of the data collection, fieldwork was conducted on-site at Karnak to determine the architectural setting of each of the texts in the corpus, as well as the measurement of some scenes.¹¹ The fieldwork was undertaken from the 5 December 2016 to 19 December 2016, with a number of days spent on-site studying various texts and scenes in situ. Select parts of the temple were photographed, where accessible, to account for later additions to the corpus. Each photograph was carefully labelled with notes on-site, with assistance from Macquarie University undergraduate students, to ensure accuracy regarding location.¹²

⁷ In retrospect, it would have been advantageous to include the Middle Kingdom after Gabolde's 2018 work on the origins of the temple. See Chapter 13.3. Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê* (2018).

⁸ Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Volume II: Theban Temples*, Second Edition (Oxford, 1972).

⁹ Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*, Second Edition (Leipzig, 1927-1930); Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, III, Les grandes époques. La statuaire* (Paris, 1958); Roland Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout: Portrait royal et politique sous la 18e dynastie* (Bruxelles, 1979); Ingegerd Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty* (Stockholm, 1984); Matthias Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, vol. I: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, 1996); Dimitri Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique* (Liège, 1998).

¹⁰ SITH website, available from <<http://sith.huma-num.fr/>>. Last accessed 1/2019. Anything uploaded after 20/01/2019 has not been included.

¹¹ However, some sources were added to the database at a later point and, in turn, were not able to be recorded during the fieldwork phrase. It should be noted that the trip was also cut short by 2 weeks due to the bombings in Cairo on 11 December 2016, rendering it impossible to go through the various block yards at Karnak to find new sources.

¹² Specifically, I would like to thank Laura Harris, Emily Corbin, Ilana Chaffey, and Marianna Peneva who were also part of the fieldwork team of the Macquarie Theban Tombs Project.

3.1.3 Data Analysis

As this study incorporates a range of text types, the analysis of the data was flexible. In general, the methodologies adopted for phase one of the study was based on traditional approaches.

1. The textual sources were transliterated and translated. They were then studied through traditional means of textual analysis which enabled a close reading of the text, including grammatical forms (passive, active, subject, object), semantics (meaning of words, term pairings),¹³ and literary analysis (themes, function, literary devices).¹⁴ This allowed for the identification of common terminology used in reference to foreigners and Egyptians. The overall aim was to study how meaning was achieved through the language.
2. The pictorial sources were studied through traditional art historical methods. This step focuses on the icons used, the typology, the layout, (relative) size of the figures through the concept of hierarchical proportion, use of layering, and the postures for both Egyptians and foreigners.¹⁵ The aim was to create a typology of features that the Egyptians associated with foreign groups and with themselves at various periods. Each foreign group was identified through specific iconographical characteristics or how the figures were described in any associated inscriptions (see Section 3.2).

During and after the examination of the sources, each text was placed within its specific architectural setting, where possible, to determine patterns of distribution. This was designed to assist in answering the third research question, namely if it was possible for the temple to contribute to ideas of Egyptian identity. Accordingly, it is crucial to consider spatial distribution in order to judge accessibility to the texts in ancient times, which has ramifications for when reflecting on the potential audience. The architectural setting within various phases of the temple was accomplished from both the data compiled on-site, various publications,

¹³ John I. Saeed, *Semantics*, Fourth Edition (Malden, 2016).

¹⁴ Donald B. Redford, "The Writing of History of Ancient Egypt", in Z. Hawass and L. P. Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 2003), 1-11; Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Third Edition (Toronto, 2009); Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (New York, 1982).

¹⁵ Heinrich Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, in E. Brunner-Traut (ed.), trans. J. Baines, Fourth Edition (Oxford, 2002); Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen* (2001); G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976); Helene J. Kantor, "Narration in Egyptian Art", *AJA* 61:1 (1957), 44-54; Philippe Derchain, "Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representations of Private Life", *RAIN* 15 (1976), 7-10; John Elsner, "Significant Details: Systems, Certainties and the Art-Historian as Detective", *Antiquity* 64 (1990), 950-952; Moshe Bar, "Visual Objects in Context", *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 5 (2004), 617-629.

Porter and Moss, the SITH website, and UCLA's *Digital Karnak*.¹⁶

Each chapter has a map and a three-dimensional rendering of the temple to assist in demonstrating how each text was distributed throughout the site at different periods. These maps are often redrawn after Burgos and Larché and combined with maps by Carlotti and Gabolde.¹⁷ This has been accomplished in order to provide a more holistic understanding of the temple with smaller, outlying buildings and the southern processional way, which are excluded in the Burgos and Larché renderings. These images are not designed to be accurate to-scale reconstructions, to which the reader is directed to the archaeological reports, but to provide an idea of how the temple may have looked at specific periods, and as such, to illustrate a *synchronic* and a *diachronic* notion of spatial distribution and of the temple itself as the thesis progresses (see also Plates I-VI). Further, these spatial distribution maps have adopted a colour coded scheme to demonstrate different text types. They are marked as blocks on the map in order to reflect *size*, rather than as dots to create “clusters”.¹⁸

3.2 Overview of Stereotypical Representations of Foreigners

Within stereotypical iconographic representations of foreigners, there are specific phenotypes utilised to articulate particular foreign groups and mark their “otherness”.¹⁹ However, foreigners can be depicted with a mixture of attributes from different ethnic groups. Wachsmann described this as “hybridism”, which is a “phenomenon in Egyptian art by which subjects, be they human figures, objects or even entire scenes, were composed by uniting elements originally belonging to two or more separate entities”.²⁰ Accordingly, it is possible to find images of Levantines adorned in the costume of the Keftiu and Nubians attired in traditional Egyptian clothing. This section aims to provide the basic details that articulate one ethnic group over another as identified in previous studies, whose observations have been derived from Theban Tombs, monuments, and artefacts dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁶ SITH website, <<http://sith.huma-num.fr/>>; Digital Karnak, available from: <<http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

¹⁷ Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La chapelle rouge d'Hatshepsout*, Volume II (Paris, 2008), pls. 334-342; Jean-François Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale* (Paris, 2001), pl. 1.

¹⁸ This technique was proven effective by McCarthy in her study of spatial distribution in the temples of Ramesses II. McCarthy, “The Function of ‘Emblematic’ Scenes”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 59-74.

¹⁹ Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 13.

²⁰ Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 4.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 3.1 A group of captive foreigners. Left to right: A southern Levantine (Bedouin), a Nubian, a Tjehenu (Westerner), and a Nubian from the Tomb of Anen (TT 120). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Facsimile by Nina de Garis Davies. Accession Number: 33.8.8.

3.2.1 Nubians

Representations of Nubians in the Eighteenth Dynasty have darker shades of skin, from black to brown, which can be tinged with shades of red (Fig. 3.1).²¹ They have short black coiffures, sometimes with braiding detail and occasionally their hair is shaved so that it starts middle of the head.²² The facial features of Nubians are distinctive through the application of short noses, high cheekbones, pronounced ala, nasolabial furrows, clean-shaven faces, and prominent suborbital ridges (Fig. 3.3).²³ Items of personal adornment can include long straight feathers, hooped earrings, usually made of bone, ivory, or even gold, short two- to three-pronged necklaces, and thick cuffs around the wrists (Fig. 3.2).²⁴

Nubian costumes are typically short plain kilts, occasionally with red bands, though in the Theban Tombs they are also depicted wearing loincloths in cow and cheetah skins (Figs. 3.4).²⁵ Women are portrayed with short to long hair, and they are either presented in long robes or

²¹ Helck, "Fremdvölkerdarstellung", *LÄ* II, 317; Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Robert Steven Bianchi, *Daily Life of the Nubians* (Westport and London, 2004), 127.

²² Nina de Garis Davies and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmosē, and Another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (London, 1933), pl. XLIII; Nina de Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. 2 (Chicago, 1936), pl. LVIII; Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negeren in Ägypten*, 4; Helck, "Fremdvölkerdarstellung", *LÄ* II, 317; Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Bianchi, *Daily Life of the Nubians*, 128.

²³ H. Sourouzzian and R. Stadelmann, "Recent Discoveries and new Southern Place Names at the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III, Kom el-Hettân", *Sudan & Nubia* 9 (2005), 78, pl. 6; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 20.

²⁴ In regard to the feathers, this is referred to in the literature as one belonging to an "ostrich", though it is more straight than rounded at the top. Nina de Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy: Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun* (No. 40) (London, 1926), pl. XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX; Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 21-22.

²⁵ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes* (North Stratford, 1944), pl. XVII, XIX, XX; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 20.

with exposed pendulous breasts paired with long skirts that can be pleated or scalloped (TT40, TT 78).²⁶

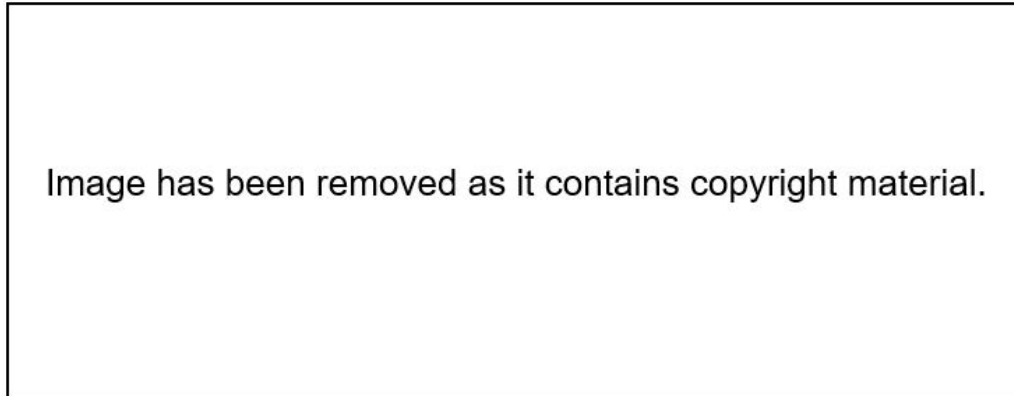


Figure 3.2 A Nubian princess in the Tomb of Huy (TT40). Davies and Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Paintings, vol. 2, pl. LXXXI.

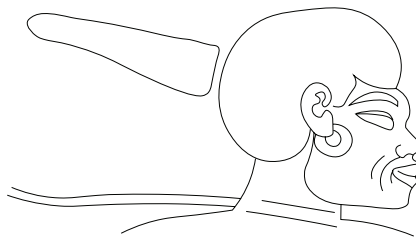


Figure 3.3 A close up of a Nubian name ring on the colossus of Amenhotep III at his mortuary temple. Drawing by Peirce after Sourouzzian and Stadelmann (2005), pl. XL.

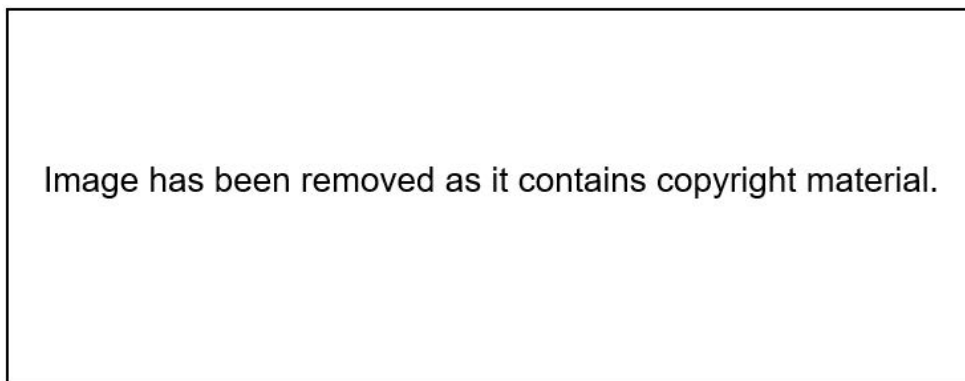


Figure 3.4 The Nubian-type of foreigner. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' (TT100), pl. XIX.

²⁶ Nina de Garis Davies and Alan Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1936), pl. XXXIX; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 22.

3.2.2 Puntites

The representations of Puntites are the perfect example of what Wachsmann has called “hybridism” in action, where they can be found represented with traits deriving from Nubians, the Levantines, and Egyptians.²⁷ In the examples from Theban Tombs where paint survives, the figures have a skin-tone of a “dark-purplish red colour”.²⁸ Males often have a variety of coiffures, including short hair (Fig. 3.5), long hair with small curls indicated and tied back with a fillet (Figs. 3.5 and 3.6), or a rounded Nubian-style hair cut (Fig. 3.6).²⁹

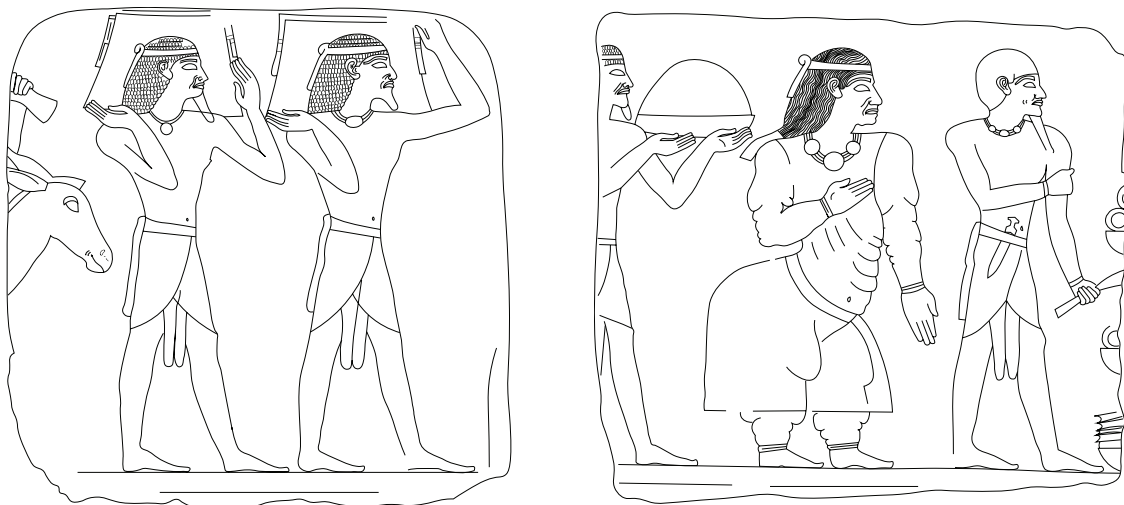


Figure 3.5 Puntites represented at Deir el-Bahari. Drawing by Peirce after Cairo CG 89661.

Puntite men can be represented clean-shaven or with facial hair; the beards can be depicted long and twisted or squared (Fig. 3.6).³⁰ The Punt scenes from Deir el-Bahari show straight lines along the cheekbones of the faces, which is probably a device to indicate high cheekbones together with nasolabial furrows and a downward turn of the mouth (Fig. 3.5).³¹ In regards to clothing, they are found wearing kilts which drop to a point between the legs (Figs. 3.5-3.6) or wrap-around robes (as seen in TT 143).³² Notable accessories are necklaces with circular amulets and cuffs around the wrist (Fig. 3.5). Puntite women could be represented with long

²⁷ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 30.

²⁸ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 30.

²⁹ Édouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. Volume III: *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform* (London, 1898), pl. LXIX, LXXIV, LXXVI; Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. XVII; Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negern in Ägypten*, 6; Nicholas B. Millet, “A Fragment of the Hatshepsut Punt Relief”, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 55-57; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 30.

³⁰ Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. XVII; Philippe Martinez, “Une expédition pacifique au lointain pays de Pount”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 84-93; Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negern in Ägypten*, 6; Helck, “Fremdvölkerdarstellung”, *LÄ II*, 317; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 30.

³¹ Millet, “A Fragment of the Hatshepsut Punt Relief”, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 56.

³² Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē*, pl. XVII; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 30-31.

hair tied back with a fillet, a kilt with a tunic, together with items of personal adornment, such as bands around the ankles and wrists, and necklaces with circular amulets (Fig. 3.5).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 3.6 The Punt-type of foreigner. In this example, they are found with southern Levantine hairstyles, Nubian hairstyles, and Keftiu-type clothing. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' (TT 100)*, pl. XVII.

3.2.3 The Tjehenu (Westerners)³³

Representations of Westerners, usually termed “Libyans” in the literature, are rarely encountered in the Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁴ Representations of the Tjehenu, a particular tribe of the West, as seen in TT 120 (Fig. 3.1) and on the footstools of Tutankhamun (e.g. Cairo JE 62048; Fig. 3.7), are distinctive. They have short curled hair, a fringe, a side-lock, pointed beards, the ostrich feather/s attached to their hair, and aquiline noses. The Tjehenu are generally adorned with a penis/phallus sheath or robe and painted with fair skin that can be yellow or cream (Fig. 3.1).³⁵ Apart from the side-locks, the most distinctive feature of the Tjehenu is the ostrich feather, a symbol linked to the Goddess of the West and hunting.³⁶

³³ It is one of the aims of this thesis to disassociate ancient foreign peoples from the modern political names. For this reason, the Libyans are called Tjehenu as the term for Meshwesh, for example, does not appear until the reign of Amenhotep III. G. A. Wainwright, “The Meshwesh”, *JEA* 48 (1962), 99. This thesis has also avoided using Booth’s division of the three Libyan tribes, as they were found to be contradictory; for example, what she describes as a “Libu” Libyan can actually be found to be labelled as a “Tjehenu” Libyan in TT 120; see above Fig. 3.1. Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9-10.

³⁴ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 26-27.

³⁵ Wainwright, “The Meshwesh”, *JEA* 48 (1962), 92; Marianne Eaton-Krauss, *Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 2008), 215, pl. LXV.

³⁶ Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, “Catalog No. 21: Plaque Showing a Falcon”, in R. Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 2012), 173; Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, “Catalog No. 12: Fowling Throw Stick”, in R. Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 2012), 150; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 25-26.

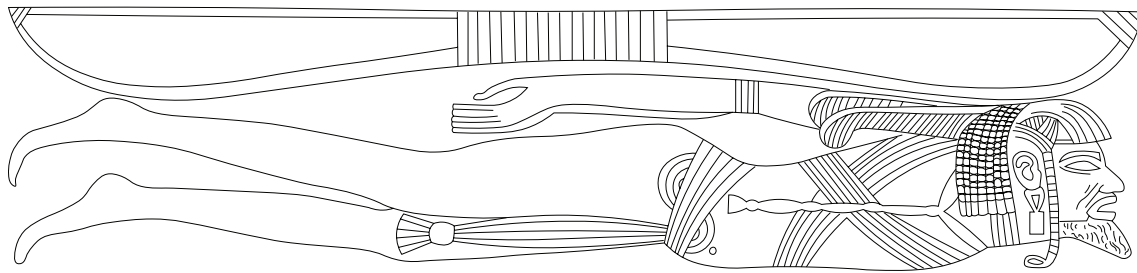


Figure 3.7 A Tjehenu-type of foreigner as represented on a footstool of Tutankhamun. Drawing by Peirce after Cairo JE 62048. Eaton-Krauss (2008), 215, pl. LXV.

3.2.4 Asiatics

3.2.4.1 Southern Levantines

Representations of the southern Levantine Asiatic, associated with Canaan, are the most commonly found in ancient Egypt.³⁷ They are depicted with fair skin (white or yellow), long black hair that reaches to or brushes over the shoulder, fillets, and full, pointed beards (Fig. 3.8).³⁸ They generally have large noses, either straight or aquiline, and pronounced nasolabial furrows (Fig. 3.9).³⁹ Occasionally, the men are depicted with necklaces with large circular elements.⁴⁰ In regards to attire, southern Levantines typically wear a standard kilt, although they can also be depicted in long robes with blue and red decorative bands (Figs. 3.8-3.9).⁴¹

³⁷ Though Saretta argues the *ʿm.w* should not be translated as “Asiatic”, her preferred translations of “Canaanite”, “Syria”, and “Palestine” have, unfortunately, modern socio-political connotations. Accordingly, all northerners are “Asiatic”, which are then differentiated into southern Levantine and northern Levantine. Helck, “Fremdvölkerdarstellung”, *LÄ* II, 316; Redford, *ATP* 2, 21; Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 12-13.

³⁸ Davies and Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* 1, pl. XLII; Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Redford, *ATP* 2, 20; Johnson, *An Asiatic Battle Scene*, 60.

³⁹ Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9.

⁴⁰ These necklaces are seen on representations of southern Levantine name rings at Karnak, around the masonry of Obelisk E. See PM II², 83 (213); Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV (17-22)* (Berlin, 1955), 1336 (385); Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22* (Berlin, 1961), 47-48 (385); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 55, pl. 89; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 111-112 (fig. 37); Mariette, *Karnak*, 54, pl. 27 (a); Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 40 (23); Simons, *Handbook*, 39-40 (iii), 125; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak* (London, 1999), pl. 116; Barguet, *Temple*, 101-102; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 8015; François Larché, “Nouvelles observations sur les monuments du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire dans la zone centrale du temple d’Amon”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 458-463, pl. LIX; Luc Gabolde, “Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation”, *Karnak* 14 (2013), 393-395; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 25.

⁴¹ Redford, *ATP* 2, 21.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 3.8 A mix of Levantines, with the shaven heads representing northern Levantines and the long hair of southern Levantines as found in TT 63. Davies and Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, vol. 1 (1936), pl. XLII.

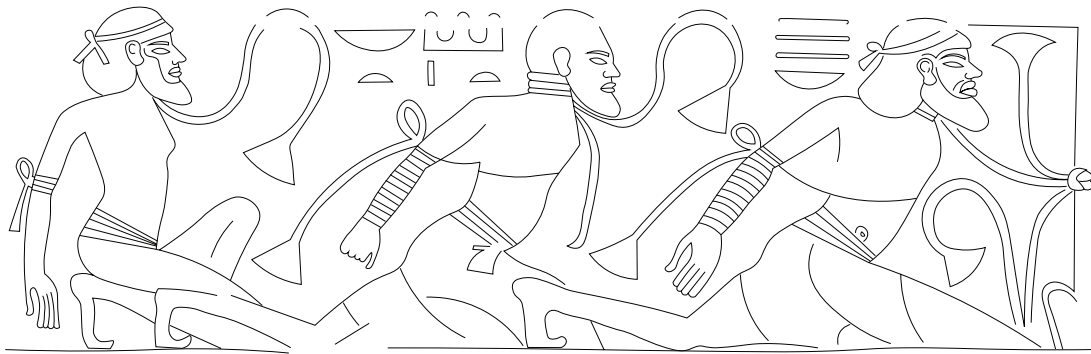


Figure 3.9 Types of Asiatics. Left to right: southern Levantine, northern Levantine, and southern Levantine. Drawing by Peirce after Cairo JE 62048. Eaton-Krauss (2008), 215, pl. LXV.

3.2.4.2 Northern Levantines⁴²

Representations of northern Levantines, associated with modern-day Syria, are fair skinned in artistic representations, usually in shades of white or yellow.⁴³ Northern Levantine men are often represented with close-cropped or shaved hairstyles, with or without a skull-cap, full beards, aquiline noses, and nasolabial furrows.⁴⁴ They are generally attired in kilts with a cape (Fig. 3.9) or long-sleeved robes (TT 63, Fig. 3.8) which reach from the neck to the mid-calf or

⁴² It is important to note that representations of northern Levantines are often confused with southern Levantines. For example, Booth describes northern Levantines (called “Syrians”) as having long black hair, whilst Redford identifies the northern Asiatic group with shaved hairstyles. Redford has, however, studied the development of the costumes and hairstyles in relation to this group in greater detail, which is why the identification between the southern Levantines and northern Levantines for this thesis is based on Redford. Anthony takes another view by grouping both northern Levantines and southern Levantines into one large group as “Levantines”. Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Redford, *ATP 2*, 20-22; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 23-26.

⁴³ Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 41.

⁴⁴ Redford, *ATP 2*, 21; Johnson, *An Asiatic Battle Scene*, 60.

to the ankle.⁴⁵ These robes can be decorated with red and blue borders or seams.⁴⁶ Like the representations of people from the southern Levant, northern Levantine men can also be depicted with large circular necklaces as items of personal adornment.⁴⁷

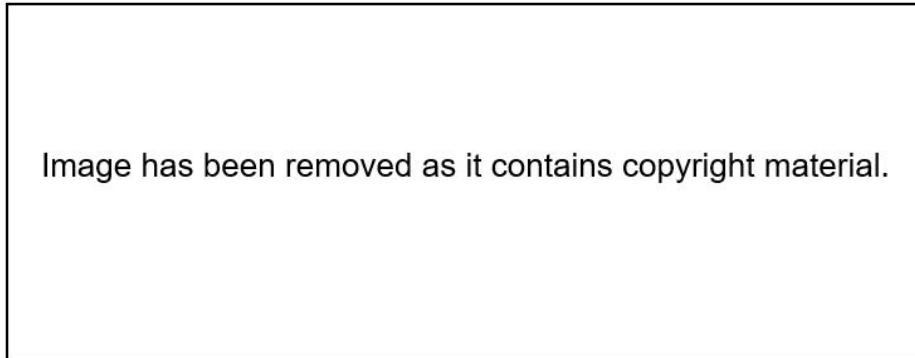


Figure 3.10 Northern Levantine foreigners in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131). Davies (1926), fig. 4.

Northern Levantine women are adorned in distinctive short-sleeved three-tiered dresses that are tied with a sash around the waist.⁴⁸ This dress, like the garments of their male counterparts, is decorated with red and blue bands and it is occasionally paired with a cape.⁴⁹ Regarding coiffures, the women can be depicted with long, red hair (Fig. 3.10, TT 131), or they are equipped with an elongated conical headdress.⁵⁰

3.2.5 The Hanebu

People from the further north-east, the Hanebu, a region associated with the Upper Euphrates and later with the Aegean islands to the north-west of the Levant, are represented with conventional Levantine characteristics.⁵¹ In groups, they are found with both the long hairstyles of the southern Levantines and the shaved heads of the northern Levantines, together with

⁴⁵ Redford, *ATP* 2, 21; Johnson, *An Asiatic Battle Scene*, 60.

⁴⁶ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 23-24; Pritchard, "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs", *BASOR* 122 (1951), 40.

⁴⁷ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 25.

⁴⁸ Norman de Garis Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition: The Graphic Work of the Expedition", *BMMA* 21:3-2 (1926), fig. 4; Redford, *ATP* 2, 18; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 25-26.

⁴⁹ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 25-26.

⁵⁰ Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition", *BMMA* 21:3-2 (1926), fig.4; Redford, *ATP* 2, 18; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 25-26.

⁵¹ Jean Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout", *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 135, 154; Jean Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout (suite)", *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 119 (fig. 2), 168 (fig. 3).

beards (Fig. 3.11).⁵² The women have long hair with fillets and a long curl in the Keftiu manner. The costume of the Hanebu is noteworthy, with a long wrap-around kilt with wide bands as decorations.⁵³ Some also have capes over their shoulders, in the northern Levantine style. Other examples depict the Hanebu with distinctive vests that are tight around the waist before flaring out over the hips (Fig. 3.11, left).⁵⁴ Overall, the representations of the Hanebu suggest that their ethnic appearance was hybridised with the northern and southern Levantine groups.



Figure 3.11 The Hanebu-type of foreigner as depicted on the walls of the Fourth Court at Karnak. Drawing by Peirce after Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 8800.

3.2.6 The Keftiu

Depictions of the Keftiu, a people commonly associated with the geographical area of the Aegean, are distinguished by brown to red skin.⁵⁵ They are usually represented with clean-shaven faces, aquiline and hooked noses, and often very long coiffures with curled strands of hair that fall down the back or the chest.⁵⁶ In regards to clothing, a mix is represented, from loincloths with belts and codpieces or embroidered kilts which drop to a point between the legs (see Fig. 3.12).⁵⁷ As shown by Vercoutter, these costumes are elaborate, with decorative bands replete with motifs and distinctive footwear that can turn up at the toe.⁵⁸

⁵² PM II², 183 (552); Helck, *Urk.* IV, 2126-7 (1, 2) (828); Helck, *Übersetzung*, 409 (828); Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 8800; Barguet, *Temple*, 251, pl. XXXVII (B), Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 168 (fig. 3); Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, vol. VI (Warminster, 1995), 71 (2, 3) (828); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 408.

⁵³ Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 168 (fig. 3).

⁵⁴ Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 168 (fig. 3).

⁵⁵ Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 41.

⁵⁶ Helck, “Fremdvölkerdarstellung”, *LÄ* II, 317; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 41-42, 93-94.

⁵⁷ Helck, “Fremdvölkerdarstellung”, *LÄ* II, 317; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 43-44.


⁵⁸ Vercoutter, *L’Égypte*, pl. XXXII; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 27.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 3.12 The Keftiu-type of foreigner. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' (TT 100)*, pl. XIX.

3.2.7 The Nine Bows

The Nine Bows, a metaphor representing the “many” and immediate enemies of Egypt, usually foreigners, can be referred to as *psd.t pd.wt* in texts or engraved as nine composite bows on the dais of a throne, physically and literally under the king’s feet (Fig. 3.13).⁵⁹ The “traditional” list of the Nine Bows appeared in the reign of Amenhotep III, which consists of the following: *H3.w-nb.w* (Hanebu), *Š3t* (Upper Nubia), *T3-šmꜥ.w* (Upper Egypt), *Sh.t-i3m* (Oasis west of the Delta), *T3-mh.w* (Lower Egypt), *Pd.tyw-šw* (Bowmen of the Feather, associated with the Red Sea), *Thnw* (Westerners), *Twn.tyw-St.tyw* (Tribesmen), and *Mn.tyw-Stt* (Bedouins).⁶⁰

The composite bows themselves would have been formed in reality of horn, with the ends notably fixed in an arc shape with the wooden centre wrapped to secure the two bows together.⁶¹ These elements are represented in the symbol Gardiner T10: . When the representation of nine such bows is used on statuary, it is an effective statement of the Egyptian ruler crushing weapons and symbolically dominating the foreign lands that the bows represent and actively suppressing their chaotic influence.⁶² The use of weapons to symbolise these people thus renders their forces impotent as by standing on them, they are effectively

⁵⁹ Dietrich Wildung, “Neunbogen”, *LÄ IV* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 472-473; Eric Uphill, “The Nine Bows”, *JEOL* 19 (1967), 393-420; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 37; Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs*, 43-52.

⁶⁰ Uphill, “The Nine Bows”, *JEOL* 19 (1967), 395; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 39; Kevin A. Wilson, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine* (PhD Thesis: John Hopkins University, 2001), 150-153; Kevin A. Wilson, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine* (Baltimore, 2005), 102; Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs*, 47.

⁶¹ Walther Wolf *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 14-15, 27; Alan H. Gardiner, *Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, Third Edition (Oxford, 1957), 511; Wildung, “Neunbogen”, *LÄ IV*, 472-473; Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs*, 47.

⁶² Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs*, 47; Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 37.

powerless. In this study, to distinguish between the stand-alone phrase, *psd.t pd.wt* and the motif of nine composite bows engraved beneath the feet of the king, the Nine Bows in upper case is used for the phrase and lower case for the motif.

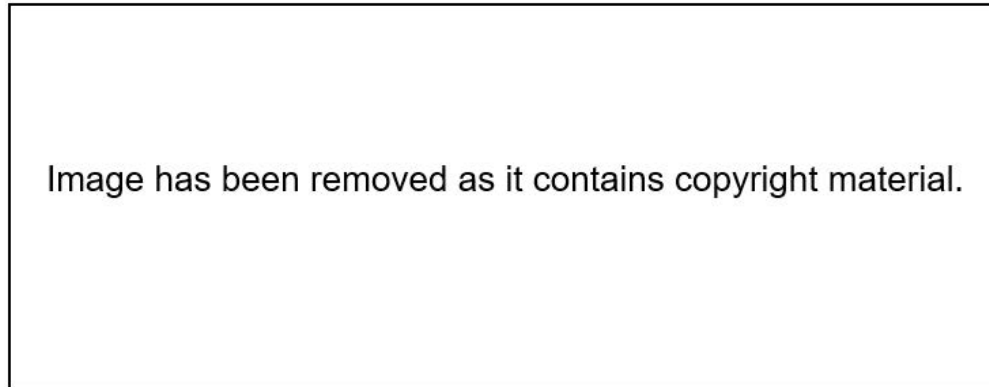


Figure 3.13 Five of the nine bows depicted under the left foot of the king on Cairo JE 39258. Karnak Cachette website.

3.3 Phase Two: Interpretation of the Data through the Lens of Memory Studies

The second phase of the research involves studying the compiled data through the lens of Memory Studies. This approach understands that recollections or memories of the past by individuals and groups are not verisimilitude accounts, but rather, the result of the interactions between the memory maker, the object, and the memory consumer.⁶³ Memory Studies offers a similar approach to *Sitz im Leben*, namely by setting a text within its setting in life at the time it was created, though as a point of difference Memory Studies considers the effect of the *past* and in its interaction with the *present* of a text, not just the present. Furthermore, this approach extracts cognitive and cultural information to illuminate the formation of group identity.⁶⁴

3.3.1 Memory Studies: A Summary of Previous Developments

Memory Studies has its origins in the late nineteenth century in the diverging fields of philosophy, sociology, and psychoanalysis. Nietzsche first introduced the study of memory to the humanities in the late nineteenth century, when it became central to his philosophical work.⁶⁵ Though more focused on morality, the work marks a shift between understanding

⁶³ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197.

⁶⁴ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-130.

⁶⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, in K. Ansell-Pearson (ed.) and trans. C. Diethe (New York, 2006).

memory as a mere biological phenomenon to something more complicated, rooted in experience, morality, and philosophy. Followers of Nietzsche expanded the application of the concept of memory even further to the field of psychoanalysis (Freud, 1895, 1910, 1939; Bergson, 1896).⁶⁶

In the 1930s, Memory Studies underwent a decisive shift with the work of Maurice Halbwachs, a French sociologist.⁶⁷ His work irrevocably shaped subsequent studies on memory by adding to it the dimension of the collective, social, and subjective. Halbwachs' work is foundational for Memory Studies and is often used as the principal theoretical reference point.⁶⁸ As a student of Durkheim, Halbwachs understood and connected memory with sociology, claiming that the group, such as the family, perpetuates and shapes how the individual remembers an event from their past.⁶⁹ As a consequence, it can be difficult to access a purely "individual" memory, as it is always influenced to some degree by the social group.⁷⁰ However, Halbwachs' Durkheimian work is famously anti-individualistic, as he denies that the individual has any agency or influence in the creation of memory, as to him, memory is all socially determined.⁷¹

These problems inherent in Halbwachs' work were addressed by Assmann, who enhanced Halbwachs' theory of "collective memory" by adding to it the dimension of "culture" and "tradition".⁷² Assmann still adheres to Halbwachs' notion that memory is socially and materially formed, but he goes a step further to articulate two types of memory, specifically, "communicative memory" and "cultural memory".⁷³ Assmann defines "communicative memory" as the daily, everyday memories that are communicated between people.⁷⁴ It is generally disorganised, non-institutional, focused on the individual, and limited temporally, in

⁶⁶ Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, in J. H. Muirhead (ed.) and trans. N. M. Paul and W. S. Palmer (London and New York, 1929); Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*, trans. J. Strachey (ed.) (New York, 1955); Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. K. Jones (Letchworth, 1939); Sigmund Freud, "Leonardo Da Vinci and A Memory of His Childhood", in P. Gay (ed.), *The Freud Reader* (New York and London, 1989), 456.

⁶⁷ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. A. Coser (ed.) (London, 1992); Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 125; G r me Truc, "Memory of Places and Places of Memory: for a Halbwachsian Socio-Ethnography of Collective Memory", *ISSJ* 62:203-204 (2011), 148.

⁶⁸ Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 181.

⁶⁹ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 47-51; Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 181.

⁷⁰ Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. R. Livingstone (Stanford, 2006), 3.

⁷¹ Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 181.

⁷² Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1.

⁷³ Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 8; Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory", in A. Erll and A. N nning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin and New York, 2008), 110.

⁷⁴ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 126.

that it does not extend more than 100 years into the past.⁷⁵ “Cultural memory”, on the other hand, is organised and involves a body of material culture that is reused and communicated for an indefinite period of time, and it is generally utilised to convey the *identity* of the larger group.⁷⁶ These texts about events and ideas, due to their resonating effect, have a constant relevance to society and are continually reconstructed to ensure that their content is preserved.⁷⁷

Apart from memory being sustained by individuals, societies, and cultural groups, Pierre Nora (1989) argues “memory” also endures in *les lieux de mémoire*, in other words, specific places, realms, and monuments act as the “real” and tangible environments of memory.⁷⁸ Nora was heavily influenced by the work of Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (1966).⁷⁹ Yates identified techniques of memorisation used by the Greeks and other ancient cultures up until the Enlightenment, including visualising something as an image or a place so that it can be recalled with ease.⁸⁰ By comprehending the processes behind memory production, it allowed Nora to work backwards to create an understanding of memory more in line with mnemonic methods when it comes to artificial memory: namely those events and texts that are consciously and deliberately remembered.⁸¹ If the processes of memory are understood, then memories of the past can be built and manipulated, including the selecting and the shaping of the memory itself. Despite these innovative aspects of Nora’s approach, his theory lacks a precise conceptual and methodological basis for it to be applied to a range of sources from different periods.

Recent work in the fields of cognitive science, philosophy, and psychology has advanced the awareness of how memory functions, which has significant ramifications for how memory is studied in the humanities. These studies are essential for our understanding of how individuals remember on a cognitive level, namely, *internally*. Conway’s (2005) so-called “Self-Memory System” (SMS) has had a significant impact on how and why we remember on a cognitive level.⁸² The SMS conceptual framework argues that the self predominantly remembers and selects aspects of the past according to their goals.⁸³ The individual will have memories that

⁷⁵ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-127; Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, *Cultural Memory Studies*, 111.

⁷⁶ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, *Cultural Memory Studies*, 117.

⁷⁷ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

⁷⁸ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24; Liliane Weissberg, “Introduction”, in D. Ben-Amos and L. Weissberg (eds), *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity* (Detroit, 1999), 17.

⁷⁹ Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (New York, 1966), 1-4.

⁸⁰ Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 1-4.

⁸¹ Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 6; Kourken Michaelian, “Is External Memory Memory? Biological Memory and Extended Mind”, *Consciousness and Cognition* 21 (2012), 1154-1165.

⁸² Martin A. Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *JML* 53 (2005), 594-628.

⁸³ Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *JML* 53 (2005), 594-628.

are coherent with their own ideas of their self, and if not, these *memories are altered* to align with current goals.⁸⁴ The most important observation to be made is that memories can be changed and transformed at any time through conscious and subconscious manipulation on the part of the individual and the group.

3.3.2 Cultural Memory and Identity

Assmann's theory of *cultural memory* ("das kulturelle Gedächtnis") is conceptually interesting because it has the added dimension of time, place, and with regard to the former, scale. As stated above (Section 3.3.1), cultural memory is organised and involves a body of material culture that is frequently reused.⁸⁵ Most significantly, within the context of the current study, cultural memory also encompasses the shared values of a group through symbols and icons that clarify its collective identity and is often mediated by an *institution*.⁸⁶ In this context, the concepts of tradition and canon are essential as it links the present with the past.⁸⁷ Canonised documents, particularly *monumental inscriptions* on temple walls that can be seen as a technique of *storing* memory, encapsulate the traditions of a group, and by subscribing to this canon, the individual and the wider group, are advocating a particular definition of *identity*.⁸⁸ As argued by Assmann, these canonised documents "must be linked to a set of incontrovertible values towards which people must aspire".⁸⁹ These values, such as justice and truth, power and dominance, are particularly expressed through the contrast of opposites, such as Egyptians and *non-Egyptians*.⁹⁰ This phenomenon has been called by Assmann as "the concretion of identity".⁹¹ As a consequence, the established canonised sources at Karnak have arguably stored memory and can thus be used as a tool to encapsulate and reify the values that define the identity of the collective group, which is often presented through diametrical *opposites*.

3.3.3 The Conceptual Hermeneutical Triangle

Though Memory Studies have spiked in recent years, there has been no comprehensive methodological framework developed by the pioneers of this field, including Nora and

⁸⁴ Conway, "Memory and the Self", *JML* 53 (2005), 594-595.

⁸⁵ Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory", *Cultural Memory Studies*, 117.

⁸⁶ Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York, 2011), 7.

⁸⁷ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 17.

⁸⁸ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 107.

⁸⁹ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 107.

⁹⁰ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 107-108.

⁹¹ This thesis adopts this terminology after Assmann. Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

Assmann.⁹² Kansteiner (2002) created a conceptual “hermeneutical triangle” to address this gap that allows for a comprehensive study of memory, with a focus on communicating memory in context (Fig. 3.14).⁹³ The triangle establishes the connection that memory is the result of interactions between the “object” (including artefact type and provenance), the “memory maker” (author or artist), and the “memory consumer” (audience).⁹⁴ Though audiences are easy to conflate, the goal is instead to comprehend what values mattered to a specific group and how this knowledge would have been distributed.

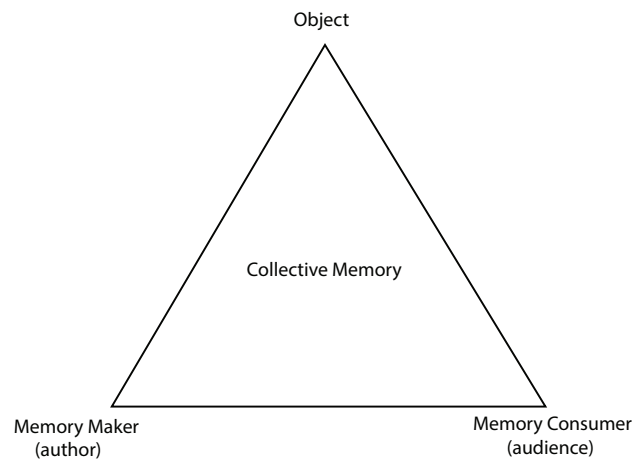


Figure 3.14 The hermeneutical triangle.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the parameters of the study, specifically, the examination of representations of foreigners at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak in order to reach an understanding of Egyptian identity through documents that store memory, namely, monumental inscriptions and images. It aimed at detailing methods employed during data collection and the analysis of the sources. On the basis of what has been explained in this chapter, what follows are two further sections of the thesis. Section Two, Chapters 4 to 10, discusses the pertinent sources for representations of foreign peoples from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III. In the next step, Part Three, Chapters 11 to 13, discusses the overall trends and findings of the research.

⁹² Nora, “Between Memory and History”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 24; Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 179; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 21.

⁹³ Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 21.

⁹⁴ Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197.

Part Two

Representations of foreigners at Karnak

Chapter 4

The Second Intermediate Period - Setting the Scene

“Wicked is your heart, feeble Asiatic!
Behold, I drink the wine of your vineyard,
which the Asiatics press for me, whom I captured”.
The Second Stela of Kamose, Lines 11-12.¹

The origins of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak as it is known today can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom.² This initial structure is vital for how we can understand the Egyptians' attitudes towards foreigners diachronically. This chapter provides an overview of the socio-political context of the Second Intermediate Period (Section 4.1), the origins of the Middle Kingdom Temple at Karnak (Section 4.2), and modifications that occurred in the Second Intermediate Period (Section 4.3). Following this introduction, the chapter in Section 4.4 compares the portrayal of foreign and Egyptian peoples in sixteen sources from the temple dating to the Second Intermediate Period. This comparison aims to explore early representations of foreigners at Karnak to account for later developments, and in turn, how this may be reflected in the portrayal of Egyptian identity. The chapter is completed by a section detailing overall observations for the representations of foreigners at the state temple during this period (Section 4.5).

4.1 The Socio-Political Context of the Second Intermediate Period

Towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, a gradual infiltration of Levantine peoples known as *ʿm.w* occurred in Egypt.³ In Lower Egypt, Tell el-Dab'a became a trading hub, and the Levantines who settled here grew in affluence and power, evidentially succeeding from the Theban Thirteenth Dynasty to create a northern Fourteenth Dynasty with its own power and area of control.⁴ This succession appears to have been exacerbated by a declining economic

¹ See [17.09.02].

² Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê*, 137, 168-188; Jean-François Carlotti, Ernst Czerny, and Luc Gabolde, “Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès de la «Cour du Moyen Empire»”, *Karnak* 13 (2010), 111-193.

³ Manfred Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a)”, in E. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 97; John S. Holladay, Jr., “The Eastern Nile Delta During the Hyksos and Pre-Hyksos Periods: Towards a Systemic/Socioeconomic Understanding”, in E. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 184-185; Mourad, *The Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 217; K. S. B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen, 1997), 293-295.

⁴ Holladay, Jr., “The Eastern Nile Delta”, *The Hyksos*, 209; Mourad, *The Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 217.

situation that is attested from the reign of Amenemhat IV, together with a deterioration in Egyptian royal power noted from the reign of Amenemhat VIII.⁵

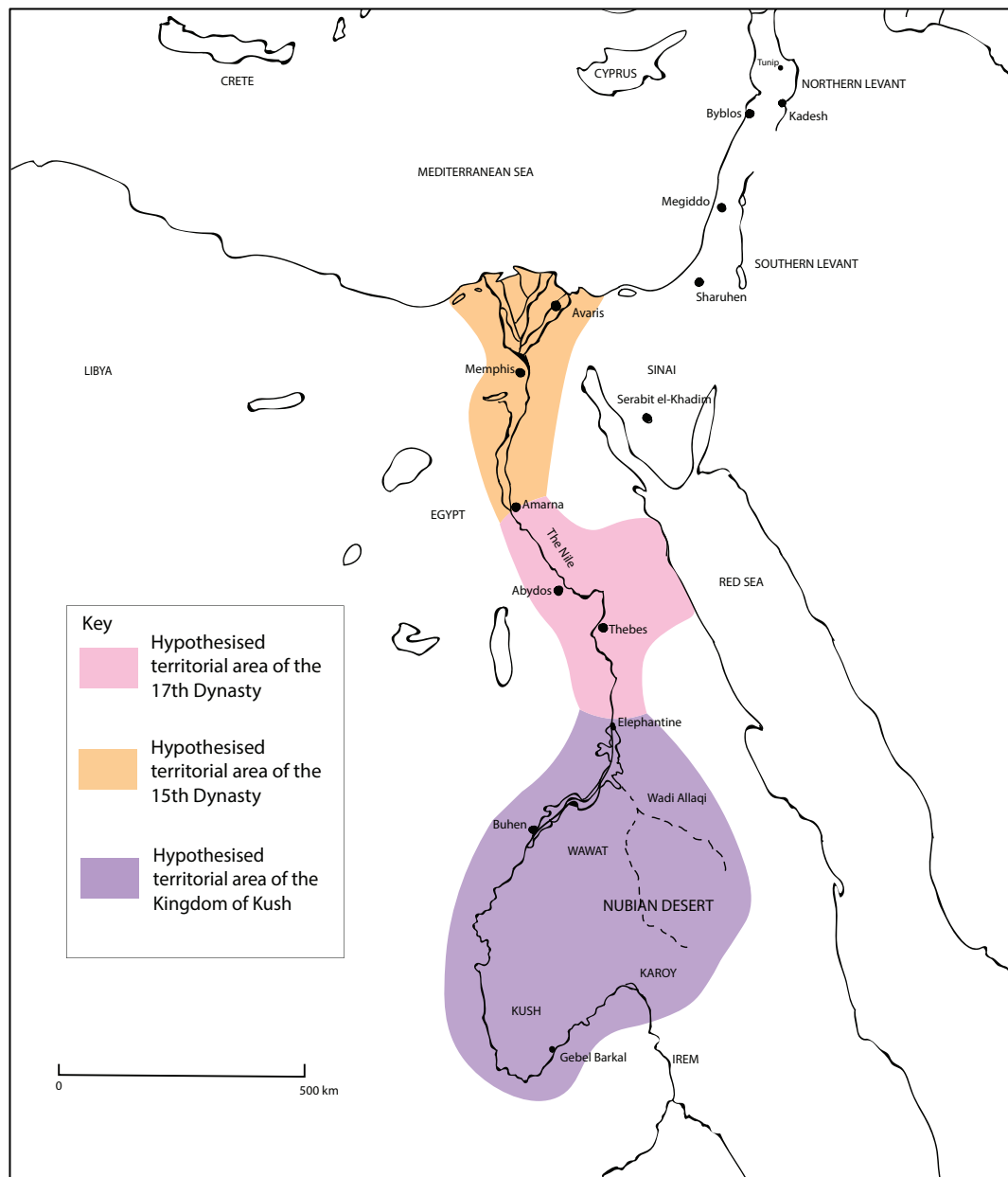


Figure 4.1 The political situation during the Second Intermediate Period.

This northern Fourteenth Dynasty had a significant impact on the resources of the contemporaneous southern Thirteenth Dynasty.⁶ Not only was the Delta the source of nearly

⁵ Mourad, *The Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 217; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 293-295, 298-299; Thomas Schneider, "Khyan's Place in History: A New Look at the Chronographic Tradition", in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research* (Vienna, 2018), 280.

⁶ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 295-299.

sixty-percent of the arable land in ancient Egypt, but it was also the point through which resources from the Levant entered the country.⁷ Though agreements were reached between the southern and northern rulers that allowed the Theban kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty to trade, there was the inevitable decrease in wealth in the south due to this constraint of resources.⁸ This is reflected in the reduced construction of monumental buildings, together with a deterioration in quality, and the shifting of Egyptian personnel from the Egyptian controlled forts in Nubia back to the Theban area (Fig. 4.1).⁹

Ryholt argues that both the Fourteenth and Thirteenth Dynasties collapsed with the “invasion” of a southern Levantine chieftain (*hk3 h3s.wt*) and the peoples of the north in 1650 BC.¹⁰ Mourad has convincingly argued otherwise, detailing a model in which the Fifteenth Dynasty came to power by solidifying its control of the area, not a group of invaders.¹¹ Despite arguments based on the rise of the Hyksos, the new “northern” Fifteenth Dynasty undoubtedly had an imperialistic agenda.¹² This left a vacuum in Middle Egypt where the ephemeral “Abydos Dynasty” appears to have ruled.¹³ The Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, meanwhile, faced military pressures together with, perhaps, floods and famine, though royal power does appear to have somewhat stabilised, with two notable families providing the ancestry of the Theban rulers.¹⁴

The onset of the Seventeenth Dynasty was caused by a Theban revolt against the Fifteenth Dynasty, which resulted in a clear demarcation of the two kingdoms, though over time the

⁷ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 295.

⁸ Holladay, Jr., “The Eastern Nile Delta”, *The Hyksos*, 184-185; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 296.

⁹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 295; Ellen Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism* (Hoboken, 2018), 90.

¹⁰ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 301.

¹¹ Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 124-130, 215-216.

¹² Strata E/2 at Tell el-Dab’a, associated with the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty, is characterised by expansion. Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule”, *The Hyksos*, 209; Holladay, Jr., “The Eastern Nile Delta”, *The Hyksos*, 185-186; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 303-304.

¹³ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 304; Josef Wegner, “Woseribre Seneb-Kay. A Newly Identified Upper Egyptian King of the Second Intermediate Period”, in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyam and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research* (Vienna, 2018), 287-305.

¹⁴ In fact, texts from Karnak at this time provide insight into the devastation of flood. One example is the Stela of Sobekhotep VIII, dating to the Sixteenth Dynasty, which was found in the Third Pylon of Karnak. This stela describes a great inundation in the broad hall (*hw.t-wsh*) of the temple during a fifth Epagomenal day, namely, a point well past the typical Nile inundation. Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 303-304; Labib Habachi, “A High Inundation in the Temple of Amenre at Karnak in the Thirteenth Dynasty”, *SAK* 1 (1974), 214; John Baines, “The Inundation Stela of Sobekhotep VIII”, *AcOr(B)* 36 (1974), 42. Jürgen von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit* (PhD Thesis: Universität München, 1964), 66, 259-260; Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, Second Edition (Wiesbaden, 1983), 46-47 (no. 63); Abdul-Qader Muhammed, “Recent Finds”, *ASAE* 59 (1959), 143-155, pl. III; Donald B. Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 3 (no. 5); Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 27, 85-86.

northern Fifteenth Dynasty gradually lost its foothold in Middle Egypt.¹⁵ The Theban Seventeenth Dynasty, lasting some thirty years, was a fully functional entity with distinct political, administrative, economic, and military units.¹⁶ The military force enabled these kings to re-establish and control the trade routes and consequently, maintain the influx of precious resources.¹⁷ In the reign of Seqenenre Tao, war appears to have broken out between the Hyksos and the Thebans, a conflict that lasted decades, continuing in the reign of Kamose and ending late in the reign of Ahmose at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁸

4.2 The Middle Kingdom Temple

As a religious site, the Temple of Karnak can be traced back to the Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁹ From this period, the remains of an artificial embankment that protected the early mudbrick buildings has been discovered, together with a column possibly attestable to Intef II.²⁰ Activity at the site is also documented for the reign of Montuhotep II, in which a libation table, stela, and lintel have been unearthed.²¹ In the early Twelfth Dynasty, a number of artefacts have been linked to the site, including statues of Amenemhat I and a naos.²² There is also a possibility that Amenemhat I rebuilt the temple, as evidenced by the remains of a stone platform.²³

The next architectural remains date to the reign of Senwosret I, who built an entirely new stone temple dedicated to Amun on a much larger scale than evidenced at the site previously.²⁴ Today, the foundations for this temple of Senwosret I are located on the eastern side of the Karnak complex. In situ, there are the remains of four red granite blocks marking the thresholds of doorways (Fig. 4.2), together with dozens of fragments bearing the name of Senwosret I

¹⁵ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 303-304; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 21-29.

¹⁶ Daniel Polz, "The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State at the end of the Second Intermediate Period: A Case Study", in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research* (Vienna, 2018), 217-233.

¹⁷ Polz, "The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State", *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 230.

¹⁸ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 307-308.

¹⁹ Luc Gabolde, "Thebes: East Bank (Karnak and Luxor)", in Adela Oppenheim, Dorothea Arnold, Dieter Arnold, and Kei Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New Haven and London, 2015), 316.

²⁰ Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê*, 78-79; Gabolde, "Thebes: East Bank (Karnak and Luxor)", *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 316. The dates for the Middle Kingdom follow Jürgen von Beckerath, *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1997), 189.

²¹ Gabolde, "Thebes: East Bank (Karnak and Luxor)", *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 316.

²² Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê*, 206-223.

²³ Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès", *Karnak 13* (2010), 135; Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê*, 222-223.

²⁴ Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès", *Karnak 13* (2010), 146.

found scattered throughout the site.²⁵ In 1998, Gabolde reconsidered Borchardt's reconstruction of the Middle Kingdom Temple and proposed a quadrilateral temple facing west towards the Nile, which was constructed on a 40-metre square platform divided into two, one section being a court and the other the rooms leading to the inner sanctum of the temple (Fig. 4.3).²⁶ The entrance to this temple was lined with twelve painted limestone pillars with statues of Senwosret I.²⁷ The king was depicted in Osiride form, grasping two ankhs, and reaching the massive height of 4.725 metres.²⁸ After passing through the central doorway, the peristyle court was slightly raised and lined with thirty square pillars measuring 4.2 metres.²⁹ A door in the back of this court led to the rear of the temple, of which three of the aforementioned thresholds of red granite remain in situ.³⁰ In the Holy of the Holies, a travertine podium for the divine statue was placed.³¹ Apart from rebuilding the temple, Senwosret I also constructed his famous White Chapel to celebrate his *sed*-festival, with sixteen pillars decorated with beautifully detailed raised relief.³²



Figure 4.2 The red granite blocks of the Middle Kingdom Temple in situ. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

- ²⁵ Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon» de Sésostri Ier à Karnak* (Paris, 1998), 13; Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê*, 78.
- ²⁶ Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon»*, 23-25, 71-72, 79-81, pl. I; Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels*, 3-5.
- ²⁷ Examples of these pillars reside today in the Cairo Museum, Cairo JE 48851 and the Luxor Museum, Luxor J. 174. See Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon»*, 20-22, pl. XX-XXI.
- ²⁸ Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon»*, pl. XX-XXI.
- ²⁹ Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon»*, 13, 71-72, pl. I; Blyth, *Karnak*, 13-14.
- ³⁰ Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d'Amon»*, 13; Blyth, *Karnak*, 14.
- ³¹ Gabolde, "Thebes: East Bank (Karnak and Luxor)", *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 316.
- ³² Gabolde, "Thebes: East Bank (Karnak and Luxor)", *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 316.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 4.3 Plan of the Middle Kingdom Temple as proposed by Gabolde (1998), pl. 1. In black, the four granite threshold blocks are marked.

In 2010, Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde revisited this model of the Middle Kingdom Temple (Fig. 4.4, Pl. I), particularly after the discovery of a limestone slab, which Larché claimed refuted the earlier interpretation and instead argued for a smaller temple oriented towards the east.³³ However, based on an examination of the stratigraphy and archaeological context, Carlotti et al. determined that the limestone slab was anterior to the building of Senwosret I and part of an earlier construction: that of Amenemhat I (see above).³⁴ Larché's hypothesis of a double row peristyle was also discounted, based on the frieze decoration on the wall of the *ante* which is not contiguous with the architraves.³⁵ The peculiarity of the shift of the decoration on the pillars by 180-degrees is now understood as related to the placement of a side door.³⁶ Overall, the new revised model of Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde accounts for the origin of the east-west orientation, the placement of the granite threshold blocks, together with the initial focal point of the temple being upon the western entrance.

³³ This chapter does not discuss Larché's hypothesis of a modest "portico" temple of Senwosret I, as this interpretation has been convincingly refuted by Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde. Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 409-422; François Larché, "A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico and Some Structures of Amenhotep I at Karnak", in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden, 2009), 139-173; Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès", *Karnak* 13 (2010), 146.

³⁴ Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès", *Karnak* 13 (2010), 146.

³⁵ Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès", *Karnak* 13 (2010), 151-155.

³⁶ Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès", *Karnak* 13 (2010), 153.




Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 4.4 The temple of Senwosret I as proposed by Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde (2010), 179, fig. 23.

Finally, there is evidence that the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty used this space to promote elements of the ideology of kingship, namely to declare the superiority of the Egyptian king over all foreign lands. Fragments on the pillars of Senwosret I include a possible reference to the Nine Bows and another to “all *ḥꜣs.wt*, all flat lands, are at the feet of this Good God”.³⁷ References also occur on freestanding additions to the temple, such as a granodiorite group statue (Cairo CG 42008) discovered in the Middle Kingdom Court with the nine-bow motif under the feet of the king,³⁸ and a black granite statue of Amenemhat III also standing on the nine composite bows (Luxor Museum, formerly CG 42014).³⁹ Various other statue remains of Amenemhat III, from a torso of the king to the remains of a pedestal with nine engraved bows (e.g. Cairo CG 42015, 42016, 42017, 42018, and 42019), suggest more of the same were placed at Karnak Temple.⁴⁰

³⁷ Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon»*, 91 (§133), 96 (§143).

³⁸ Matthias Seidel *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, vol. I: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, 1996), 92-93 (Dok. 40).

³⁹ PM II², 136 (CG 42014). This statue’s inventory number in the Luxor Museum could not be identified.

⁴⁰ PM II², 136; Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê*, 369.

4.3 The Second Intermediate Period Temple

The temple of the Second Intermediate Period was not altered dramatically on an architectural level. Small monuments and artefacts were added to the sacred space, predominantly offering tables, small obelisks, statues, and stele, together with the usurpation of earlier monuments.⁴¹ As stated by Polz, it can be assumed that the objects found at Karnak dating to this period were either originally placed in the broader area of the Middle Kingdom Court or even in free-standing chapels that may have surrounded the main temple.⁴²

The recent discovery of a doorway near the Temple of Ptah at Karnak dating to the reign of Senakhtenre Ahmose, the father of Seqenenre Tao, has provided further evidence for the existence of these small chapels.⁴³ The left jamb of this door measures 2.04 metres high and the two columns of text are executed in well-cut sunk relief.⁴⁴ Together with the lintel, this door would originally have been 2.73 metres tall, and it has been hypothesised that this was part of an earlier structure, perhaps a granary, in the vicinity of the Temple of Ptah.⁴⁵ As granaries were within the same religious sphere as the central temple, it is clear the sacred compound already covered a large area at this time.⁴⁶

The carving of the Second Stela of Kamose on a door jamb of Senwosret I implies that monuments of the Middle Kingdom were dismantled by the rulers of the late Seventeenth Dynasty as part of a larger plan to expand the Temple of Amun.⁴⁷ In addition, a columned courtyard may have been built or altered by Kamose [17.09.03]. This is intimated on the so-called Third Stela of Kamose, which claims on Fragment E; “/// bronze with relief images of silver for his father /// /// gold. I made for you columns of ///”.⁴⁸ These references to silver and gold bring to mind a small temple with richly decorated columns. Van Siclen III posited that the references to the columns might refer “to the actual construction of the columned

⁴¹ For example, Kamose’s Second Stela was engraved on block of Senwosret I (see [17.09.02]). Polz, “The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State”, *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 218; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 336-405; Blyth, *Karnak*, 27.

⁴² Polz, “The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State”, *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 218.

⁴³ Sébastien Biston-Moulin, “Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVIIe dynastie”, *ENiM* 5 (2012), 61-71; Sébastien Biston-Moulin, Christophe Thiers, and Pierre Zignani, “Erster archäologischer Nachweis für Pharao Senachtenre Ahmose”, *Antike Welt* 3/12 (2012), 4; Polz, “The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State”, *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 218-219 (no. 14).

⁴⁴ Biston-Moulin, “Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès”, *ENiM* 5 (2012), 63.

⁴⁵ Biston-Moulin, “Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès”, *ENiM* 5 (2012), 63, no. 9.

⁴⁶ Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2000), 50-51, 75.

⁴⁷ Sébastien Biston-Moulin, “De Sésostris Ier à Kamosis. Note sur un remploi de Karnak”, *ENiM* 4 (2011), 90.

⁴⁸ Charles C. Van Siclen III, “The Third Stela of Kamose”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven and Paris, 2010), 357.

courtyard that preceded the courtyard of Amenhotep I'.⁴⁹ However, it is not clear how these columns would have fit within the plan of the temple and the columned portico of Senwosret I; it is possible it may have been an extension of the earlier construction.

4.4 Sources of the Second Intermediate Period

There are sixteen sources from the Second Intermediate Period at Karnak Temple referring to foreigners from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasties (see Table 4.11 for an overview). Though the evidence is not vast by any standards considering the length of this period (c. 1803-1550/1549 BC), the historical changes of this era are insightful for comprehending how foreigners were later perceived, and used, during the early Eighteenth Dynasty at Karnak.

4.4.1 The Thirteenth Dynasty

Sobekhotep IV (?)

The earliest source of interest in the context of the current study is a seated statue of Sobekhotep II/IV/VI(?) [13.29.01] with the motif of the nine composite bows (Louvre AF 8969).⁵⁰ Found in the Central Court at Karnak, this acephalous diorite statue has inscriptions on the sides of the throne adjacent to the figure's legs suggesting it can be dated to a Sobekhotep of the Thirteenth Dynasty, sometime between 1780 BC and 1712 BC.⁵¹ The cartouche of the prenomen on the left-hand side of the throne has been worn, preserved as (*H^ci-///-R^c.w*)|, while the nomen on the right is legible as (*Sbk-R^c.w-ḥtp*)|. It is because of the damage to the former that the dating for this statue is so problematic. However, the remains of the cartouches together with the shape of the legs and style of the piece, indicate that the statue can be attributed a relative date of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵²

⁴⁹ Van Sieten III, "The Third Stela of Kamose", *The Second Intermediate Period*, 357.

⁵⁰ PM II², 109; Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte. Recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique*, MIFAO 18 (Cairo, 1912), 32-33 (note 3); Mariette, *Karnak*, 44-45, pl. 8 k; William V. Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed* (London, 1981), 22-23 (no. 6); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 401; Élisabeth Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du moyen empire* (Paris, 1987), 48-50.

⁵¹ Delange proposed Sobekhotep IV as the most likely candidate due to the high number of statues dating to his reign. Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 73, 401, 408; Delange, *Catalogue*, 48-50; Mariette, *Karnak*, 44-45, pl. 8 k; Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 22-23 (no. 6).

⁵² Delange, *Catalogue*, 50.

The statue is preserved to a height of 93.5 centimetres.⁵³ The king is represented wearing *heb-sed* garb, a wide collar, and is grasping a crook and flail which are crossed against the chest (Fig. 4.5). The crook adopts an unusual form, with an angular, almost hoe-like appearance, which may have been an archaic shape for some *sed*-festival representations.⁵⁴ The bare feet of the figure rest on the motif of the nine bows engraved on the base of the statue (Fig. 4.6).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 4.5 [13.29.01] Delange (1987), 48.

Figure 4.6 The nine bows as represented on [13.29.01].

The representation of nine composite bows, a symbolic reference to the term “the Nine Bows”, is a metonymy encapsulating the “many enemies” of Egypt (see Chapter 3.2.7 above). They are typically represented, as in this case, on the dais of a throne, physically under the king’s feet, and thus the motif symbolically shows the ownership and suppression of their chaotic influence. Thematically and through its frequent use over long periods, the depiction of the nine composite bows under the feet of the king is a *topos* or stereotypical motif of Egyptian domination and ownership.

Another source dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty, a stela of Sobekhotep IV (c. 1732-1720 BC) [13.29.02], provides evidence for the importation of foreign materials.⁵⁵ The stela was discovered in a fragmentary state in the Hypostyle Hall in 1927. Only the lunette and half the

⁵³ Delange, *Catalogue*, 50.

⁵⁴ Karl Martin, “Krummstab”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 821-822.

⁵⁵ PM II², 52; Wolfgang Helck, “Eine Stele Sebekhoteps IV. aus Karnak”, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 194-200; Frank T. Miosi, *A Reading Book of Second Intermediate Period Texts* (Toronto, 1981), 4-11; Fernand Debono, “Rapport préliminaire sur les résultats de l’étude des objets de la fouille des installations du Moyen Empire et ‘Hyksôs’ à l’est du Lac Sacré de Karnak”, *Karnak* 7 (1982), 380, pl. 1; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 31-34 (37); Pascal Vernus, “Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire”, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 178-181; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 349; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 109.

stela itself remain, rendering the text in various stages of illegibility. The first ten lines detail the titulary of the king and various praises. From line 10, the text refers to work undertaken at Karnak Temple:

(10) (...) [<i>iw wd.n ity</i>] <i>ʕnh(.w) wd3(.w)</i>	(10) (...) [The sovereign], (l.p.h.)
<i>snb(.w)</i>	[commanded]
<i>iri.t n=f sb3 n.y mh 10 m m3.wt</i>	the making for him a gate of 10 cubits anew of
<i>m ʕš nfr n.y Hnty-š</i>	good cedar of <i>Hnty-š</i>
<i>m ʕ3.wy-r3</i>	with two leaves of door
(11) <i>b3k(.w) m nbw</i>	(11) worked of <i>nbw</i> -gold,
<i>ḥd [ḥm.t ḥsmn] /// /// ///</i>	silver, [copper, bronze] /// /// ///
<i>s3tw wʕb m w3d.yt</i>	a pure floor in the hall of columns
<i>n.t ḥw.t-ntr tn</i>	of this temple,
<i>ḥnʕ iri.(y)t n=f ʕ3 snnw</i> (12) [<i>ḥw.t</i>]- <i>ntr</i>	with a second door (12) of [this temple] made for
[<i>tn</i>]	him
<i>m ʕš m3ʕ nfr [n.(y) Hnty-š</i>	in true and good cedar [of <i>Hnty-š</i> ,
<i>m ʕ3.wy-r3</i>	with two leaves of door
<i>b3k(.w) m nbw ḥd ḥm.t ḥsmn m pr.w]</i>	worked of <i>nbw</i> -gold, silver, copper and bronze,
(<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i>) <i>m pr.w Imn.w</i> (...)	within the temple] of (Sobekhotep) , in the
	temple of Amun (...)

This extract details not only the architectural structures added to the temple but also the valuable materials that they are made of. Interestingly, *ʕš* is repeatedly qualified by adjectives (*nfr* and *m3ʕ nfr* -“good” and “truly good” or “genuine and good”) and a statement of its geographical origin: *n.(y) Hnty-š*.⁵⁶ *Hnty-š* refers to the mountain ranges or “terraces” of the Levant along the eastern Mediterranean and is commonly associated with Lebanon. This material is known as *Cedrus libani*, a tree that can grow up to 40 metres in height and with a diameter that can range between 1 to 2.5 metres.⁵⁷ As stated by Mourad, the reference to *Hnty-š* on a stela at Karnak implies that the Theban kings in the Thirteenth Dynasty had access to imported materials from the Levant.⁵⁸ Notably, no further information is provided for how the materials were sourced, but implicitly, this text is evidence for a “transaction” type of relationship between Egypt and foreign lands at this time. It is then possible to categorise this

⁵⁶ *Wb* III, 310.12.

⁵⁷ Rowena Gale, Peter Gasson, Nigel Hepper, and Geoffrey Killen, “Wood”, in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 349.

⁵⁸ Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 109.

text as an example for *mimesis* as it provides evidence for the *reality* of interconnections, and more specifically, the *prized* nature of materials of foreign origin in Egypt during the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Sobekhotep V

There are three statues attributed to Sobekhotep V at Karnak, the successor of Sobekhotep IV (c. 1720-1717 BC), that were discovered in the Cachette.⁵⁹ The first is a seated statue carved from diorite that measures 126 centimetres tall [13.30.01] (Cairo CG 42027).⁶⁰ The king grasps the crook and flail across his chest, is equipped with the White Crown, a collar, and *heb-sed* dress (Fig. 4.7). The prenomen and nomen are carved on the sides of the throne, while the nine composite bows are engraved beneath the feet of the king on the pedestal.



Figure 4.7 [13.30.01] Legrain (1906), pl. 17.



Figure 4.8 [13.30.02] Karnak Cachette website.



Figure 4.9 [13.30.03] Karnak Cachette website.

The second statue of Sobekhotep V represents the king in a different pose [13.30.02] (Cairo CG 42028).⁶¹ The king remains seated, with his open hands, palm downwards, resting on the top of his thighs (Fig. 4.8). Instead of *heb-sed* garb, the figure wears a *shendyt*-kilt. Further,

⁵⁹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 408.

⁶⁰ PM II², 137; Georges Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)”, *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 219; Georges Legrain, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 42001-42138. Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1906), 16-17, pl. 17; Gaston Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1915), 114 (no. 326); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 31); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text²*, 40 (51); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 353.

⁶¹ PM II², 137; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 17 (wrong journal no. 37404); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 33); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text²*, 40 (52); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 353.

the statue is lost from the waist upwards, but as this alone measures 100 centimetres tall, it can be assumed that the total height of this piece is somewhat larger than the other statues so far discussed. The inscriptions are carved on the sides of the throne, adjacent to the legs, detailing the prenomen and nomen of Sobekhotep V. On the base, the nine bows are faintly engraved in sunk relief beneath the feet of the king, with some overlap of the lines around the tips of the bow (Fig. 4.10).

The third and final figure of Sobekhotep V is a statuette that depicts the king striding on top of the nine bows [13.30.03] (Cairo CG 39258).⁶² The acephalous statuette of the king is adorned in the *shendyt*-kilt with his arms hanging straight by his sides, with the right hand grasping a cloth and the left hand holding a vessel by its handle (Fig. 4.9). This greywacke figure measures only 34 centimetres high, though the incised motif on the base with the nine bows has more detail regarding the structure of the actual bows than [13.30.02]; there are two straight lines added at the bow tip (Fig. 4.11). These lines may be an indication of the bowstring notches in the bow, which keep the strings in place.⁶³

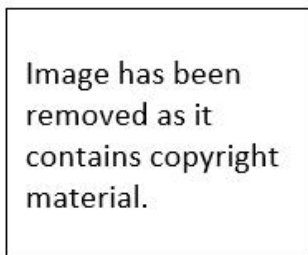


Figure 4.10 The nine bows as represented on [13.30.02].



Figure 4.11 The nine bows as represented on [13.30.03].

Sobekhotep VII

Some half a century later, another statue depicting the king with his feet placed on the nine bows is recorded [13.38.01] (Cairo JE 43599).⁶⁴ Though this statue has not been published, it has been attributed to Sobekhotep VII (c. 1664-1662 BC) and represents the enthroned king with, remarkably, his two young sons carved on either side of his legs, Bebi and Sobekhotep

⁶² PM II², 137; Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 32); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 353.

⁶³ Walther Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 56 (Abb. 36), 80 (Abb. 54); Alexandra Woods, “Drawing the Bow: A Re-Examination of the Desert Hunt Scene in the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan”, *BACE* 26 (2016-2018), 121 (no. 45).

⁶⁴ PM II², 281; Bodil Hornemann, *Types of ancient Egyptian statuary*, vol. V (Copenhagen, 1966), pl. 1423; Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 28 (no. 36); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 357.

(Fig. 4.12). The red granite statue is acephalous and is believed to have been discovered in the Central Court. The figure is adorned in the *shendyt*-kilt, *nemes*-headdress, and false beard, while the statue measures 134 centimetres in height. Beneath the feet of the king alone, the nine bows are engraved.⁶⁵ The location of the nine-bow motif beneath the feet of the king, despite being in a group statue, explicitly links the concept to the domain of kingship.

Neferhotep II

There are two more statues with the nine-bow motif beneath the feet of the king from the Karnak Cachette, dating to the reign of Neferhotep II. The placement of this king within the chronology of the Thirteenth Dynasty is uncertain, but if Ryholt's hypothesis regarding the location of this king within the Turin King-List is correct, it is possible that he was the forty-sixth ruler of the dynasty.⁶⁶

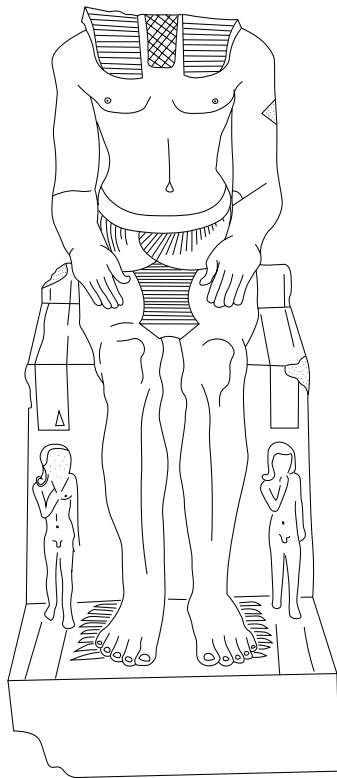


Figure 4.12 [13.38.01] Drawing by Peirce after Hornemann (1966).



Figure 4.13 [13.0B.01] Karnak Cachette website.



Figure 4.14 [13.0B.02] Karnak Cachette website.

⁶⁵ In the sketch of this statue by Hornemann, only *eight* bows are visible. As the added figure (4.12) is a line drawing traced over the sketch from 1966, it is possible that it contains inaccuracies regarding the original. Hornemann, *Types of ancient Egyptian statuary* V, pl. 1423.

⁶⁶ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 71-74.

The first statue depicts the king seated and adorned in the *nemes*-headdress, false beard, and *shendyt*-kilt [13.0B.01] (Cairo CG 42023).⁶⁷ The headdress is complete with a cobra, whilst the hands rest on the thighs. The right-hand grasps a folded cloth (Fig. 4.13). Two lines of text border the calves of the king on the throne, with the names of the king, and the nine bows beneath the feet (Fig. 4.15). This statue only measures 74.5 centimetres high. The second statue, preserved to a height of 72 centimetres (Figs. 4.14, 4.16), appears to be an almost identical copy, though the headdress has been lost and the left arm and hand are damaged [13.0B.02] (Cairo CG 42024).⁶⁸

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 4.15 The nine bows as represented on [13.0B.01].

Figure 4.16 The nine bows as represented on [13.0B.02].

In sum, out of these seven royal statues with the nine-bow motif dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty, five are formed of diorite and six are seated. The most congruent features are that the figures are undoubtedly representations of the king together with the bows engraved in sunk relief beneath *his* feet only.⁶⁹ In most cases, the engraving of the bows is of a noticeably lesser quality than the workmanship of the actual statue; this would suggest that one team was responsible for the statue, and a different one was responsible for the carving of the bows and perhaps the inscriptions (see especially Figs. 4.10 and 4.11). Only two examples depict the king in *heb-sed* garb, while the others wear the *shendyt*-kilt. These types of clothing, together with the significant iconographical markers of the beard and *nemes*-headdress, identify the figure as a king, as can, it would appear, the nine-bow motif.

⁶⁷ This coding has been adopted after Ryholt to reflect the issues of chronology. PM II², 137; Georges Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)”, *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 220; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 114 (no. 327/328); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 34); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 359.

⁶⁸ PM II², 137; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 14-15; Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)”, *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 220; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 114 (no. 327/328); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27-28 (no. 35); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 359.

⁶⁹ It is worth noting that the motif can also be found under the feet of a deity. It would, in turn, appear to be yet another statement of ownership and control. However, this is not found on any of the statues with the nine-bow motif at Karnak as studied by the author. Wildung, “Neunbogen”, *LÄ* IV, 472.

As previously discussed (Section 4.2), statues of Egyptian rulers standing on the nine composite bows were found among the remains of the Middle Kingdom Temple, particularly those belonging to Amenemhat III. Though the statues attributed to Amenemhat III feature the king striding, and most of the later statues dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty are seated, one curious feature in common is the utilisation of diorite. Is it possible that this material was chosen deliberately to fit within the existing decorative program of the temple?⁷⁰ This congruity further suggests that these statues were initially set up in the vicinity of the various sculptures of Amenemhat III, somewhere in the portico or before the temple. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that five were found in the Cachette and two are from the Central Court; this implies some were removed *as a group* from their initial location.

The presence of seven of these statues suggests that it was a somewhat common practice for the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty to contribute statues depicting the king standing on the nine bows at Karnak, a motif which dates back to the reign of Djoser in the Old Kingdom.⁷¹ The nine-bow motif itself encapsulates order: *maat* defeating *isfet* in the form of all the known enemies of Egypt, who are generally *foreign lands*.⁷² As a whole, these statues with the nine-bow motif are salient within the context of the current study as the *binding qualities* of the motif are reliant upon *repetition*. By repeating such a traditional canonised form, the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty are harnessing and adhering to traditional values of Egyptian kingship.

4.4.2 The Sixteenth Dynasty

Neferhotep III

The limestone stela of Neferhotep III (Cairo JE 59635) [16.04.01] from the Sixteenth Dynasty describes a conflict with the *ḥ3s.wt*.⁷³ Discovered in the fill of the Third Pylon, this round-top biographical stela details the deeds of the king for his people during his brief reign (c. 1629-1628 BC) in an enumeration of participle constructions. Despite the brevity of the text, of which

⁷⁰ Diorite was quarried in the Eastern Desert near El-Minya, in the Wadi Umm Shegilat, and a region held by the Thebans during the Second Intermediate Period. Barbara G. Aston, James A. Harrell, and Ian Shaw, “Stone”, in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 30.

⁷¹ Wildung, “Neunbogen”, *LÄ* IV, 472; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 123.

⁷² Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 123-124.

⁷³ PM II², 73; Pascal Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhernofert et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Cairo JE 59635)”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 45 (no. 62); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 3 (no. 4); Raymond Weill, “Sekhemre-Souaztaoui Sebekhotep à Elkab, un nouveau roi, Sekhemre-Sankhtaoui Neferhotep, à Elkab et à Karnak”, *RdE* 4 (1940), 218-220.

some 9 lines are preserved, a narrative arc or plot progression can be traced. In lines 1-3 the king is introduced with his titulary, lines 3-5 describe general events in a religious context, and from lines 5 onwards what can be termed as the “rising action” details specific events with mention of a conflict with the rebellious *h3s.wt*:

(6) (...) <i>shwi(.w) niw.t=f hrp.ti</i>	(6) (...) The one who provides protection for his city when it was submerged;
<i>mki(.w) sy hn^c h3s.tyw</i> ⁷⁴	the one who guards it (along) with the <i>h3s.tyw</i> ;
(7) [<i>shr</i>](.w) <i>n=s h3s.wt bšt.(w)t</i>	(7) the one who [pacifies] for it the rebellious <i>h3s.wt</i> ,
<i>hr b3.w it=f Imn.w</i>	through the power of his father Amun;
<i>shr(.w) (8) [n=s rk]w.w bšt.w hr=f</i>	the one who overthrew (8) [for it the enem]ies who rebelled against him;
<i>wdi(.w) š^c.(y)t r ph.w</i> (9) [<i>sw</i>] (...)	the one who commits slaughter against those who attacked (9) [him] (...)

The opponents in the text, who are used as a device to encapsulate the deeds of the king, hold anonymity through the application of the term *h3s.t*. This obfuscates the opponent’s hierarchical importance and specific identity, and accordingly, they can be seen to embody the “other” as a *type* rather than a specific individual, group, or place.⁷⁵ What is also revealed is an issue of hierarchy caused by the apparent identification of two *different* types of *h3s.t* of varying relative importance, based on the *modes of interaction* between the groups mentioned. One group is what the king “guards (*mki*) it (along) with the *h3s.tyw*”, perhaps an indication of allies and another are the “enemies (*rk.w.w*) who rebelled (*bšt.(w)t*)⁷⁶ against him” (see Table 4.1).⁷⁷ The first *h3s.tyw* appears to designate a people or a group *belonging* to a foreign land, whilst *h3s.wt* suggests a geographical or topographical area.⁷⁸ As argued by the author in 2015, the presence of burials belonging to Medjay troops at Gebel Zeit does suggest that Nubians may have been allied with the Thebans during the Sixteenth Dynasty.⁷⁹ If the Nubians were a component of the Egyptian army, then they are people of a foreign land (*h3s.tyw*); accordingly,

⁷⁴ *Wb* III, 236.1-2. Schneider notes that this term is used for peoples who are always *outside* Egypt. Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 144.

⁷⁵ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 169.

⁷⁶ *Wb* I, 479.6.

⁷⁷ Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 29.

⁷⁸ Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 144.

⁷⁹ Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 29; Janine Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC)”, in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 193.

it is possible that the enemies (*h3s.wt*) in the text could be the Hyksos.⁸⁰ Overall, it is clear that the term *h3s.wt* is not a nominal term that refers to a specific group; it can have variable meaning even within the same text.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>h3s.tyw</i>	<i>h3s.tyw</i>	<i>mki(.w) sy hn^c</i>	6	1
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>bšt.(w)t</i>	7	1
enemies	<i>[rk]w.w</i>	<i>bšt.w</i>	7	1

Table 4.1 A comparison between the groups and individuals in [16.04.01] and its qualifier.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>shwi</i>	to provide protection	(king)	<i>niw.t=f</i>	6	1
	<i>mki</i>	to guard	(king)	<i>sy</i>	6	1
	<i>shr</i>	to overthrow	(king)	<i>h3s.wt</i>	7	1
	<i>š^c.(y)t</i>	to commit slaughter	(king)	<i>ph.w</i>	8	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>ʿk</i>	to enter	(king)	<i>niw.t=f</i>	3	1
Abstract	<i>sm3</i>	to make	(king)	<i>hrw-nfr</i>	4	1
	<i>s^cnh</i>	to cause to live	(king)	<i>niw.t=f</i>	4	1
	<i>shr</i>	to pacify	(king)	<i>h3s.wt</i>	7	1
Emotion	<i>mri.y</i>	to be beloved	(king)	<i>mš^c=f</i>	4	1
Physical	<i>nht</i>	strength, might	<i>nsw.t</i>	n/a	4	1

Table 4.2 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, namely, the Egyptian king in [16.04.01].

A further result of using the term *h3s.wt* in relation to the opponents is the contrast that is evoked between them and the Egyptian king. Throughout this text, the Egyptian king is the dominant force who has significant presence or agency in the language. Through the use of the royal titulary in lines 1-3 with the designations of *nsw.t bi.ty* and *s3 R^c.w*, Neferhotep III is identified as the person of highest hierarchical importance, not only in the text but in society in general. His actions are illustrative of the ideal qualities and behaviours of the Egyptians, such as “might” (*nht*), “providing protection” (*shwi*), “guarding” (*mki*), and “overthrowing” his enemies (*shr/š^c*) (Table 4.2). However, despite being the dominant force in the text, it is interesting that the deeds of the king are simply those that are *reacting* to conditions created by the other groups mentioned. While this might lead to the impression that the king has *less agency*, the text has been constructed in a positive way to demonstrate that though the ruler is not the one who dictates the conditions, he is in control of the overall situation to maintain order and his position of power.

⁸⁰ Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 29; Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 193.

Montuhotpi

The successor of Neferhotep III, Montuhotpi (c. 1628-1627 BC), also left a stela at Karnak [16.05.01] describing incursions of the *h3s.wt*.⁸¹ Today this stela is broken into fragments, but some twenty lines of this limestone stela remain. Like the stela of Neferhotep III, this biographical text follows a similar narrative arc based on events, escalating around line 7:

(7) (...) <i>wʕf(.w)</i> ⁸² <i>h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i> <i>nhm(.w) niw.t=f m nht=f</i> <i>nn [hwi] rmt m iri(.w) /// ///</i>	(7) (...) the one who drives back all the <i>h3s.wt</i> ; the one who rescues his city through his might, there being no [smiting] the [Egyptian] people; as one who acts /// ///
(8) <i>ht idb.wy mi Shm.t rnp.t id.t=s</i> <i>snd(.w) nhh=f w3</i> <i>shr(.w) tkkw /// ///</i>	(8) throughout the Two Banks like Sekhmet, in the year of her wrath, the one whose flame is feared from afar; the one who felled those who had attacked /// ///
(9) [<i>t3?</i>]= <i>f</i> /// [<i>mi</i>] <i>m3i.w {mw swi}</i> < <i>swi(.w) mw</i> > <i>htm.w=f mi k3.w ///</i>	(9) his [land?] /// [like] lions <drinking water>, his fortresses being like bulls ⁸³ ///
(10) <i>ts.mt=f msh mh.w</i> <i>pri(.t) mʕ[=f] htm.w=f mi pri ht</i> <i>/// t3w k3i ///</i>	(10) his battlements (enclosures) (being like) crocodiles which are submerged, the going forth of [his] army from his fortresses is as the going forth of fire /// when the wind is high ///
(11) <i>nn wn ʕhʕ m hs.y=s</i> <i>iw I[mn.w] r h3.t mʕ[=f] drp ʕ.w[=f]</i> <i>/// /// (12) h3s.wt nb.(w)t [Mntw] m</i> <i>M3dw (...)</i>	(11) there being no (persons) standing up against them. A[mun] is at the front of his army, who offers [his] hand/support /// /// (12) all <i>h3s.wt</i> , [Montu] ⁸⁴ in Medamud (...)

⁸¹ PM II², 73; Shehata Adam and Farid El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 47; Pascal Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi à Karnak”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 145-161, pl. 6-7; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 9 (no. 50).

⁸² *Wb* I, 285.

⁸³ This term has a particular connotation with kingship.

⁸⁴ The falcon-headed war god of Thebes who Montuhotpi is named after. George Hart, *A Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses* (New York, 1990), 126.

The text on this stela describes a conflict of a military nature with the *h3s.wt*. This conflict is clearly expressed in reactionary terms, as the *h3s.wt* need to be “driven back” (*w^cf*) from Thebes. Though the text is damaged, it would appear that the king led an army against these incursions.

As this stela dates to the reign of the immediate successor of Neferhotep III, it is conceivable that the text is documenting the continuation of the same conflict with the *h3s.wt*. It follows a similar storyline, as the anonymous *h3s.wt*, a group that still has no additional designations to indicate their hierarchical importance, are attacking the city. It is worthy of note that the *h3s.tyw*, the supposed allies in [16.04.01], are absent from this text, whilst the pairing of *h3s.wt* with *nb.wt* denotes numerous oppositional groups (see Table 4.3). The verb chosen to describe the *h3s.wt*’s attack is *tkk* (see Table 4.4), which has the sense of violating a frontier as well as to attack someone, and accordingly has a *stronger* connotation of violence than the term used in the stela of Neferhotep III: *ph*, “to reach”.⁸⁵ Despite this use of stronger language, other sections of the text characterise the *h3s.wt* as weaker and submissive, through actions such as “fearing” the Egyptian king (*snd*) and by being “overthrown” (*shr*) by him.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	7, 12	2
Attackers	<i>tkkw</i>	<i>shr(.w)</i>	8	1

Table 4.3 A comparison between the groups and individuals in [16.05.01].

Furthermore, this inscription contains frequent non-literal expressions and comparative language, with a particular application of similes. The similes, from line 9 to 10, are successful at denoting the strength of the Egyptian king and the associated fortresses through the explicit comparison with strong and dangerous animals: “/// [like] lions <drinking water>, his fortresses being like bulls /// his battlements (enclosures) (being like) crocodiles which are submerged”. The animals listed, namely, lions, bulls, and crocodiles, are all known as predators. Lions are notorious for suffocating their prey, bulls are known for their strength, and crocodiles are generally depicted suspended in water in art and life, waiting, and *ready*, for their prey.⁸⁶ These similes imply that the battlements of Montuhotpi are well guarded. However, on the walls at Karnak during the reign of Seti I, numerous crocodiles are depicted in the moats which are described as being deliberately placed there; accordingly, this simile from the stela of

⁸⁵ Wb IV, 533-537.

⁸⁶ Linda Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art: Representations of the Natural World in Memphite Tomb Scenes* (Oxford, 2010), 5-6, 45-47, 111.

Montuhotpi may have to be taken literally rather than as a literary device.⁸⁷ Even if it is a literal description, the comparison of the king and his fortresses to dangerous animals has the effect of transferring predatorial qualities to the characteristics of the king (see Table 4.4).

The stela of Montuhotpi thus refers to an anonymous group called *h3s.wt* who are attacking Thebes. The continuous use of the names, titles, and phrases associated with kingship reinforces the agency of the Egyptian king within the text and the focus upon his actions. There is less emphasis on the actions of the *h3s.wt* who are relegated to a background role within the composition, while the use of non-literal language conjures vivid images of the function and ideology of the Egyptian king. Though this text is probably documenting an actual event, the literary techniques employed by the author/memory maker have the further effect of relating this text to the general worldview that foreign lands, and the domination of foreign peoples, were under the purview of the Egyptian king.⁸⁸

Type	Verb/Noun	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>wʿf</i>	to drive back	(king)	<i>h3s.wt</i>	7	1
	<i>nhm</i>	to rescue	(king)	<i>nlw.t=f</i>	7	1
	<i>shr</i>	to fell / overthrow	(king)	<i>tkkw</i>	8	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>pri</i>	to go forth	(king)	<i>pr.w=f</i>	3	1
	<i>pri</i>	to go forth	<i>shry</i>	<i>m h.t</i>	16	1
Abstract	<i>iri</i>	to act	(king)	<i>nsw.t</i>	2, 4	2
	<i>iri</i>	to act	(king)	[lost]	7	1
	<i>ini</i>	to be brought	(king)	<i>Mntw</i>	2	1
	<i>dd</i>	to speak, say	(king)	<i>m r3=f</i>	15	1
Emotion	<i>snd</i>	to be feared	(king)	<i>nhh=f</i>	8	1
	<i>w3d.wy</i>	how happy!	(king)	[lost]	17	1
Physical	<i>nht</i>	might, strength	<i>=f</i>	n/a	7	1

Table 4.4 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, namely, the Egyptian king, in [16.05.01].

Senwosret IV

There is a possible reference to foreigners on a stela of Senwosret IV [16.0E.01].⁸⁹ The placement of this ruler within the Sixteenth Dynasty is unknown, and to further complicate matters, he has also been assigned to the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Seventeenth Dynasty at various times.⁹⁰ Ryholt has placed this king towards the end of the late Second Intermediate

⁸⁷ Peter Lacovara, *The World of Ancient Egypt: A Daily Encyclopedia*, vol. 1. (Santa Barbara, 2017), 361.

⁸⁸ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 174.


⁸⁹ PM II², 293; Georges Legrain, “Sur une stèle de Senousrit IV”, *RecTrav* 30 (1908), 15-16; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 41 (no. 56); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 391.

⁹⁰ Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 138; Norbert Dautzenberg, “SeneferibRe Sesostri IV. - ein König der 17. Dynastie?”, *GM* 129 (1992), 43-48; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 156-157.

Period, namely, the Sixteenth Dynasty, as - to him - there is no way to reconstruct the placement of this king in the Seventeenth Dynasty as preserved in the Turin Canon.⁹¹ Despite these chronological issues, it is certain Senwosret IV was a ruler of the Second Intermediate Period.

The stela attributed to this ruler was discovered by Legrain near the Sacred Lake.⁹² Constructed of limestone, the fragmentary lines of the text are found on the upper corner of the stela, which appears to denote works of the king at Karnak Temple:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) <i>rnpt.sp 1 3bd 2 n.y šm.w sw 1 hr</i>
 <i>Hr.w whm ʕnh</i>
 <i>nb.ty sʕnh(.w) ʔ3.wy /// /// ///</i></p> | <p>(1) Year 1, second month of summer, day 1 under
 the Horus, repeating life,
 the Two Ladies, who causes the Two Lands to
 live /// /// ///</p> |
| <p>(2) <i>wn.t ib n.y hm=i ʕnh(.w) wd3(.w)</i>
 <i>snb(.w) r iri.t mn.w n ʔmn.w-Rʕ.w (...)</i></p> | <p>(2) that the heart of my Majesty, l.p.h., is making
 monuments for Amun-Re (...)</p> |
| <p>(6) <i>/// /// /// s b3k(.w) ʕ3m[.w]⁹³ /// /// ///</i>
 (...)</p> | <p>(6) <i>/// /// ///</i> work produce of the Asia[tics] <i>/// ///</i>
 <i>/// (...)</i></p> |

As is evident from the excerpt above, the text has several lacunae, and the flow of the content is difficult to discern. Considering line 2 is detailing the creation of monuments, it is possible that the remainder of the stela continues with this theme and discusses the activities of Senwosret IV at the temple. What is most significant in the context of the current study, however, is line 6. The hieroglyphic text is reproduced by Legrain as: . As is evident, the use of the word *b3k* is visible, but the following term, which begins with the throw stick (T14) and the owl (G17), is ambiguous. The combination of these signs is generally one of two terms: *ʕ3m*, meaning “throw stick” or *ʕ3m* “Asiatic”; considering the pairing with *b3k* it would appear that “Asiatic/s” is the more plausible reconstruction.⁹⁴

Though *b3k.w* is generally translated as “tribute”, Spalinger has convincingly argued that the transfer of goods as “*b3k.w*” indicates that it was a work product that was regular, and

⁹¹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 157, no. 576.

⁹² Legrain, “Sur une stèle de Senousrit IV”, *RecTrav* 30 (1908), 15-16.

⁹³ See *Wb* I, 167-168.

⁹⁴ *Wb* I, 167-168.

“stipulated as requirement, an obligation that one could not refuse”.⁹⁵ In the New Kingdom, the term *b3k.w* is traditionally associated with products given by a *southern* region, such as Wawat, Kush, as well as, strangely enough, the regions associated with modern-day Lebanon.⁹⁶ This may be an argument against translating ꜥ3m as “Asiatics” (𓂏𓂏𓂏) in the present context; perhaps it is a variant rendering of a Nubian locality such as ꜥm (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), which is an area east of the Second Cataract.

However, *if* the signs are the remnants of the ethnonym ꜥ3m.w, it is poignant that this word was used for assimilated people from the Levant in Egypt as well as for those outside of Egypt.⁹⁷ Furthermore, ꜥ3m.w was used in relation to the Hyksos rulers, particularly during the Expulsion Period in the Kamose Stele ([17.09.01]-[17.09.03]); despite this, as a term, it cannot convey *degrees* of adaptation or a more specific ethnicity so it is difficult to pinpoint which foreign group the stela may be referring to.⁹⁸ Overall, this fragmentary stela of Senwosret IV is intriguing and might be the first evidence of a *b3k.w*-relationship with foreign peoples represented at Karnak Temple in the period studied, together with the use of ethnonyms to articulate people of un-Egyptian origin.

4.4.3 The Seventeenth Dynasty

Sobekemsaf I

Despite a possible hiatus in the Sixteenth Dynasty, in the Seventeenth Dynasty, the depiction of the nine-bow motif on statue pedestals reappears at the temple. The first example dates to the reign of Sobekemsaf I (c. 1576-1573 BC), found in the Cachette, though it appears to originally have been placed at the Temple of Montu at Tod [17.02.01] (Cairo CG 42029).⁹⁹ This acephalous statuette is formed of schist and measures 30 centimetres tall. The king is depicted striding, dressed in the *shendyt*-kilt (Fig. 4.17). His left hand grasps a vessel and his right a cloth. The striding feet are placed on the nine bows with the nomen, (*Sbk-m-s3=f*)|,

⁹⁵ Anthony Spalinger, “From Local to Global: The Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire”, *SAK* 23 (1996), 365; *Wb* I, 426-430.

⁹⁶ Edward Bleiberg, “Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107.

⁹⁷ Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 144.

⁹⁸ The word is found from the Old Kingdom onwards to describe Asiatics in Egypt. Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 67-66; Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 11-17, 35; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 144.

⁹⁹ PM II², 137; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 18; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 61 (no. 91); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 30 (no. 50); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 401.

engraved on the base. Like [13.30.03], there is the iconographic detail of an additional line at the end of each bow (Fig. 4.18).



Figure 4.17 [17.02.01] Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 4.18 The nine bows as represented on [17.02.01].

Figure 4.19 [17.03.01] Petrie Museum website.

Sobekemsaf Sekhemre-wadjkhaw (Sobekemsaf II?)

A second statue with the nine-bow motif at Karnak has been attributed to Sobekemsaf II [17.03.01] (Petrie Museum UC 14209).¹⁰⁰ Though Ryholt has placed this king as the sixth ruler of the Seventeenth Dynasty (c. 1566-1559 BC), recent evidence has reordered the Seventeenth Dynasty with Sobekemsaf II as the *third* king and successor of Sobekemsaf I.¹⁰¹ Though on an even more problematic level, the prenomen of this king has been varyingly identified as (*Shm-Rꜥ.w-w3d-hꜥw*) and (*Shm-Rꜥ.w-šd-t3.wy*).¹⁰² This statue [17.03.01], has the former prenomen and, it would appear, is to be differentiated from the Sobekemsaf of the statue in [17.02.01]. However, as no prenomen is carved on [17.02.01], it is entirely possible that both Sobekemsaf statues discussed here belong to the same king.

¹⁰⁰ PM I², 790; W. Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt 1887* (London, 1888), 22 (pl. XXI.2); W. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt: From the Earliest Times to the XVIth Dynasty*, vol. 1 (London, 1894), 222-223 (fig. 136); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 30 (no. 46); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 396.

¹⁰¹ Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 167, 410; Polz, “The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State”, *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan*, 217.

¹⁰² The attribution of this cartouche is undecided in the literature. Von Beckerath has this cartouche under Sobekemsaf I, as does Schneider. Hannig’s work has it under Sobekemsaf II after Ryholt. Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1999), 124-126 (Sobekemsaf I), 128-129 (Sobekemsaf II); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 395; Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1301; Thomas Schneider, “Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period”, in E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 184.

Despite issues in chronology and attribution, this statue [17.03.01] ascribed to Sobekemsaf Sekhemre-wadikhaw was purchased in Thebes by Petrie and is believed by Ryholt to have come from Karnak (Fig. 4.19). Carved from green basalt, the acephalous statuette measures 29.2 centimetres high. The figure is seated, grasping the crook and flail, and is attired in *hebsed* garb and the bare feet are placed on the nine bows.¹⁰³ Though these two statuettes of Sobekemsaf are significantly smaller than those from the Thirteenth Dynasty and have less than certain provenances, they appear to provide evidence for the continued use and importance of the traditional nine-bow motif in the Seventeenth Dynasty.

Kamose

The next relevant document is the fragmentary First Stela of Kamose [17.09.01].¹⁰⁴ Discovered in the foundations of the Third Pylon, the content on these fragments match the text found on the Carnarvon Tablet I, dealing with the first half of Kamose's campaign against the Hyksos.¹⁰⁵ It follows a simple narrative arc: the date (Year 3) and the introduction of Kamose with titularly (lines 1-3), the rising action or incident that triggers Kamose's campaign against the Hyksos (lines 3-10), and the conflict (lines 11-14):

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>rnp.t 3 Hr.w hꜥi(.w) hr ns.t=f</i> /// /// | (1) Year 3 of Horus, who appears upon his |
| (2) <i>nsw nḥt m hn.w W3s.t (W3d-[hpr]-Rꜥ.w)</i> /// /// | throne /// /// (2) A Mighty King within |
| (3) <i>[d3d]3.t nty m-ḥt=f si3=i sw</i> /// /// | Thebes, (Wadj[kheper]re) /// /// |
| (4) <i>ꜥm t3 Km.t ps3 B hnꜥ[=i]</i> /// /// | (...) (3) [counc]il who were with him, "I should |
| | like /// /// |
| | (4) therein in this land of Egypt, and dividing up |
| | the land with [me]! /// /// |

¹⁰³ This research does not include the relief of Sobekemsaf Sekhemre-wadikhaw that is today in the Open Air Museum at Karnak, as it was found in Medamud. However, it is notable as it contains depictions of kneeling captive foreigners. For this scene see PM II², 295; Fernand Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1929) (Cairo, 1930), pl. 10; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 396; Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2010), 119 (fig. right); JJ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses", in J. Carlos Moreno García (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 565.

¹⁰⁴ PM II², 73; Pierre Lacau, "Une stèle du roi Kamosis", *ASAE* 39 (1939), 245-271; Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (Glückstadt, 1972), 45-56; H. S. Smith and A. Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts", *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 82-90 (no. 119); John Darnell, "Articular Km.t/Kmy and Partitive KHME", *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 69-81; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 13-14 (no. 68).

¹⁰⁵ Francis Ll. Griffith, "The Carnarvon Tablets I and II", in G. Herbert and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911* (London, 1912), 36-37, pl. XXXV-XXXVI; Alan H. Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 95-110.

- (5) *b3k.w {St.tyw} tw=i r thn hn^c=f* /// /// (5) work produce of the {Asiatics}! I will
/// engage with him /// ///
- (6) *[ith.n]=sn ns=sn mdw=sn m (p3) ki* /// (6) [and] they [have drawn] out their tongues
/// /// and spoken in this fashion /// ///
- (7) *[n^c] n.y 3h.t=sn mnmnt=n hr mni(.w)* (7) the smoothest (of our) fields are cultivated
/// /// by them, our cattle are herded /// ///
- (8) *t3 n.y 3m.w tw=n hr Km.t k3* /// /// (8) the land of the Asiatics, and we possess the
Black Land. Then /// ///
- (9) *[k^c]3=i nn t3 n=i psš hn^c=i t3* /// /// (9) [opposi]te me. One who partitions the land
with me will never /// ///
- (10) *y m^c(.w)=f tw=i r hdi r ir.t s[ky.t]* /// (10) with him. I will sail north in order to
/// /// d[estroy] /// ///
- (11) *[h]k3 nht m-hnw W3s.t (K3-ms)* | /// (11) The mighty [rul]er in Thebes, (Kamose) |
/// ///
- (12) *[pd.t] n.t Md3.w hr.t t3[r.t=n]* /// /// (12) [archers] of the Medjay atop our
entrenched camp /// ///
- (13) *pd.t nht.t n.t Md3.w iw=i* /// /// (13) victorious archers of the Medjay, while I
/// ///
- (14) *[3m].w btnw Km.t iri=f Nfrwsy mh sšy* /// /// (14) the [Asiatic]s, who had defied the Black
Land, so that he made Neferusi a nest /// ///
- (15) *hb3.n=i sbt=f sm33=i* /// /// (15) I destroyed his walls and I killed /// ///

Narrated by Kamose in the first-person and presented in the form of direct speech by the king speaking to his councillors, the king discusses the state of Egypt with a mix of past tenses. This is used to describe the issues that they have been facing, together with complex future phrases aiming to articulate the intentions of the protagonist.¹⁰⁶ Later on, the inscription reverts to the past tense (present perfect). The text aims to highlight the number of issues Kamose has with the Hyksos, from the cultivation of the fields to, most significantly, the division of the land between the north and the south.

For the first time in the texts at Karnak, the rulers of the north are clearly and consistently referred to as Asiatics (*3m.w*, *St.tyw*) and not with the generalising terms *h3s.wt* or *h3s.tyw* (Table 4.5). This use of an ethnonym that is quite specific in referring to a particular group has

¹⁰⁶ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 205.

the effect of representing the Hyksos as distinctly *un-Egyptian*.¹⁰⁷ The attributes associated with the Hyksos, when compared with those of the Egyptians in the text, have evidentially been selected to represent the *opposite* of Egyptian identity. While in keeping with the focus of the texts at Karnak, the descriptions of the Hyksos on the First Stela are significantly less intact than those found on the Carnarvon Tablet I.¹⁰⁸ Despite this, the remains on these fragments do indicate that the rulers of the north are associated with *b3k.w*.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, Nubian mercenaries famed for their skill with the bow are incorporated as *allies* in the army of Kamose. Ethnonyms are not superficial designations but are often specific and their meaning can even fluctuate depending upon the political context. They are terms that can be extremely effective at articulating the ethnic identity of a group and excluding or including individuals based upon this designation.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Asiatics	{ <i>St.tyw</i> }	<i>b3k.w</i>	5	1
Asiatics	<i>ʕ3m.w</i>	<i>t3</i>	8	1
Medjay	<i>MD3.w</i>	<i>pd.t</i>	12, 13	2
Asiatics	[<i>ʕ3m</i>]. <i>w</i>	<i>btnw</i>	14	1

Table 4.5 A comparison between the groups and individuals in [17.09.01].

Type	Term	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>thn</i>	to engage	<i>tw=i</i>	<i>hnʕ=f</i> (Apophis)	5	1
	<i>hdi</i>	to sail north	<i>tw=i</i>	<i>s[ky.t] ///</i>	10	1
Movement (proactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abstract action	<i>hʕi</i>	to appear	(king)	<i>ns.t=f</i>	1	1
Emotion	-	-	-	-	-	-
Physical action	<i>hb3</i>	to destroy	<i>=i</i>	<i>sbt=f</i>	15	1
	<i>sm33</i>	to kill	<i>=i</i>	[lost]	15	1

Table 4.6 Verbs and attributes with the actor, namely, the Egyptian king in [17.09.01].

The identity of Kamose is clearly expressed through the use of the first-person perspective and details the qualities of himself that he wished to portray to others. Notably, the adjective *nht* qualifies the hierarchical terms *nsw.t* and *h3k3*, reinforcing strength and victory as important values in the portrayal of Kamose's identity and the institution of kingship. The deeds of Kamose are also expressed through future verbs stating the vision and intentions of the king which are then followed by punctual verbs indicating that the king was able to follow through

¹⁰⁷ Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 11-17, 35.

¹⁰⁸ The author has deliberately not reconstructed the First Stela as per the Carnarvon Tablet; it is possible the Carnarvon Tablet I was copied from this text, but it is not the intention of this research to reconstruct it in case it is an unfaithful reconstruction.

¹⁰⁹ *Wb* I, 426-428; Spalinger, "From Local to Global", *SAK* 23 (1996), 357ff.

with his plans. The choice of the verb *hḥ*¹¹⁰ in the present perfect tense has the effect of insinuating that the destroying of the Hyksos fortress was of short duration (See Table 4.6).¹¹¹ This has a secondary effect of expressing the ease with which the Egyptians can defeat their enemies.

The Second Stela of Kamose [17.09.02] provides a more comprehensive representation of foreigners. This massive stela, measuring 235 centimetres high, was discovered in the foundations of a colossus of Ramesses II before the Second Pylon.¹¹² The text is a continuation of the narrative found on the First Stela and Carnarvon Tablet I, and the reader is immediately immersed in the text at the point of the rising action of the narrative, namely the battle against the Hyksos:

(1) <i>smi ḥs(.y) m ḥnw dmi=k tw=k tf.ti r- gs mš^c=k</i>	(1) A bad report is in your town; you are driven back/expelled along with your army,
<i>r(3)=k ḥns(.w) m ir(r)=k wi m sr iw=k m ḥk3</i>	your speech (i.e. authority) is restricted, as you have made me a chieftain, while you are ruler!
<i>r dbḥ (2) n=k t3 nm.t ḥr.(w)t=k n=s</i>	So you ask (2) for it, that which is wrongly seized, through it you will fall.
<i>m3(.w) s3=k bin mš^c=i m s3=k</i>	Look at your evil back! My army is a threat at your back.
<i>nn iwr ḥm.(w)t Ḥw.t-W^cr.t</i>	The women of Avaris will not conceive,
<i>nn s(w)n(.w) ib.w=s n (3) m-ḥnw ḥ.t=s n</i>	for their hearts will not open (3) inside their bodies,
<i>sdm.t(w) hmhmt n.t p3y=i mš^c</i>	when the battle cry of my army is heard!
<i>iw=i mni.kwi r Pr-ḏd-ḥn ib=i 3w(.w)</i>	I was moored at <i>Pr-ḏd-ḥn</i> ¹¹³ , my heart happy,

¹¹⁰ *Wb* III, 253.

¹¹¹ Saeed, *Semantics*⁴, 116.

¹¹² PM II², 37 (133); Abdul-Qader Hammad, “Découverte d’une stèle du roi Kamose”, *CdE* 30 (1955), 198-208; Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 43-44; Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (Glückstadt, 1972); Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 91-97 (119); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 14-15 (no. 69); William Kelly Simpson, “The Kamose Texts”, in W. K. Simpson (ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Third Edition (New Haven and London, 2003), 345-350; Labib Habachi, “La libération de l’Égypte de l’occupation Hyksôs”, *RC* 33:175 (1955), 56-8 (fig 36); Jean Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte”, *Orientalia NS* 24:3 (1955), 301; Michel Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes: La naissance du Nouvel Empire de Kamosis à Thoutmosis II* (Arles, 2010), 16-21, 46-60; Biston-Moulin, “De Sésostris Ier à Kamosis”, *ENiM* 4 (2011), 81-90.

¹¹³ Habachi believes this may be a small village. See Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 34 (a).

<i>di=i m3i (4) 'Ippi 3.t hwr(w).t</i>	as I caused (4) Apophis to see a miserable moment,
<i>wr n.y Rtnw hs(.y) ʕ.wwy hmt(.w) n kn.w</i>	the Prince of Retenu, feeble of arms, who plans
<i>m ib=f n hpr=sn n=f(...)</i>	brave deeds in his heart, which never happen for him! (...)

The stela begins with a first-person narrative from the perspective of Kamose who is detailing a report of the state of the kingdom of Apophis. The Hyksos army has been pushed back to Avaris as Kamose approaches the town with his fleet and the agony and terror that Apophis experiences at this moment is evoked through vivid language. These initial clauses that enumerate the titles of Apophis (*hk3, wr n.y Rtnw*) establish his hierarchical importance within the composition as the antagonist, together with emphasising his non-Egyptian ancestry. However, Apophis is given little agency through the verbs and clauses which denote futile efforts (*hmt(.w) n kn.w m ib=f n hpr=sn n=f*), “weakness” (*hs.t*¹¹⁴), “evil” or “badness” (*bin*), and “sadness” (*hwr(w).t*) (Table 4.9).¹¹⁵ The use of the negative particle *n* in the statements about the women further enhances this image of inaction and inactivity. Overall, numerous devices are used to establish an unambiguous and negative evaluation of the non-Egyptian “other”.

This establishes a striking contrast between Kamose and his opponent. The whole text across the three stela document the success of Kamose’s plans to expel the Hyksos (*mʕr, nht, kni, ib=i 3w(.w)*) (see Table 4.8). The actions attributed to Kamose mark him as the dominant initiator who dictates the action and as such *is the one who is in control*. This is revealed, in particular, through the repeated use of the first-person singular suffix pronouns and choice of Kamose’s perspective as he threatens the north with his army and moors his ship in their territory.

In the middle of this text an interesting device is used to introduce the words of Apophis in direct speech: a letter sent from the Hyksos king, Apophis, is received, and its contents provided. This episode is an effective segment, as it provides the perspective of *the enemy*.

¹¹⁴ The use of the term *hs.t* has a number of translations, from being “sad”, “weak”, “miserable”, and in general, *to be low*. *Wb* III, 398-400.

¹¹⁵ Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 41-42.

(...) <i>kj^c.n=i (19) wp.t=fm hr(y).t Wh3t hr hnty.t r Kši hr š^ct sš.w</i>	(...) I captured (19) his messenger beyond the Oasis, while travelling southward to Kush with a written document.
<i>gm.n=i hr=s m dd m sš m-^c(.w) hḳ3 n.y Hw.t-W^cr.t</i>	I found upon it speech in writing from the ruler of Avaris:
(20) (^c 3-wsr-R ^c .w) s3 R ^c .w (Ippi) hr nd- hr(y).t n.t s3(=i) hḳ3 n.y Kši	(20) “(Aaweserre) , son of Re, (Apophis) , greets (my) son, the ruler of Kush.
<i>hr m-^c(.w)=k ḥ^c=k m hḳ3 nn rdi.t rh=i in-iw (21) gmḥ=k iri.tn Km.t r=i</i>	Why have you arisen as a ruler without letting me know? Do you see (21) what Egypt has done against me?
<i>hḳ3 n.ty m-hn(w)=s (K3-ms-nht) di(.w) ḥnh¹¹⁶ hr thm=i hr itn=i</i>	The ruler who is in it, (Kamose, the-victorious) , may he be given life, is attacking me upon my soil!
<i>n ph=i sw mi ḳi n(y) ir.tn=f (22) nb.t r=k</i>	But I am not attacking him in this way (22) to all he has done to you.
<i>stp=f p3 t3.wy r i3d=s(n) p3y=i t3 hn^c p3y=k</i>	He has cut up the two lands to punish them, my land together with yours,
<i>hb(3).n=f st imi hdi m 3^c(.w) (...) </i>	and he has ravaged them. Come, travel downstream, do not be afraid!” (...)

This letter by Apophis and for the ruler of Kush was intercepted by the Egyptian army before it could reach its destination. In it, Apophis berates his southern ally who has remained inactive throughout Kamose’s northern campaign and presses him to join in the conflict. The deliberate shift of perspective in the commentary on the situation adds to the liveliness and the immediacy of the overall report. The reported presence of not one but two opponents for Kamose and the weakness of both serve to enhance the heroism of Kamose, while the use of titles reinforces the hierarchical importance of Kamose, Apophis, and the ruler of Kush within the story.

Differentiation is achieved in the passage above by contrasting the reactions of Apophis and Kamose to the war. Apophis is portrayed as weak for electing to *ask* for assistance from Kush despite the geographical distance that lies between them. This has the impression of *desperation* on the part of Apophis, not to mention the perilous journey that the messenger was expected to undertake. On the other hand, the other initiator of the story, Ahmose, not only

¹¹⁶ A curious example of Egyptian decorum. This show of respect to Kamose by Apophis is out of keeping with the context and argument that Apophis was disrespectful of Egyptian rule.

83

use of a descriptive qualifier instead of an ethnonym diminishes their hierarchical importance and delegates the people in question to a secondary role within the overall narrative.

After the discovery of the letter, Apophis is again described in evocative and presumably, non-literal language to highlight his emotional distress. After Kamose's "victory" (*nht*), the body or flesh of Apophis was "ravaged/cut off" (*hb(3.w) h^c.w=f*).¹¹⁷ This image of slaughter suggests violence, death, and by extension, the end of the enemy. It further implies emotional or mental weakness together with the lack of stamina required to be a king of Egypt. Kamose within the same passage is presented as an ideal king who has brought all that he has promised to Egypt. He defeated his opponents (*sk(.w) rk^w nb*), was "victorious" (*nht*), and brought "happiness" to the land (*wsr-ib ib(=i) 3w(.w)*). Perhaps even more informative, within the context of the current study, is the transference of characteristics from the king to his people through the term *nht*. It is used in relation to the achievements of Kamose (*k(.w) nht=i m ib=f*) as well as for the description of his army (*pd.t nht(.t)*). In turn, the noun *nht* is used here to qualify an aggregate identity, in which the *collective group* is portrayed as strong and victorious after their king (see Table 4.8).¹¹⁸

However, the text ends in somewhat of an anti-climax as the Hyksos are not defeated by Kamose. Kamose infers that the final confrontation between the two main opponents did not occur because Kamose was a great and "feared" (*snd*) warrior. Kamose claims: "He feared me whilst I was sailing northwards, before we had fought, before I had reached him!". It is also possible that Kamose was anticipating another conflict with the Hyksos, in which he could consolidate his victory.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Prince of Retenu	<i>sr</i>	<i>n.y Rtnw</i>	4	1
Asiatic	<i>3m.w</i>	<i>hs(.y)</i>	11, 16	2
Asiatics	<i>3m.w</i>	<i>n.w h3k=i</i>	12	1
Retenu	<i>Rtnw</i>	<i>nb nfr n.y</i>	15	1
Asiatic	<i>3m.w</i>	<i>3k(.w)</i>	15	1
Asiatics	<i>3m.w</i>	<i>sdm s^c n.y</i>	18	1
Kush	<i>Ksi</i>	[none]	19, 26	2
Ruler of Kush	<i>Ksi</i>	<i>hk3 n.y</i>	20	1
Khenthennefer	<i>[Hn.t-hn-]nfr</i>	<i>hr ršw.t</i>	24	1
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	[none]	25, 27	2

Table 4.7 A comparison between the groups and individuals in [17.09.02] and its qualifier.

¹¹⁷ Wb III, 253.

¹¹⁸ Saeed, *Semantics*⁴, 27.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>spr.kwi</i>	to arrive	(king)	<i>r Inyt-nt-hnt</i>	4	1
	<i>d3.kwi</i>	to cross	(king)	<i>r wšd</i>	5	1
	<i>nhm</i>	to take	=i	<i>t3 nt-htri</i>	13	1
	<i>sbi</i>	to go, travel, send	=i	<i>pd.t nht(.t)</i>	29	1
	<i>hnt</i>	to sail south	=i	<i>m wsr-ib</i>	30	1
Movement (proactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abstract	<i>di</i>	to cause	=i	<i>ṭppi 3.t hwr(w).t</i>	3-4	1
	<i>di</i>	to place	=i	<i>p3 mk kn</i>	7	1
	<i>nn di</i>	to not let	=i	<i>dgs=k</i>	10	1
	<i>di</i>	to place	=i	<i>h3s.wt... hr=i</i>	25	
	<i>nht</i>	to be victorious	=i	<i>m ib=f</i>	28	1
Emotion	<i>ib</i>	heart	=i	<i>3w(.w)</i>	3	1
Physical	<i>gmh</i>	to espy	=i	<i>hm.wt=f</i>	8	1
	<i>swi</i>	to drink	=i	<i>irp n.y k3nw=k</i>	11	1
	<i>hb(3)</i>	to destroy	=i	<i>s.t=k hms.t</i>	12	1
	<i>hb(3)</i>	to destroy	=i	<i>niw.(w)t=sn</i>	17	1
	<i>š^cd</i>	to cut	=i	<i>mnw=k</i>	12	1
	<i>grm</i>	to remove	=i	<i>hm.(w)t=k</i>	12	1
	<i>wbd</i>	to burn	=i	<i>s.(w)t=sn</i>	17	1
	<i>kf^c</i>	to capture	=i	<i>wp.t=f</i>	18-19	1
	<i>kf^c</i>	to capture	=i	<i>s.y hr h3s.t</i>	27	1
	<i>stp</i>	to cut up	=f	<i>p3 t3.wy</i>	22	1
	<i>d3i</i>	to subdue	(king)	<i>rs.y</i>	35	1
	<i>s3s3</i>	to drive back, repel	(king)	<i>mh.ty</i>	35	1
	<i>iti</i>	to seize	(king)	<i>p3 t3</i>	35	1

Table 4.8 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, the Egyptian king in [17.09.02].

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>tf.ti</i>	to be driven back	(Apophis)	<i>r-gs mš^c=k</i>	1	1
	<i>n ph</i>	to not attack	=i	<i>šw (Kamose)</i>	21	1
Movement (proactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abstract	<i>ir(r)</i>	to make	=k	<i>wi m sr</i>	1	1
	<i>hmt(.w)</i>	to plan	(Apophis)	<i>n kn.w</i>	4	1
Emotion	<i>snd</i>	to fear	=f	<i>n=i</i>	26	1
Physical / Speech	<i>r(3)</i>	mouth / speech	=k	<i>hns(.w)</i>	1	1

Table 4.9 Verbs and attributes associated with the addressee, Apophis in [17.09.02].

The Third Stela of Kamose, found against the Eighth Pylon [17.09.03] is in an even worse condition than the First Stela, and it is difficult to determine any particular narrative arc.¹¹⁹ Based on its dimensions, the decoration in the lunette, and language, Van Siclen III posited that this stela is the first half of the story found on the Second Stela.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Legrain, "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés a Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", *ASAE* 4 (1903), 25-29; Charles C. Van Siclen III, "Conservation of the Third Kamose Stela at Karnak (Phase 1)", *BARCE* 188 (2005), 21-23; Charles C. Van Siclen III, "The Third Stela of Kamose", *The Second Intermediate Period*, 355-358; Luc Gabolde, "Une troisième stèle de Kamosis?", *Kyphi* 4 (2005), 35-42.

¹²⁰ Van Siclen III, "The Third Stela of Kamose", *The Second Intermediate Period*, 357-8.

Fragment A

- (1) /// *wḥm mnw m* /// /// /// (1) /// repeating monuments in /// /// ///
 (2) /// *wḥf(.w)* /// /// /// (...) (2) /// one who subdues /// /// /// (...)

Fragment A appears to utilise a perfective passive participle (*wḥf(.w)*), with the suggestion of a durative use of the verb. Fragment E is, however, the most complete piece of the stela, and like the First Stela, the Hyksos continue to be referred to as *ʿ3m.w*, and the Nubians are here mentioned by the ethnonym *Nḥsy*.

Fragment E:

- (...) (w+7) /// /// /// *Nḥsy* /// (...) (w+7) /// /// /// Nubians ///
 (w+8) /// /// /// *t3 n ʿ3m.w* /// (...) (w+8) flat land, there being no Asiatics /// (...)

The denoting of specific ethnic groups rather than landscapes or regions reveals that ethnonyms themselves are not constant references, but variable; namely, they can refer to different groups of the same ethnicity. In this case, the term *Nḥsy* is likely used here as a synonym for the specific group “Kushites”, not necessarily for all the people of Nubia, just as the term *ʿ3m.w*, when used to denote the Hyksos, does not encompass all the inhabitants of the Levant (see Table 4.10).

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Nubians	<i>Nḥsy</i>	[lost]	D.z+1; E.w+7	2
Asiatics	[<i>ʿ3</i>] <i>m.w</i>	[lost]	E.w+5	1
Asiatics	<i>ʿ3m.w</i>	<i>t3 n</i> (negative)	E.w+8	1

Table 4.10 A comparison between the groups and individuals in [17.09.03] and its qualifier.

Later in the text, a war context is suggested:

- (...) (w+25) /// /// /// *ḥnd=k ḥr=f ḥ3tyw* /// (...) (w+25) /// /// /// (when) you tread upon him, hearts ///
 (w+26) /// /// /// *n s3=f Dḥwty k3 ḥmnwy* /// (w+26) /// /// /// for his son, Thoth, the bull of Ashmunein ///
 (w+27) /// /// /// *Mntw bik W3sty ḥr wd.t šꜥt* (w+27) /// /// /// Montu, the Theban Falcon, placing terror /// (...)
 /// (...)

This section contains religious themes, including references to Thoth and Montu. The latter reference is particularly notable, as this war-god represents the “conquering vitality of the pharaoh”.¹²¹ This is reinforced by the explicit association of the noun “slaughter”, “terror” (*šꜥt*) with Montu. Though this segment is brief and disjointed, resulting in significant interpretive difficulties, it does confirm some associations that the Egyptians made with foreign groups.

In sum, the three known stele of Kamose from Karnak have recorded a text about a military engagement and conflict with the Hyksos, and to an extent, the Kingdom of Kush. The representations of these foreign groups vary. In relation to the north, a distinct person, Apophis is seen as the main opponent and thus represents all Asiatics and has to face questions around the legitimacy of his kingship. In all three texts, the choice of language and the composition of the inscriptions aim to invalidate Apophis as a ruler, from a physical and mental perspective, as well as on account of his *ethnic* background which is considered inappropriate for a king of Egypt. The southerners are generally included in the text as groups, such as the Medjay and “the south”. In addition, the ruler of the Kushites has little agency within the text, thus reinforcing the focus on Apophis and the main purpose of the text to discredit him as king.

The terminology and actions of the Egyptians, by contrast, are mostly limited to Kamose himself (see Tables 4.5 and 4.8). Kamose is represented as the ideal king, through his strength, foresight, and leadership skills in battle, thus fuelling the warrior ethos of the period, together with his piety in association with Amun. The combination of piety or theological justification with war is a “crucial factor in the development of a new royal ethos connected to warfare”.¹²² Kamose encapsulates a regeneration of traditional values respected by the wider society after decades of declining royal power and their subjugation by foreign peoples. Through this text, Kamose was instilling and promoting a cohesive “Egyptian” identity as a tool to gain support for his military endeavours, not least through the support and piety towards his god, Amun.

The repetitive nature of the Kamose texts, with four known copies including the Carnarvon Tablet I, is particularly salient for the formation of cultural memory and identity.¹²³ Repetition increases the accessibility of memory and studies have shown that recall, especially within the context of long-term memory, increases with repetition, particularly when it is encoded with

¹²¹ Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 126.

¹²² Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 75.

¹²³ For the expulsion of the Hyksos becoming a cultural memory, see Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos* (2015).

cultural knowledge.¹²⁴ Overall, this repetition implies that the conflict with the Hyksos was considered a vital event, such as a foundation narrative, in Egyptian history. This conflict is arguably more substantial than those faced by the other kings of the Second Intermediate Period and would have had the qualities to become nationally significant. It is important to note that these stele were documenting an event in a narrative and would have been designed to be read and communicated to the people who lived through this experience in the first instance, and as such these stele can be understood as examples of external cognition or memory.¹²⁵ These are texts that would have triggered and *shaped* other individuals', namely the audience's, recollection of the past, from adding to it or forgetting aspects of the memory through deliberate and collaborative recall.¹²⁶

4.5 Observations and Spatial Distribution in the Second Intermediate Period

In sum, during the Second Intermediate Period (see Table 4.11 for an overview), there is evidence for negative terminology associated with foreigners. Though the evidence is scarce and scattered on a chronological level, the limited data does appear to suggest that in the Thirteenth Dynasty, simple symbolic references (*topos*) to foreigners existed in the form of the nine-bow motif, and in the Sixteenth Dynasty, lengthy texts on stele (*mimesis*) were found to evoke ethnonyms and characteristics of the "other". These two features are evident in the Seventeenth Dynasty, where the characterisation of the ethnic "other" reached a refined form in the Kamose stele. Across these documents, the negative representation of the foreigners was used as a device to achieve stark contrasts between those who belonged and those who did not. The image of the Egyptians within this interplay of "us" and "them" was particularly enlightening: whereas the foreigners were consistently described as weak and wicked, the Egyptian king is uniformly denoted as a strong and mighty warrior who protects his people. Through such an orchestrated representation, the Egyptian king was able to manifest himself as a role model for people to aspire to, and as such, reaffirm or alter traditional values and qualities of the "ideal" Egyptian.

Regarding the spatial distribution of the monuments discussed in this chapter, there are three trends: first, two statues are believed to have been found in the Central Court, five statues in the Cachette, and three stele from the Third Pylon. This may suggest that the three stele were

¹²⁴ Michael C. W. English and Troy A. W. Visser, "Exploring the repetition paradox: The effects of learning context and massed repetition on memory", *Psychon Bull Rev* 21 (2014), 1026-1032.

¹²⁵ Sutton, Harris, Keil, and Barnier, "The Psychology of Memory", *Phenom Cogn Sci* 9:4 (2010), 521-522.

¹²⁶ Sutton, Harris, Keil, and Barnier, "The Psychology of Memory", *Phenom Cogn Sci* 9:4 (2010), 522.

originally set up as a group, and the statues likewise in the Central Court. It is possible that they were initially placed before pylons as was common practice in the New Kingdom, as evidenced by the arrangement of artefacts before the Seventh Pylon in the reign of Thutmose III. Unfortunately, due to the constant rebuilding and alterations at Karnak after the Second Intermediate Period, no analysis can be made regarding patterns of spatial distribution of different types of texts during this era, though some hypotheses can put forward, namely, of their placement in the Middle Kingdom Court (Figures 4.20 and 4.21). As a whole, however, it would appear that across this period, the Temple of Amun was becoming a placard of information from which ideas of Egyptian history, culture, and identity could be derived.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 4.20 Spatial distribution as it may have looked in the Second Intermediate Period.

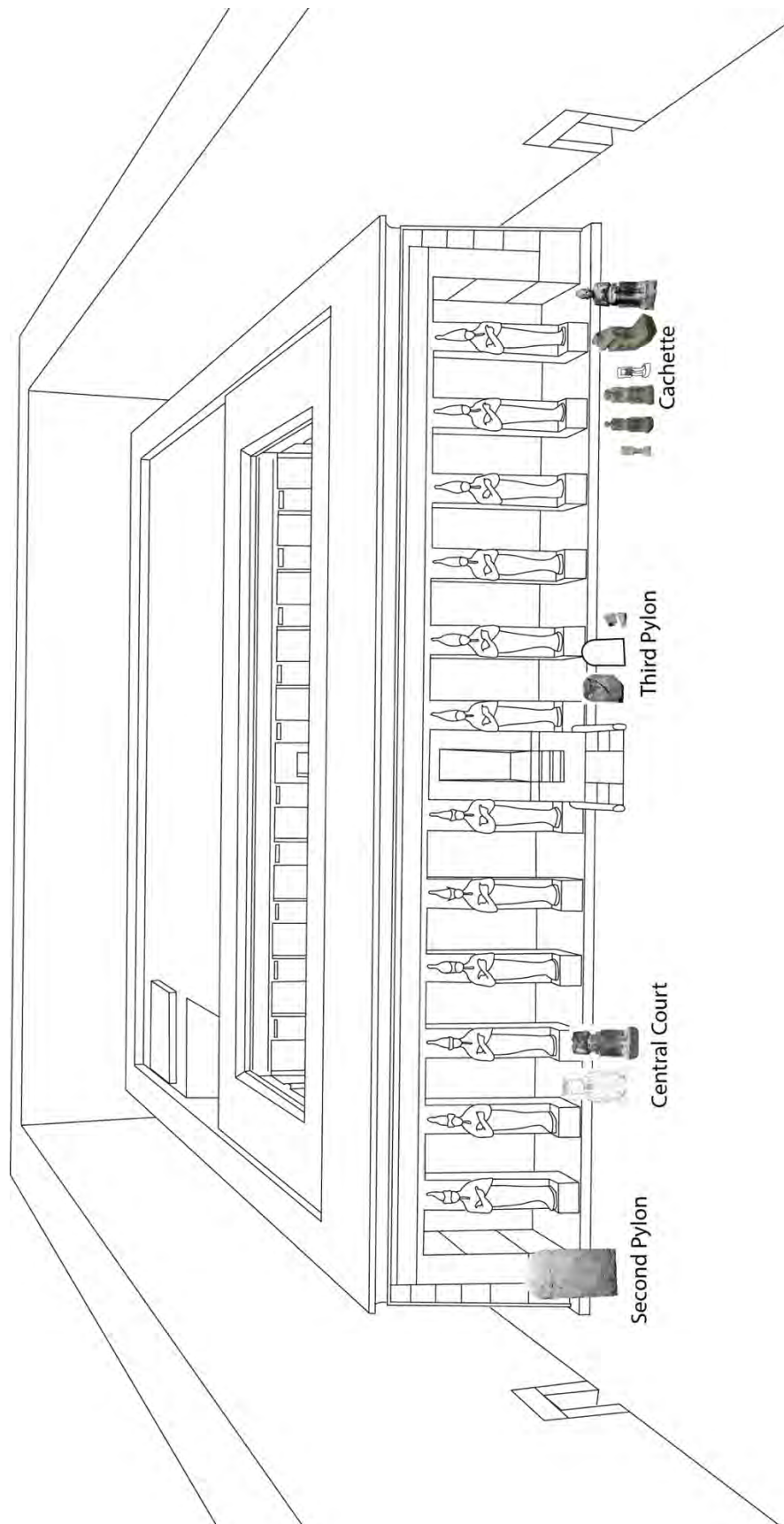


Figure 4.21 Hypothetical placement of the texts grouped according to provenance. Image by Peirce after Gabolde (1998), pl. XXXVIII.

Foreigners at Karnak

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Description
13.29.01*	Central Court	H 93.5 cm W 40 cm D 72 cm	Louvre AF 8969	Sobekhotep headless, seated, with nine-bow motif.
13.29.02	Hypostyle Hall	unknown	unknown	Stela of Sobekhotep IV, reference to cedar of Lebanon.
13.30.01	Cachette	H 126 cm	Cairo CG 42027	Statue of Sobekhotep V with nine-bow motif.
13.30.02	Cachette	H 100 cm W 37 cm D 78 cm	Cairo CG 42028	Seated statue of Sobekhotep V with nine-bow motif.
13.30.03	Cachette	H 34 cm W 10 cm D 16.5 cm	Cairo JE 39258	Statuette of Sobekhotep V with nine-bow motif.
13.0B.01	Cachette	H 74.5 cm L 23 cm D 42 cm	Cairo CG 42023	Statue of Neferhotep II, with nine-bow motif.
13.0B.02	Cachette	H 72 cm W 24 cm D 42 cm	Cairo CG 42024	Statue of Neferhotep II, with nine-bow motif.
13.38.01	Central Court	H 134 cm	Cairo JE 43599	Statue of Sobekhotep VII with his sons. Nine-bow motif on base.
16.04.01	Third Pylon	H 85.6 cm W 53.5 cm	Cairo JE 59635	Stela of Neferhotep III, describing protecting city from foreigners.
16.05.01	Third Pylon	unknown	Sheikh Labib magazine	Stela of Montuhotpi: description of driving back foreigners.
16.0E.01	Near the Sacred Lake	H 90 cm W 25 cm	unknown	Stela of Senwosret IV with a possible reference to Asiatics.
17.02.01*	Cachette	H 30 cm W 9 cm D 14 cm.	Cairo CG 42029	Statuette of a Sobekemsaf with nine-bow motif.
17.03.01*	Karnak	H 29.2 cm W 10 cm D 17.9 cm	Petrie Museum UC 14209	Statuette of a Sobekemsaf with nine-bow motif.
17.09.01	Third Pylon	Two fragments: F1: H 1.04 m, W 0.56 m F2: H 1.34 m, W 0.3 m	Cairo TN 11.1.35.1	First Stela of Kamose, description of Asiatics defying Egypt.
17.09.02	Second Pylon, foundations of Ram. II Colossus	H 235 cm W 112.5 cm D 28 cm	Luxor J. 43	Second Stela of Kamose, concerning war with the Hyksos.
17.09.03	Eighth Pylon	H 285 cm (reconstructed)	unknown	Third Stela of Kamose, fragmentary references to Asiatics and Nubians.
* Date uncertain				

Table 4.11 Overview of sources from the Second Intermediate Period.

Chapter 5

The Dawn of the Eighteenth Dynasty - The Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II

“Fear of him is in Khenthennefer,
his war cry is in the flat lands of the Fenkhau,
the fear of His Majesty is in this flat land
as Min, the year when he comes”.
The Stela of Ahmose (Cairo CG 34001), Lines 13-14.¹

In contrast to the Second Intermediate Period, the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty is marked by diversification in the portrayal of foreigners. From the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II (c. 1550/1549-1479 BC), Karnak evolved spatially and architecturally. In combination with the gradual expansion of the Egyptian empire and increased contact with foreign peoples, the sacred space grew to include novel representations of the Egyptians' domination of the “other”. This era saw a fundamental evolution in the choice of *medium* for the representations of foreign peoples, together with *how* these representations were used to contrast and portray a sense of Egyptian identity. This chapter provides an overview of the socio-political context of the early Eighteenth Dynasty from the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II (Section 5.1) and the modifications that occurred at Karnak during this period (Section 5.2). Following this, the portrayal of foreigners is discussed in nine sources from the temple (Section 5.3), which is succeeded by observations on the references to foreigners at Karnak from the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II (Section 5.4).

5.1 The Socio-Political Context from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Egyptian rulers began the process of territorial expansion and conquest. Military pressures were rife particularly during the first two decades of the dynasty as Ahmose gradually expelled the Hyksos.² After a successful three-year conflict in Sharouhen ending with the physical expulsion of the Hyksos rulers, Upper and Lower Egypt was once again unified under one Egyptian king.³ After this triumph in the north, Ahmose

¹ See [18.01.01].

² Claude Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Brussels, 1971), 11-13; Betsy M. Bryan, “The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period”, in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 207; Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*, 120.

³ Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 11-13; Bryan, “The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 207; Ellen Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*, 120.

turned his attention to the regions south of Egypt. This is documented in the biography of Ahmose, son of Ibana, who recorded a campaign in Year 22 to Khenthennefer.⁴ The conflict was instigated in order to crush a rebellion by Tetian, who was subsequently defeated, while the nomads of Nubia, who assisted in the uprising, were slaughtered.⁵ After this conflict, according to the biography of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, Ahmose led another campaign north to Djahy.⁶

The reign of Ahmose's successor, Amenhotep I, is poorly documented.⁷ In general, it would appear that he continued the work of his father and consolidated the Egyptian territory, particularly to the south of Egypt in Nubia.⁸ No certain information has survived regarding any corresponding northern campaigns.⁹

By the reign of Thutmose I, a distinct shift occurred from using military campaigns to restore Egypt to its former glory to adopting an expansionist policy.¹⁰ It was no longer necessary to expel the enemies of Egypt or to protect the borders. Campaigns instead began to be used as a tool to be recognised for brave feats over foreign lands, while plunder and revenue in the form of *b3k.w* and *in.w* appear to have held a certain allure.¹¹ In the eleven regnal years of Thutmose I, he led campaigns to both the Levant and Nubia.¹² The Nubian campaigns are better documented, particularly in the Tombos inscription of Year 2, which records Thutmose I's defeat of the Nubians, a campaign believed to have taken 14 months, together with a boundary inscription at Kurgus.¹³ The later northern campaigns are documented in a detailed manner only in the non-royal biographical inscriptions of Ahmose, son of Ibana and Ahmose Pennekhbet, where the king is described as reaching Retenu and Naharin and slaughtering his enemy.¹⁴ In his Tombos inscription, Thutmose I also claims to have travelled as far as the Euphrates, which provides further evidence for the extremes of the Egyptian empire during this

⁴ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1-10 (1); Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 64-68, 75-82.

⁵ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1-10 (1); Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 64-68, 75-82.

⁶ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 35-37 (9); Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 90-97; Randa Omar Kazem Baligh, *Tuthmosis I* (PhD Thesis: Yale University, 1997), 215; Aidan Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from the Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo and New York, 2014), 3; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 130.

⁷ Thomas Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen* (Düsseldorf, 2002), 58-60.

⁸ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 35-37 (9); Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, 59; Franz-Jürgen Schmitz, *Amenophis I.: Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, 1978), 182-204.

⁹ Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, 59.

¹⁰ Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 216; Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*, 120-137.

¹¹ Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 216; Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*, 120-137.

¹² Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 213-286; Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 220-221.

¹³ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 82-88 (32-33); Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 219, 228-233; W. Vivian Davies, "Kurgus 2002: the inscriptions and rock-drawings", *Sudan and Nubia* 7 (2003), 55-57.

¹⁴ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1-10 (1), 35-37 (9); Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 256.

period.¹⁵ Thutmose I's son, Thutmose II, ruled for an ephemeral three years until his early death, with one known expedition to the south in Year 1 and perhaps a later northern campaign to subdue a rebellion in Shasou.¹⁶

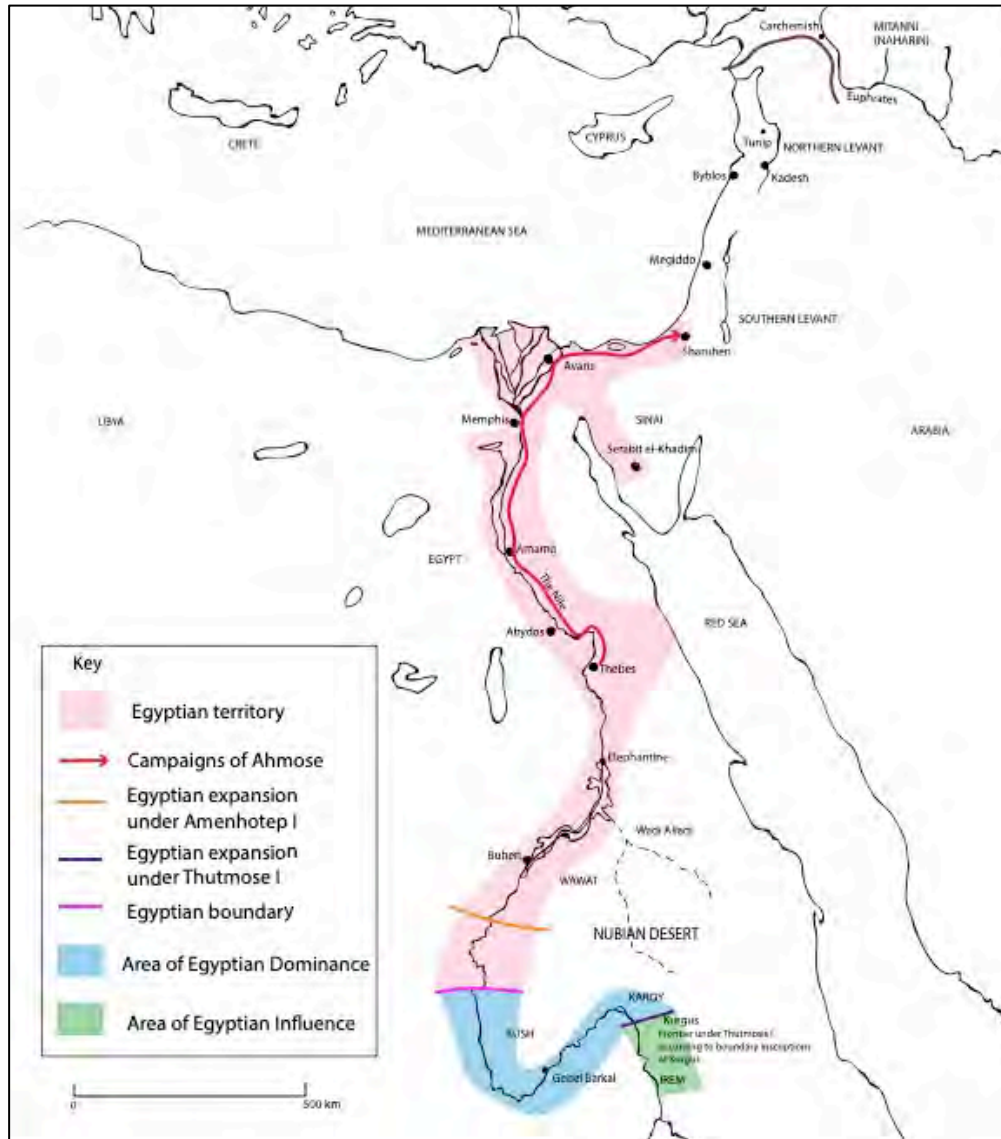


Figure 5.1 The expansion of the empire in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

5.2 The Temple from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II

As discussed in Chapter 4.2 and 4.3, the Temple of Amun at Karnak in the Second Intermediate Period would have been a small structure, decorated with Osiride pillars on the façade and

¹⁵ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 85.14 (32); Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 269, 286. Many thanks to Luc Gabolde for the following reference: W. Vivian Davies, "Egyptian rock-inscriptions at Tombos and the Dal Cataract: the epigraphic survey, season 2017", *Sudan and Nubia* 22 (2018), 46-54.

¹⁶ Luc Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II et celui de ses successeurs immédiats jusqu'à la fin de la régence d'Hatchepsout* (PhD Thesis: Université de Lyon II, 1987), 292-296.

square pillars within the peristyle court. At the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the reign of Ahmose, the architectural layout of this temple was not necessarily altered.¹⁷ The Storm Stela of Ahmose does, however, suggest that the temple was restored, from the re-erecting of walls to the placement of braziers with offerings around the site, whilst the discovery of a lintel in 1968 provides firm evidence that the king constructed a door.¹⁸

Amenhotep I expanded the front of the temple by adding a new entrance and court with two enclosure walls (Fig. 5.2, Pl. II).¹⁹ The two parallel enclosure walls were built successively around the main limestone *radier* of the temple, which were two cubits thick (inner wall) and three cubits thick (outer wall).²⁰ Further, blocks discovered scattered across the site have revealed that Amenhotep I constructed a large gateway between the enclosure walls and the Middle Kingdom Court, today known as the proto-Sixth Pylon.²¹ This gateway, adorned with eight statue niches, appears to have also been decorated with the classic scene of the king smiting enemies.²²

¹⁷ It is worth noting that Ahmose's focus may have been on his mortuary temple at Abydos, which does contain vivid battle scenes with chariots, likely a representation of his conflict with the Hyksos. Stephen P. Harvey, *The Cults of Ahmose at Abydos* (PhD Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1998). See also François Le Saout, Abd el-Hamid Ma'arouf, and Thierry Zimmer, "Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: varia 1", *Karnak* 8 (1987), 306-307, pl. VII; Blyth, *Karnak*, 29.

¹⁸ Another block was found by Chevrier and published in 1936. Henri Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1935-1936)", *ASAE* 36 (1936), pl. II (1). For the Storm Stela, see [18.01.02]: PM II², 73; Claude Vandersleyen, "Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis", *RdE* 19 (1967), 123-159; Claude Vandersleyen, "Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d'Ahmosis relatant une tempête", *RdE* 20 (1968), 127-134; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*², 104-110 (124); Le Saout, Ma'arouf, and Zimmer, "Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: varia 1", *Karnak* 8 (1987), 306-307, pl. VII; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 16 (72); Karen Polinger Foster, Robert K. Ritner, and Benjamin R. Foster, "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption", *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14; Malcolm H. Wiener and James P. Allen, "Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose", *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28; Robert K. Ritner and Nadine Moeller, "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela', Thera and Comparative Chronology", *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 51-53, 118-120.

¹⁹ Contrary to what has been understood so far, Amenhotep I did not dismantle the monuments of Senwosret I - this temple survived until the end of the pharaonic era. Many thanks to Luc Gabolde for clarification on this important issue. See also David A. Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion: Hatshepsut, Amun & Karnak in Context* (Münster, 2012), 216; Larché, "A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico", *Causing His Name to Live*, 230 (fig. 42).

²⁰ Larché, "A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico", *Causing His Name to Live*, 162-164, 168.

²¹ Catherine Graindorge and Philippe Martinez, "Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Amenophis Ier et les premières liturgies amoniennes", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 36-64; Catherine Graindorge and Philippe Martinez, "Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments d'Amenophis I a Karnak", *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169; Catherine Graindorge, "Les monuments d'Amenhotep Ier à Karnak", *Egypte* 16 (2000), 31; Catherine Graindorge, "Der Tempel des Amun-Re von Karnak zu Beginn der 18. Dynastie", in H. Beinlich (ed.), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 83-90; Blyth, *Karnak*, 34; For the projects of Amenhotep I at Karnak see, CFEETK, "Les monuments d'Amenophis Ier à Karnak", <<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/accueil/programmes-scientifiques/axe-3-cultes-et-lieux-de-culte/axe3-theme1/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

²² Graindorge and Martinez, "Karnak avant Karnak", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 36-64; Graindorge and Martinez, "Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments d'Amenophis I a Karnak", *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169; Graindorge, "Les monuments d'Amenhotep Ier à Karnak", *Egypte* 16 (2000), 31; Graindorge, "Der Tempel des Amun-Re", *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 83-90; Blyth, *Karnak*, 34; Larché, "A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico", *Causing His Name to Live*, 165-167.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 5.2 The temple in the reign of Amenhotep I.

Amenhotep I also constructed a pylon “of fine limestone” to the south of the temple, which is recorded in the biography of its architect, Ineni.²³ The foundations of a southern pylon of mud-brick have been found along the southern processional way between the Eighth and Ninth Pylons, and accordingly it has been conjectured that it dates to the reign of Amenhotep I.²⁴ However, Thutmose III claims that his own Seventh Pylon, which is significantly closer to the main building of the temple, replaced an earlier mud-brick construction: could this be Amenhotep I’s pylon?²⁵ As a whole, however, the placement of the pylon of Amenhotep I is still uncertain, though it appears to have been, at the very least, between Central Karnak and the Ninth Pylon. Other notable additions from the reign of Amenhotep I include the alabaster kiosk discovered in the fill of the Third Pylon, a limestone copy of Senwosret I’s White Chapel, and a row of chambers to the south of the temple.²⁶

²³ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 53-54 (20); Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 1-4. Abteilung IV*, Band I (Leipzig, 1914), 28-29 (20).

²⁴ Lisa Giddy, “Digging Diary 2001”, *EA* 20 (2002), 32; Blyth, *Karnak*, 34-36.

²⁵ Thutmose III in [18.06.04], line 27 of Annals, Stück VII: “[My Majesty made this anew, since my Majesty had found] this [pylon] (made) in bricks”. Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 71. A similar statement is found in *Le Texte de la Jeunesse* of Thutmose III [18.06.13], line 33. Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 169 (64).

²⁶ Blyth, *Karnak*, 36-37; Larché, “A Reconstruction of Senwosret I’s Portico”, *Causing His Name to Live*, 162-168; Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, 59.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 5.3 The temple in the reign of Thutmose I.

In the following of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I dramatically enlarged the size of the temple with a new colonnaded open court (Fig. 5.3, Pl. III).²⁷ In 2003, Carlotti and Gabolde published findings from the excavations of the area between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons and determined two phases of construction during the reign of Thutmose I.²⁸ In the first phase, the two enclosure walls of Amenhotep I were dismantled together with the chapels that existed in the area.²⁹ These walls were replaced by two of Thutmose I's own, while the Fifth Pylon was erected as the western side of the exterior wall, creating the entrance proper to the sacred area of the temple.³⁰ The inner eastern face of this pylon was decorated with ten niches, five in each wing, where seated Osiride statues of the king were placed.³¹ The construction of the Fourth

²⁷ Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 442; Gillian Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six: Assessing the Architecture, Sequence of Construction and Ensuing Historical Implications* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2016), 80. Available through Macquarie University Library.

²⁸ Jean-François Carlotti and Luc Gabolde, "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 284-289; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 58-60.

²⁹ Larché, "A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico", *Causing His Name to Live*, 162-163, 168; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 80.

³⁰ Luc Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 61-62; Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 489; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 80.

³¹ Carlotti and Gabolde, "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 258-261; Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 446; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 59, 81.

Pylon appears to have been contiguous with the construction of the Fifth.³² A third enclosure wall was built that extended from the Fifth Pylon to encompass the eastern side of the complex.³³

The second phase included the addition of a peristyle court, within the space between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons, along the north, east, and southern sides.³⁴ On the eastern wall of the court, large Osiride statues were placed along the niches and to the other sides of the area.³⁵ Finally, Thutmose I erected the first pair of large obelisks at Karnak, which were hewn from granite and placed before the west face of the Fourth Pylon.³⁶

The work of Thutmose I's successor, Thutmose II, which included a festival court and a pair of obelisks, was destroyed by later kings (Pl. IV).³⁷ From blocks discovered in the Third Pylon in recent years, Gabolde has been able to reconstruct the festival court.³⁸ This festival court was erected in limestone in front of the Fourth Pylon towards the west and was constructed in a rectangular formation with three gateways on the north side and one to the south (Fig. 5.4).³⁹ In this court, Thutmose II erected a pair of obelisks, today known from fourteen fragments.⁴⁰ Their foundations are symmetrically located on either side of the east-west axis.⁴¹ It is believed that they were begun in the last few months of the reign of Thutmose II and were probably not completed until the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁴² Before the court, another pylon known as the Grand Pylon of Thutmose II was built, perhaps measuring 18.82 meters wide, 5.2 meters deep, and 12.36 metres high.⁴³ Gabolde has proposed that before this

³² Luc Gabolde, "Le parvis et la porte du IV^e pylône: considérations sur une chapelle et des obélisques", in C. Zivie-Coche and I. Guermeur (eds), *Parcourir l'éternité, Hommages Jean Yoyotte, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Turnhout, 2012), 463-465.

³³ Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 442; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 80.

³⁴ Carlotti and Gabolde, "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 260, 284-289; Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 446; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 81.

³⁵ Carlotti and Gabolde, "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 260; Gabolde, "Le parvis et la porte du IV^e pylône", *Parcourir l'éternité*, 466-469; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 59.

³⁶ Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past* (London, 1978), 57; Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 61-62.

³⁷ Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 1-82; Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II*, 297-299; Luc Gabolde, "Compléments sur les obélisques et la 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 417-468; Blyth, *Karnak*, 46-50.

³⁸ Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 1-82.

³⁹ The lintel of Door C was reengraved in the reign of Amenhotep III, but it contains a reference to the Nine Bows and the *h3s.wt*. Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 7-8, 12, 17, 21 (fig. 6), 47, pl. XVI; Blyth, *Karnak*, 47.

⁴⁰ Luc Gabolde, "À propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II, dédiés à son père Thoutmosis I et érigés sous le règne d'Hatshepsout-pharaon à l'ouest du IV^e pylône", *Karnak* 8 (1987), 143-158; Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 17; Blyth, *Karnak*, 50.

⁴¹ Gabolde, "À propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II", *Karnak* 8 (1987), 143-158; Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 17; Blyth, *Karnak*, 50.

⁴² Gabolde, "Le parvis et la porte du IV^e pylône", *Parcourir l'éternité*, 469.

⁴³ Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 13-14, 19; Blyth, *Karnak*, 47.

pylon the two colossal statues of Thutmose II today located before the Eighth Pylon may have been placed, before being moved to their current location by Thutmose III.⁴⁴ Another building attributed to Thutmose II is a bark shrine constructed of limestone from Tura which contains depictions of Thutmose II with Hatshepsut.⁴⁵ In addition, the row of chambers south of the alley leading to the Akhmenu were built from the reigns of Thutmose II at the earliest to Thutmose III at the latest.⁴⁶

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 5.4 A reconstruction of the “*cour de fêtes*” of Thutmose II. Gabolde (1993), pl. III.

5.3 The Texts from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II

From the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II, nine sources have been compiled that refer to foreign lands or the Nine Bows at Karnak (see Table 5.7 for an overview of the sources). This period continues in using the preferred mediums of the Second Intermediate Period, namely stele and statues with the nine-bow motif, though new methods, artefacts, and architectural features are found that refer to foreign lands.

Ahmose

The first source is the stela of Ahmose from Karnak [18.01.01] that was discovered south of the Eighth Pylon.⁴⁷ The inscription is believed to have been composed after the Hyksos

⁴⁴ Gabolde, “La ‘*cour de fêtes*’ de Thoutmosis II à Karnak”, *Karnak* 9 (1993), 21.

⁴⁵ Luc Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 2005), 99-128.

⁴⁶ Personal communication from Luc Gabolde.

⁴⁷ KIU 575; PM II², 179; Kurt Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 14-24 (5); Sethe, *Übersetzung*, 8-12 (5); Georges Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 27-

expulsion in Year 22 and is situated historically at a time when Egypt had been reunited under one king. The narrative arc introduces the protagonist, the king, in the exposition (lines 1-6), followed by a list of Ahmose's and his mother's deeds (lines 7-27). From line 9 onwards, the text alludes to the universal adoration of the king by all peoples:

(9) (...) <i>iti(.w) h^c.w m 3h-bit⁴⁸ nb h^c.w</i>	(9) (...) who took the crowns in Chemmis, Lord
<i>Hr.w w3h mr.wt iwi n=f rs.(ty)w mh.tyw</i>	of Diadems, Horus, enduring-of-love, to whom
<i>i3b.tyw imn.tyw</i>	the southerners, the northerners, the easterners,
	and the westerners come,
<i>iw=f mn(.w) m nb smn(.w) t3.wy=fy iti.n=f</i>	he enduring as the lord, who establishes his Two
<i>iw^c.t wtt (10) sw</i>	Lands, he having seized the inheritance of the
	one who begat (10) him.
<i>t3.wy tm.w hm.w n=f di.n n=f st it=f špsi</i>	The Two Lands, they being completed, retreat to
<i>iw h^c.n=f hnmmt 3mm.n=f rhyt</i>	him, his noble father having given them to him.
	He grasped mankind, he having grabbed the
	common folk.

These lines provide two modes of expected behaviour by groups towards the Egyptian king. The first scenario describes all peoples, from the four pillars of the earth, coming to show respect to the king, who is ruling the land that is his inheritance (*iti.n=f iw^c.t*). The second action is *retreating* (*hm*).⁴⁹ The utilisation of perfective active participles, present perfect tenses, and the third-person pronouns, places the focus on Ahmose as the dominant subject and the active ruler. As a contrast to the Second Intermediate Period texts which are characterised by *reactive* verbs, the actions on this stela diverge between reactive and proactive (see Table 5.1). For example, Ahmose proactively took (*iti*) the crowns in Chemmis and seized (*iti*) the

29; Pierre Lacau, *Catalogue général Nos 34001-34064. Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1926), 1-4, pl. I; James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. Volume II: The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago, 1906), 13-14; Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout", *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 125-126; Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout (suite)", *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 159; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*; Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 56-57; Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1993), 42; M. M. Bontty, "The Haunebu", *GM* 145 (1995), 45-58; Bill Manley, "Some Images of the King and Queen Together in the Stele of Ahmose I", *TrabEg* 1 (2002), 35-44; Christophe Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 2008), 210-214 (no. 18); Michel Azim and Gerard Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* (Paris, 2004), I, 249-251; II, 177; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos* (2015), 118-121; Sébastien Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire des inscriptions de Karnak I. Le vocabulaire* (Montpellier, 2017), 378 (KIU575).

⁴⁸ Known as the birthplace of Horus, and as such, the birthplace of kingship. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 203.

⁴⁹ *Wb* III, 80.2.

inheritance from his father, whilst in line three of the text he is *reacting*: “one who subjugates the rebels” (*d3r(.w) hn.w*).

After this initial context is established, foreign groups are explicitly incorporated within the document:

(12) (...) <i>iw h3s.tyw m hims w^c h^c.w r</i>	(12) (...) The <i>h3s.tyw</i> supplicate as one, standing
<i>rryt=f</i>	at (13) his gate.
<i>iw š^ct=f m Hnt-hn-nfr</i>	Fear of him is in Khenthennefer,
<i>hmhm.t=f m t3.w Fnhw</i>	his war cry is in the flat lands of the Fenhkou,
<i>snd.t hm=f m-hnw t3 pn mi</i> (14) <i>Mnw rnp.t</i>	the fear of His Majesty is in this flat land as (14)
<i>iyi=f</i>	Min, the year when he comes.
<i>ini=sn m3^c.w nfr.w 3tp.w m in.w n nsw.t</i>	They bring good produce, laden with gifts for the
(...)	king (...)

From line 12, there is a shift in the text to describe the actions of various foreign lands that are divided into the two scenarios of expected behaviour established in lines 3 to 9: paying homage to the king or being subjugated by him. Within this section, the participants are the various foreign people and localities, who are *reacting* to Ahmose’s military successes (see Tables 5.2 and 5.3). In the first instance, homage is the most present theme, with the anonymous *h3s.tyw* supplicating or showing respect to the king (*hims*). The subjugation of the foreign lands is alluded to through the terms “fear” (*š^ct*) and “war cry” (*hmhm.t*), suggesting a violent (military) conflict and the apprehension resulting from this encounter (see Table 5.1).⁵⁰

The references to a place (Khenthennefer) and people (the Fenhkou), as opposed to the anonymous *h3s.wt*, appear to have been used explicitly to highlight the known terrestrial world of the Egyptians and provide evidence for the re-establishment of the boundaries. The southern border is now Khenthennefer and the most northern at the territory of the Fenhkou, a people residing in the geographical region along the coast of the northern Levant, which is traditionally north of Byblos and around 20 kilometres inland from the coast.⁵¹ The significance of this

⁵⁰ Uroš Matić, “‘They were like lions roaring upon the mountain-crests’: Soundscapes of war in New Kingdom Egypt”, in I. Incordino, S. Mainieri, E. D’Itria, M. Diletta Pubblico, F. Michele Rega, A. Salsano (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2017. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Symposium* (Oxford, 2018), 112.

⁵¹ Raphael Giveon, “Phönizier”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LA IV* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 1039-40; Alessandra Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples: A Re-examination of the Egyptian Sources* (Oxford, 1972), 53; Anthony J. Spalinger, “A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia”, *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis*, 119.

expansion of the borders cannot be overstated; during the reign of Kamose, and early in the reign of Ahmose, the territory of Egypt encompassed Middle Egypt to the cataracts (compare Figs. 4.1 and 5.1). Accordingly, not only has Ahmose reunited Upper and Lower Egypt, but he has expanded the frontiers to both the south and the north to a substantial degree.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>d3r</i>	to subjugate	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	<i>hn</i>	3	1
	<i>w^cf</i>	to subdue	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	<i>idb.wy</i>	4	1
	<i>w^cf</i>	to subdue	(<i>I^ch-htp</i>)	<i>h3s.t nb.t</i>	24	1
	<i>ʿw3</i>	to recruit, to steal	= <i>s</i> (<i>I^ch-htp</i>)	<i>mnf3.t</i>	25	1
	<i>dr</i>	to subdue, drive out	= <i>s</i> (<i>I^ch-htp</i>)	<i>btⁿw</i>	26	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>iti</i>	to take, seize	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	<i>h^c.w</i>	9	1
Abstract	<i>iti</i>	to seize	= <i>f</i> (<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	<i>iw^c.t</i>	9	1
	<i>nw</i>	to take care for	= <i>s</i> (<i>I^ch-htp</i>)	<i>wth</i>	26	1
	<i>ink</i>	to gather, unite	= <i>s</i> (<i>I^ch-htp</i>)	<i>ts.w</i>	26	1
	<i>wḏ</i>	to order	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>ir.t</i>	27, 32	2
Emotion	<i>sgrh</i>	to calm	= <i>s</i> (<i>I^ch-htp</i>)	<i>šm^c.w</i>	26	1
Physical / Speech	<i>hf^c</i>	to grasp	= <i>f</i>	<i>hnmm.t</i>	10	1
	<i>3mm</i>	to grab	= <i>f</i>	<i>rhyt</i>	10	1
	<i>hmhm.t</i>	war cry	= <i>f</i>	<i>t3.w Fn^hw</i>	13	1

Table 5.1 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor(s), Ahmose and Ahhotep in [18.01.01].

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>ks.w</i>	to bow	<i>h3s.wt</i>	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	4	1
	<i>iwi</i>	to come	<i>rs.(ty)w</i>	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	9	1
	<i>iwi</i>	to come	<i>m^h.tyw</i>	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	9	1
	<i>iwi</i>	to come	<i>i3b.tyw</i>	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	9	1
	<i>iwi</i>	to come	<i>imn.tyw</i>	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	9	1
	<i>hims</i>	to supplicate, humble	<i>h3s.tyw</i>	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	12	1
	<i>ini</i>	to bring	= <i>sn</i> (<i>h3s.t</i>)	(<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	14	1
Movement (proactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Emotion	<i>š^cd</i>	to fear	<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>	= <i>f</i> (<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>)	13	1
Physical	<i>3tp</i>	to load	<i>in.w</i>	<i>nsw.t</i>	14	1

Table 5.2 Verbs and attributes associated with the foreigners in [18.01.01].

An exception to the subjugation of foreign peoples in this text is in reference to the land of Hanebu:

(24) (...) *imm hnw n nb.t t3 hn.wt idb.w* (24) (...) Give praise to the Lady of the Land,
H3.w-nb.wt Mistress of the Shores of the Hanebu,
k3.t rn hr h3s.t nb(.t) ir.t shr ʿš3.wt hm.t- Noble of Name in all *h3s.t*, who made the plan
nsw.t sn.t (25) *ity ʿnh(.w) wḏ3(.w) snb(.w)* for the masses, king's wife, and sister (25) of the
 (...) sovereign (l.p.h.) (...)

The above epithets reflect the titulary of the queen mother, Ahhotep. Two phrases are of particular interest, namely, “Mistress of the Shores of the Hanebu” and “Noble of Name in all *h3s.t*”. Whilst the latter appears to highlight a widely-respected Egyptian queen, the term Hanebu (*H3.w-nb.wt*) in the former title is problematic. In the Ptolemaic Period, this term is associated with the Aegean Islands, and its meaning evolves over the Pharaonic Period.⁵² In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the term does not appear to refer to a people as such, but to a topographical area near coastal marshes or islands in the extreme north of the known Egyptian territory in the Levant, particularly land in the vicinity of a large body of water.⁵³ In line 24, the Hanebu are qualified by “shores” (*idb.w*). This is hinted at earlier within the text itself in lines 11-12:

- (11) (...) *H3.w-nb.wt hr (dd) šms=n im=f* (11) (...) the Hanebu (say): “The one we follow is in him.”
- t3.w hr (dd) wnn=n n=f(...)* The flat lands (say): “We belong to him” (...)
- (12) (...) *di=sn n=f idb.w t3.w m sp w* (12) (...) they giving to him the shores and the flat-lands in a single moment.

In the above passage, the text follows a specific order in both instances: the Hanebu is firstly succeeded by the “flat lands”, and secondly, the “shores” by the “flat lands”. As Ahhotep’s title is “Mistress of the Shores of the Hanebu”, it is possible that “shores” and “Hanebu” may be understood as *synonyms* with variable nominal meanings (see Table 5.3).

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier
Hanebu	<i>H3.w-nb.wt</i>	<i>idb.w</i>
Fenkhau	<i>Fnḥw</i>	<i>t3.w</i>
Asiatics	<i>ʕ3m.w</i>	[lost]
<i>h3s.t</i>	<i>h3s.t / h3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.t / nb.wt</i>
Cedar	<i>ʕš</i>	<i>m3ʕ n.y tp(.yw) Htyw</i>
Khenthennefer	<i>Hnt-ḥn-nfr</i>	<i>šʕt</i>

Table 5.3 A comparison between the groups and products in [18.01.01].

The association of Hanebu with a region *outside* Egypt has caused scholars such as Bourriau and Rohl to argue that this text provides evidence for Ahhotep’s, the mother of Ahmose, foreign heritage.⁵⁴ This is doubtful, especially as the current data reveals that Ahhotep was the daughter

⁵² Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 125-158.

⁵³ William A. Ward, “Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C.”, *Orientalia NS* 30:1 (1961), 33.

⁵⁴ Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 205; David Rohl, *The Lords of Avaris: Uncovering the Legendary Origins of Western Civilisation* (London, 2008), 214.

of Tetisheri and Senakhtenre Ahmose, and principal wife and sister, of Seqenenre Tao.⁵⁵ The use of the title “Mistress of the Shores of the Hanebu” in the current context is probably another tool for emphasising the new enlarged domain that the Egyptians controlled, whilst simultaneously articulating the hierarchical status and the roles of Ahhotep as queen.

Towards the end of the stela, the focus shifts from the deeds of Ahmose in foreign lands to the material changes he made at Karnak. In addition, a list of offerings provides insight into the products that the Egyptians prized from foreign lands:

(27) <i>iw gr.t wd.n hm=f ir.t</i> <i>mnw.w n it=f Imn.w-R^c.w</i> <i>m3h.w 3^c.w n.y nbw</i> <i>{m} š3š3.ywt n.t hsb_d m3^c</i> <i>htm.w n.w nbw</i> <i>hs.t (28) 3^c.t n.t nbw</i> <i>nms.wt hs.wt m h_d</i> <i>kbhw m nbw</i> <i>dbh.t-h_{tp} m nbw hr h_d</i> <i>mniwt m nbw hr h_d šbn</i> <i>m hsb_d (29) hr mfk3t (...)</i> (31) (...) <i>bin.t m hbny m nbw hr h_d</i> <i>šspw.w m h_d sp.t m nbw</i> <i>iw wd.n hm[=i]</i> <i>[iri.t wi3 3^c n] (32) tp itrw</i> <i>Wsr-h3.t-Imn.w rn=f</i> <i>m 3^c m3^c n.y tp(.yw) Htyw</i> <i>r iri.t hnt[=f nfr.t</i> <i>n.t tp-rnpt] /// ///</i> (33) <i>h^c.n=i wh3.w m 3^c</i> <i>k3pw s3tw m-mi.tt</i> <i>r_di.n=i 3^cm.w /// /// ///</i>	(27) His Majesty ordered the creation of monuments for his father Amun-Re, large wreathes of <i>nbw</i> -gold, necklaces of real lapis lazuli, seals of <i>nbw</i> -gold, a large jar (28) of <i>nbw</i> -gold, vessels and jars of silver, a libation vase of <i>nbw</i> -gold, an altar of <i>nbw</i> -gold and silver, necklaces of <i>nbw</i> -gold and silver, with lapis lazuli (29) and turquoise, (...) (31) (...) a harp of ebony with <i>nbw</i> -gold and silver, sphinxes of silver, an incense jar of <i>nbw</i> -gold [My] Majesty ordered [the creation of the large bark for on] (32) the river called “Userhat-Amun”, from real cedar from the best (quality) of <i>Htyw</i> , to make [its] beautiful trip [at the beginning of the year] /// /// (33) I erected columns of cedar, the roof and floor likewise. I let the Asiatics /// /// ///
--	---

⁵⁵ Dodson and Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, 122-126; Sébastien Biston-Moulin, “Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVII^e dynastie”, *ENiM* 5 (2012), 61-71.

It is clear that a number of the objects listed above contain raw materials sourced from foreign lands. This includes lapis lazuli which originates from north-eastern Afghanistan, turquoise which is mined from the Sinai Peninsula, and ebony, which grew to the south of Egypt in Kush and Punt.⁵⁶ The above also details the construction of a bark for Amun built of “real cedar from the best (quality) of *Htyw*”, *Htyw* being a region traditionally associated with modern-day Lebanon. The proliferation of these exotic materials at Karnak Temple at this time suggests that a direct consequence of the Hyksos expulsion was the resumption of the trade routes. It is uncertain to what degree the occupation of the Hyksos affected the importation of materials to the Theban area during the Second Intermediate Period.⁵⁷ Overall, it would appear that this offering list at the end of the text reflects a restoration of wealth that the country had previously enjoyed during more prosperous periods.

In sum, the stela of Ahmose [18.01.01] refers to foreign lands in a more specific manner, detailing a number of foreign regions to the south and the north who have their own characteristics and ways of demonstrating respect towards the Egyptian ruler, from bringing offerings to fearing the king. This fear is used as a controlling mechanism and may reflect the growing expansionist interests of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. By contrast, the king is both the agent who causes the defeat of the foreign peoples as well as the object of their obeisance and as such, the focal point within the text through which all contrasts resonate.

A second text from the reign of Ahmose is the famous Storm or Tempest Stela [18.01.02].⁵⁸ The stela was discovered in pieces in the fill of the Third Pylon and has been reconstructed to a height of 180 centimetres. The text describes a great storm that came to Egypt causing devastation across the land. The text employs vivid and evocative language:

⁵⁶ Aston, Harrell, and Shaw, “Stone”, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 39-40, 62-63; Gale, Gasson, Hepper, and Killen, “Wood”, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 338-340.

⁵⁷ For example, the Biography of Bebi at Elkab indicates that there were shortages of food and other resources. Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 24-25.

⁵⁸ PM II², 73; Vandersleyen, “Une tempête sous le règne d’Amosis”, *RdE* 19 (1967), 123-159; Vandersleyen, “Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d’Ahmosis relatant une tempête”, *RdE* 20 (1968), 127-134; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*² (1983), 104-110 (no. 124); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 16 (no. 72); Foster, Ritner, and Foster, “Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption”, *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14; Wiener, and Allen, “Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose”, *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28; Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’, Thera and Comparative Chronology”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19; Sébastien Biston-Moulin, “À propos de deux documents d’Ahmosis à Karnak. Karnak Varia (§ 1-2)”, *Karnak* 15 (2015), 39-49.

(...) (6) /// [ist grt ntr] ʕ3 pn hr 3by.t ///w
hm=f /// ntr.w hr šn.t h[d]n.w=sn

[ʕhʕ.n rdi.n] ntr.w (7) iwi.t p.t m dʕ n.y
h[wy.t kk].w m r3-ʕ imnt.t

pt šnʕ.ti n wn.t [3b.w k3i.ty r h]rw rhyt

(8) wsr[.ti r] /// ///

[kh3 h(w)y.t] hr h3s.wt

r hrw kr.t im.yt 3bw

wn.in pr.w nb iwy.t nb.t spr.t=sn /// ///

(9) /// [h3.wt=sn] hr mh.t hr mw mi smh.w
n.w mhy.t m r3y hr ʕhnw.ty hn.ty r hrw.w
///

(10) /// /// n shd.n tk3 hr t3.wy (...)

(...) (6) /// [Now, indeed] this great g[od]
desired /// His Majesty /// the gods were vexed,
they were a[n]gry

[Then the] gods [caused] (7) that the sky come
down as a storm of [darkness], in the place of
the western heavens,

the sky being in a storm without [stopping,
louder than the voices] of the people.

(8) More powerful [than] /// ///

[the rain blew strongly] upon the h3s.wt,
from the voice of the cavern which is in
Elephantine.⁵⁹

Then every house and every sanctuary that
they reached /// ///

(9) /// [Their corpses] were (floating) upon the
flood (and) in the water like skiffs of papyrus
outside the gate of the palace audience
chamber for (a period of) /// days,

(10) /// /// while no torch was shining on the
Two Lands (...)

This passage occurs after the king travels to Thebes to give offerings to the Temple of Amun. After a break in the text, the inscription indicates that the gods are displeased and punish the Egyptians, the cause of which is unknown. This punishment manifests itself in the form of a storm and a subsequent flood, the latter of which is connected to the caverns of Elephantine which is tied to the source of the flood in Egyptian mythology.⁶⁰ The resulting passages are famous for their evocative language describing chaos and the destructive nature of the storm experienced through various senses, with a deafening soundscape of thunder and winds, changing degrees of light through cloud cover, together with a visual image of rain and personal belongings floating in the flood.

⁵⁹ The origination of the flood in Egyptian mythology was under the rocks of the cataracts. This was particularly linked to creation and the mythology of Satet. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 165.

⁶⁰ Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 203.

Within this dark image of chaotic weather, a reference to the *h3s.wt* is encountered: “more powerful [than] /// [the rain was blowing more strongly] upon the *h3s.wt*, than the voice of the cavern which is in Elephantine”. Whether or not this a reference to “foreign lands” or the outlying regions separate from the alluvial plains is unclear. It is also debatable if literal or non-literal language is being used on this stela, though it is poignant that themes of bad weather and darkness are often used as conceptual metaphors to indicate negative emotions, problems, fear, and ignorance.⁶¹ Though the reference to the *h3s.wt* occurs after a gap in the text, it would appear that it is in the same situation as the Egyptians, suggested by the use of the comparative adjective + *r*. As a consequence, the text may be illustrating the widespread nature of the storm in the “desert” and “mountainous” regions outside the alluvial plain.

In another theory, Ryholt postulated that the motif of the storm is a metaphor for the destruction of the Hyksos upon Egypt, purely because the “very fact that the storm could have affected the whole of Egypt, as the stela claims, is itself very improbable”.⁶² However, as the author argued in 2015, though this text probably contains exaggeration as a literary effect, storms and floods can cause absolute devastation; in addition, floods that occurred outside of the periods attributed to the natural Nile inundation are attested during the Second Intermediate Period.⁶³ Accordingly, there is a precedent for abnormal flooding in this period of Egyptian history. Despite these issues of interpretation, the use of vivid and illustrative language has resulted in creating a connection between the *h3s.wt* and *chaos* in the form of floods, rain, extreme weather event(s), and the ensuing destruction.

Amenhotep I

Another notable source for the current study is a gate from Karnak [18.02.01]*.⁶⁴ Seven fragments remain of this gate, which depicts figures from the Levant bringing offerings

⁶¹ Sophie Harris, *Metaphors They Lived by in Ancient Egypt: Analysing the Prophecy of Neferty and the Admonitions of Ipuwer* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2017), 50. Available through Macquarie University Library.

⁶² Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 144-145; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 50.

⁶³ Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos*, 50.

⁶⁴ *Date uncertain. Barguet, *Temple*, 84-86; Henri Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1951-1952”, *ASAE* 52 (1952), 241; Shehata Adam and Farid El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 47; Donald B. Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 270-287; Françoise Le Saout, “Un magasin à onguents de Karnak et le problème du nom de Tyr: mise au point”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 325-38; Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 275; Betsy M. Bryan, “The Egyptian Perspective on Mitanni”, in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (ed.), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore and London, 2002), 244 (no. 1); Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (New Jersey, 1992), 149-150 (pl. 16); Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 109 (no. 1345).

adjacent to three columns of text (see Fig. 5.7).⁶⁵ The dating of this source is debatable, as the lack of a royal cartouche on the preserved elements makes it impossible to settle the question of attribution. Redford first published the text in 1979, ascribing the text to Amenhotep I, a hypothesis largely founded on its provenance within the Third Pylon.⁶⁶ However, Le Saout (1989) argued for a Middle Kingdom date based on the style of archaic sculpture and palaeographic details similar to the reign of Senwosret I.⁶⁷ The Third Pylon provenance claimed by Redford was also refuted by Le Saout who asserts that the blocks were discovered in the Cachette.⁶⁸ However, as it is known that Amenhotep I emulated Senwosret I, as demonstrated by the White Chapel replica, it is possible that the style displayed in this work can be explained as a revival of the Middle Kingdom at the Temple of Karnak. As the date cannot yet be settled definitively, it is included within the current corpus with the assumption that it dates from the reign of Amenhotep I.⁶⁹

Though fragmentary, the inscription on the left jamb is the most complete:

(1) /// *it n(.y) mw.t(=f?) ///*

[*nht.*]*w = sn*

hpr.(w)t nb.(w)t hr=sn

šm.t /// *t3 ///*

(2) /// *r rs.y mh ///* *Ḳdm*

m nht m wsr m m3^c-hrw ///

(3) /// *t t3 pn ///*

dd mdw ini(=i) n=k (i)h.t nb(.t) nfr.w

im.yt h3s.t tn

dd mdw ini(=i) n=k (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt

[*T3*]-*ntr ///*

(1) /// father of (his?) mother ///

their [mighty men],

everything which belonged to them.

The going of /// to the land ///

(2) /// to the south ... north /// Kedem, in

might, in strength and in justification. ///

(3) /// this land ///

Words spoken: “(I) bring to you all good things which are in this *h3s.t*.”

Words spoken: “(I) bring to you every good thing which is in God’s [Land]” ///

⁶⁵ The first five blocks were published by Redford; the sixth block is a small fragment of a foot which was attributed to the gate by Le Saout. This block has no text or distinguishing marks. See La Saout, “Un magasin à onguents de Karnak”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 327-328.

⁶⁶ Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 270-287.

⁶⁷ Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 273; Le Saout, “Un magasin”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 335.

⁶⁸ Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 273; Le Saout, “Un magasin”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 325-326.

⁶⁹ This inclusion has been made in order to avoid the gate, an important source for representations of foreigners, being delegated to a footnote as it has been done in multiple studies from *both* the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom. However, it is acknowledged throughout this thesis that the date is uncertain, and no firm conclusions can be drawn from the inscriptions on this gate. For examples of this gate being circumvented in the literature see: Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 275; Bryan, “The Egyptian Perspective on Mitanni”, *Amarna Diplomacy*, 244 (no. 1); Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 109 (no. 1345).

dd mdw ini(=i) n=k nwd nb ///

Words spoken: “(I) bring to you every ointment ///”

The text above lists various toponyms that brought goods to the Egyptian king, including Kedem, *h3s.t*, and the God’s Land, whilst the preserved toponyms above the figures are Kedem and Tunip (see Table 5.3). However, they are not necessarily *specific* and distinct locations but appear to refer to broad regions, and further, can have various meanings depending on the context, and are thus deictic in nature. Kedem, often translated as “the East Land” appears to encompass a wide area and is associated with Kadesh.⁷⁰ As discussed previously, the term *h3s.t* has a range of connotations and translations; in this context, it has probably been used as a term to designate, in a general manner, the mountainous regions to the north. The term, “God’s Land” is also a non-specific toponym, used to identify areas from the Sinai, the northern Levant, as well as Punt (in the south), to “Länder im Nahen Osten”.⁷¹ Though God’s Land is often used as a synonym for Punt, it is a general geographical term linked to localities in the east and fertile areas.⁷² The final toponym, Tunip, is attached to the figure on the bottom left-hand side of the gate, and it appears to be the only specific location preserved on this monument, a well-known city-state located in the northern Levant.⁷³

The inscription of the right jamb is only preserved on two fragments, but it also mentions offerings:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) /// <i>iri.t hpr</i> /// (2) /// <i>dd w3s 3w-ib=f mi</i> <i>R^c.w [d.t]</i> ///</p> | <p>(1) /// who makes forms /// (2) /// stability and domination, that his heart may be joyful like Re [forever] ///</p> |
| <p>(3) /// <i>dd mdw ini(=i) n=k (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt Rtnw</i> ///</p> | <p>(3) Words spoken: “(I) bring to you every good thing which is in Retenu ///”</p> |

This is a continuation of the text on the left jamb, with references to further geographical locations, Retenu, and possibly also *D3iwny* inscribed above the figure. Retenu is another

⁷⁰ Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I (London, 1947), 134 (251), 135.

⁷¹ Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz, 2006), 1201; Julien Cooper, “The Geographic and Cosmographic Expression *T3-ntr*”, *BACE* 22 (2011), 47-66.

⁷² Alessandra Nibbi, “Remarks on Two Stelae from Wadi Gasus”, *JEA* 62 (1976), 50-51.

⁷³ Geoffrey Berridge, “Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?”, in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore and London, 2002), 215.

regional term and an unspecific way of designating the Levant, whilst the toponym *D3iwny* is problematic in the literature.⁷⁴ Redford argues for a location in the northern Levant, whilst La Saout suggests that *D3iwny* is a writing of Tyr, an area south of the Sea of Galilee.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier
Kedem	<i>Kdm</i>	[lost]
Produce of <i>h3s.t</i>	<i>ih.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) im.yt</i>	<i>h3s.t tn</i>
Produce of the God's Land	<i>(i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt</i>	[T3]- <i>ntr</i>
Tunip	<i>Tnp</i>	[none]
Produce of Retenu	<i>(i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt</i>	<i>Rtnw</i>
Djwuny	<i>D3iwny</i>	[none]

Table 5.4 A comparison between the groups and products in [18.02.01].

Overall, the toponyms and geographical regions on this gate are vague. This lack of specificity suggests that this gate as a whole is a general expression of Egypt's domination over foreign lands to the north, rather than a reference to offerings or tribute associated with the aftermath of a military conflict. The former may be supported by the fact repetition is used throughout this source on a textual level, from the phrase “*dd mdw*” to the description of three of the offerings with the phrase “*(i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt*”: general ideas (*topos*) are being expressed on the gate, not necessarily historical events (*mimesis*).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 5.5 A close up of the block in [18.02.01].

Figure 5.6 The same block as reproduced in Redford (1979), 271, pl. 1.

The artistic depictions of the persons bearing the goods are also notable. There is no differentiation in the rendering of these individuals, despite the use of toponyms to distinguish

⁷⁴ Bryan, “The Egyptian Perspective on Mitanni”, *Amarna Diplomacy*, 72; Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 272; Le Saout, “Un magasin”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 330-331.

between various regions. All offering bearers are represented in a vaguely southern Levantine manner with long hair (or head-cloth) that is brushed over the shoulders, *very* small pointed beards, and a standard kilt with no distinguishing marks.⁷⁵ The figures, however, contain an eyeliner detail around the eyes, typical for representations of *Egyptians* and not of foreigners, a detail which is not evident in Redford's original line drawings or his descriptions of the figures (compare Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).⁷⁶ The figures, as a consequence, contain elements of hybridism between the southern Levantines and the Egyptians. This may be an indication that the artists were unaware of the ethnic group that they intended to portray; despite Redford's claim they are Asiatics, on a superficial level, they do resemble Egyptians.⁷⁷

Redford briefly commented on the incongruous depictions of the figures, as "each is depicted in rather archaic fashion...the head-cloth is large and reminiscent of the headdress of Asiatics in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, as is the short pointed beard".⁷⁸ However, as the *toponyms* unequivocally associate these figures with regions of the Levant, the images can be used as evidence for what the Egyptians considered to be *visual characteristics* of foreigners from those regions. In particular, the beard and the hairstyle are the most identifying marks and may have acted as visual cues to the native Egyptians, though it is unclear why the eyeliner detail was used in this context; to the same extent, the small beards would only have been evident from close observation. The "archaic" nature of these figures is yet more conflicting evidence that may fit in with the revival style of Amenhotep I or be confirmation of a Middle Kingdom date. Regardless, the use of such a canonical representation in any period, whether the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, or Eighteenth Dynasty, may have, from an Egyptian perspective, helped identify these figures bearing offerings as "foreign". However, the attached toponyms may have cemented this connection rather than the depictions of the peoples themselves. As a whole, these images of the "other" are evoking features considered *un-Egyptian* through iconography and terminology.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ See Chapter 3.2.4.1. Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9.

⁷⁶ Compare with the Egyptians in TT 100: Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes*, pl. LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVII, LXIII, LXXV, LXXVII.

⁷⁷ Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 4.

⁷⁸ Redford, "A Gate Inscription from Karnak", *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 270-271.

⁷⁹ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

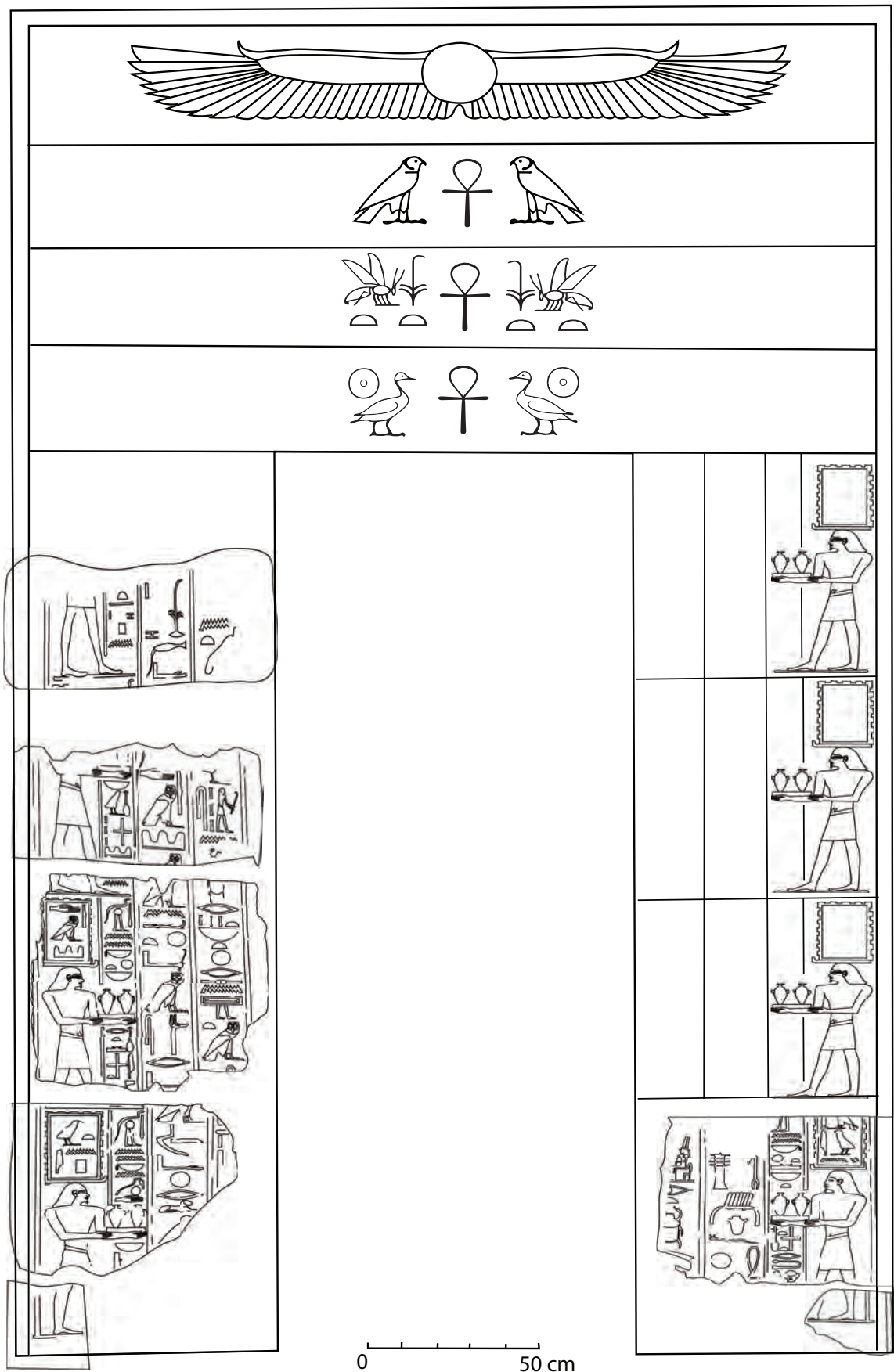


Figure 5.7 A reconstruction of the gate [18.02.01]. Drawing by Peirce after Le Saout (1987). 334 (fig. 2).

Another text attributed to the reign of Amenhotep I is found on his famous calcite bark shrine [18.02.02] (Fig. 5.8).⁸⁰ This structure was discovered disassembled in the Third Pylon and measures 3.6 metres wide, 6.7 metres deep, and 4.5 metres high. It is believed to have been initially erected between two enclosing walls to the west of the Middle Kingdom court.⁸¹ The jamb inscription details the construction of the bark for Amun:

(1) <i>Hr.w K3 wꜥf(.w) t3.w</i>	(1) Horus, Bull who subdues the flat lands,
<i>nb.ty /// Hr.w nbw /// rnp.wt</i>	the Two Ladies /// Horus of Gold /// years,
<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
<i>nb t3.wy</i>	Lord of the Two Lands,
<i>nb iri(.t) (i)h.t (Dsr-k3-Rꜥ(.w)) </i>	Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (Djeserkare) ,
<i>iri.n=f mnw=f n it(=f)</i>	he made (it) his monument for (his) father
(2) <i>Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy</i>	(2) Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands,
<i>iri.t n=f sh-ntr</i>	the making for him a shrine,
<i>Imn.w mn(.w) mnw</i>	“Amun, enduring of monuments”,
<i>m šs(.t) n.t Hw.t-Nbw</i>	in alabaster of Hatnub,
<i>ꜥ3.w m hm.t Stt m st wꜥ.t</i>	the doors in copper from Asia as one piece (i.e. a single-leaf door)
(3) <i>tit.w iri(.w) m dꜥm (...)</i>	(3) and the images worked <i>djam</i> -gold (...)

After the titulary of the king, which includes the phrase “who subdues the flat lands”, the text goes on to discuss the monument itself. The description in the text indicates that this naos originally had doors made of copper (*hm.t*) qualified by the noun Asia (*Stt*). The term used for Asia, *Stt*, is problematic within the literature. As argued by Horn, the term does not have “any specific limitation to their exact linguistic, ethnic, or geographic affiliations”, and appears to refer to the region of the Levant in a general way.⁸² Most significantly, perhaps, is that this text provides continued confirmation that the Egyptians dissociated foreigners with the products of their regions. Foreigners, as a people, were manifestations of *isfet* and forces to be subdued and

⁸⁰ PM II², 63; Barguet, *Temple*, 85 (no. 1); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 326-331; Maurice Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1922-1923)”, *ASAE* 23 (1923), pl. III (2); Maurice Pillet “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)”, *ASAE* 24 (1924), 56-57; Henri Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1947-1948 [sic] 1946-1947)”, *ASAE* 47 (1947), 161-183, pl. 25.1; Ursula Schweitzer, “Archäologischer Bericht aus Ägypten”, *Orientalia NS* 17:4 (1948), 536, pl. XLIV (5); Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 84.

⁸¹ See above, Section 5.2 and Fig. 5.2. Blyth, *Karnak*, 37; Larché, “A Reconstruction of Senwosret I’s Portico”, *Causing His Name to Live*, 163-164.

⁸² Siegfried Horn, *The Relations Between Egypt and Asia During the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 1951), 16-18; Jack Ogden, “Metals”, in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 149.

controlled. Products, however, are distinct from these peoples and are often seen as prized, exotic goods; to such an extent that they are used for the shrine of an *Egyptian* god and are described in a positive manner. In turn, it would appear that foreign products at the temple could be used as evidence for the piety of the Egyptian king and the values or behaviours that he or she wished to promote about themselves.⁸³

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	<i>wḥ(.w)</i>	to subdue	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	<i>ḥ.w</i>	1	1
Abstract	<i>iri</i>	to make	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	<i>mnw, sh-ntr</i>	1, 2	2

Table 5.5 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, namely, Amenhotep I [18.02.02].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 5.8 The placement of the inscriptions on either side of the chapel on [18.02.02].

⁸³ Nathalie Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III: plantes et animaux du "Jardin botanique" de Karnak* (Leuven, 1990), 318.

A third source referring to foreigners from the reign of Amenhotep I is the smiting scene formerly part of the proto-Sixth Pylon [18.02.03].⁸⁴ This scene was discovered after the examination of the remains of Amenhotep I's temple, of which there are some 1600 fragments surviving today.⁸⁵ The proto-Sixth Pylon itself has been reconstructed to the height of 6.5 metres, and the scene apparently depicts the king massacring "Asian" enemies with his back to the central axis.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, despite Graindorge referring to the smiting scene on a number of occasions (e.g. 1999, 2000, 2002), an image of this scene has not yet been published, and nor has the associated text.⁸⁷ Publication of the monuments of Amenhotep I are, however, currently in preparation by Gabolde and Carlotti.⁸⁸ It is therefore not known if southern or northern Levantines are represented, nor how many figures are in the representation.⁸⁹

If this smiting scene has been correctly attributed to the reign of Amenhotep I, it may be the first representation of a ruler smiting enemies *on a pylon* at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. This is salient, as it probably had significant ramifications for the representation of foreigners at the site. Most importantly, the scene of the king smiting the enemy is a core theme that defines the person of the king. Smiting scenes have even been identified by Luiselli as an example of cultural memory as their canonised form dates back to the Naqada II period.⁹⁰ As they encapsulate the ever-present need to overcome and subjugate chaotic, and foreign, forces, the continued use and adaptation of smiting scenes by each king ensures that this type of image has on-going relevance.⁹¹ As a consequence, it is entirely possible that such a scene at Karnak would have been able to represent shared values of the Egyptians in contrast with the ethnic "other". These would have been evoked through the juxtaposition between the depictions of

⁸⁴ Graindorge and Martinez, "Programme architectural", *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169; Graindorge, "Les monuments d'Amenhotep Ier à Karnak", *Egypte* 16 (2000), 31; Graindorge, "Der Tempel des Amun-Re", 5. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 83-90; Blyth, *Karnak*, 34.

⁸⁵ Graindorge, "Der Tempel des Amun-Re", 5. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 83; Blyth, *Karnak*, 34. For the CFEETK project on the monuments of Amenhotep I, see CFEETK, "Les monuments d'Amenophis Ier à Karnak", <<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/accueil/programmes-scientifiques/axe-3-cultes-et-lieux-de-culte/axe3-theme1/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

⁸⁶ Graindorge, "Der Tempel des Amun-Re", 5. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 87.

⁸⁷ Graindorge and Martinez, "Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments d'Amenophis I à Karnak", *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169-182; Graindorge, "Les monuments d'Amenhotep Ier à Karnak", *Egypte* 16 (2000), 31; Graindorge, "Der Tempel des Amun-Re von Karnak zu Beginn der 18. Dynastie", 5. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 83-90.

⁸⁸ For the volumes in preparation see CFEETK, "Les monuments d'Amenophis Ier à Karnak", <<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/accueil/programmes-scientifiques/axe-3-cultes-et-lieux-de-culte/axe3-theme1/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

⁸⁹ One block in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 42.2.7, may preserve the face of king in this scene, available from: <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/587532>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

⁹⁰ Luiselli, "The Ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies'", *Cultural Memory and Identity*, 10-25.

⁹¹ McCarthy, "The Function of 'Emblematic' Scenes", *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 66.

the foreigners and the Egyptian king, namely, through facial appearance, coiffures, hairstyles, postures, and poses, alongside other artistic techniques. These, in turn, likely promoted values such as strength and control through the example of the Egyptian king.

Thutmose I

Despite the massive alterations that Thutmose I made to the temple, his legacy is mostly in fragments today.⁹² Unsurprisingly, due to the constant renovations at the temple, few inscriptions are left, as blocks have been moved and reused across the site, and of these, only two are associated with foreign lands.

The first is on the southern obelisk of Thutmose I [18.03.01] that stands before the Fourth Pylon (Fig. 5.9).⁹³ This red granite obelisk measures 19.5 meters high.⁹⁴ The inscription of interest in the current study is the central column on the southern side:

<i>Hr.w K3 nḥt n.y Rꜥ.w nb.ty itī(.w) t3.w</i>	Horus, Mighty Bull of Re, the Two Ladies, who
<i>nb(.w) Hr.w nbw ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt</i>	conquers all flat lands, Horus of Gold, who
	smites the Nine Bows,
<i>nsw.t bi.ty nb t3.wy (ꜥ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ.w mri.n-</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the
<i>Rꜥ.w) (...)</i>	Two Lands, (Aakheperkare, beloved-of-Re)
	(...)

This titulary evokes strength through the reference to the Nine Bows while the verbs used throughout the sequence express action (Table 5.6). The first epithet refers to the “conquering” or “seizing” (*itī*) of the flat lands (*t3.w*). This is then used in parallel to the Horus of Gold name, which mentions “smiting” (*ḥwi*) and the Nine Bows (*psd.t pd.wt*).⁹⁵ Both verbs, namely, *itī* and

⁹² Blyth, *Karnak*, 39.

⁹³ PM II², 75; LD III, 6; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 92-94 (38), A, D, C, B; Sethe, *Übersetzung*, 47-48 (38); Champollion, *Mon.*, pl. CCCXII, CCCXIII; Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 127-128; James Baikie, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty* II (London and New York, 1929), pl. vii; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8050, 8153; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 57-59, pl. 11-12; Karl Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens : Untersuchungen zu Ursprung und Geschichte der altägyptischen Obelisk bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Hildesheim, 1977), 133-137; Henry H. Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks* (New York, 1882), pl. xl (left); Rolf Gundlach, “Der Obelisk Thutmosis I. Textthematik und Funktion”, in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (Bamberg, 1979), 192-226; Rolf Gundlach, “Der Obelisk Thutmosis’ I. in Karnak und seine Bedeutung für den Tempel des Amun-Re”, in R. Preys (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Structuring Religion. Leuven, 28. September - 1. Oktober 2005* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 133-149; Carlotti, “Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt”, *Karnak* 11 (2003), 255-338.

⁹⁴ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 57.

⁹⁵ Curiously, this combination is not found elsewhere in the reign of Thutmose I. Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 68.

ḥwi, express *proactive* deeds with a connotation of physical superiority.⁹⁶ They can be thus perceived as a reflection of initiating conflict, not just to protect the Egyptian territory, but to *actively* expand it, namely, as evidence for an *imperialistic* attitude. As a consequence, in regard to Thutmose I's presentation of his own identity, it is clear that he saw himself as being superior to foreign lands, mainly through demonstrations of physical strength and warfare.

As the temple is a microcosm of the known world within its geographical setting, it is salient that the inscription referring to the Nine Bows is facing *south*.⁹⁷ As McCarthy (2003) has shown, within the temples of Ramesses II the Nubian scenes typically face south.⁹⁸ Is it thus possible that this epithet of Thutmose I, "who smites the Nine Bows", while a stereotypical phrase, is directed particularly at the Nubians? By nature, titulary lacks historical specificity, though it is poignant that Thutmose I did not choose to venerate his deeds against foreign lands at Karnak: instead, his Nubian campaign, which contains an allusion to the North, is found at Tombos.⁹⁹ In addition, the evidence for the campaigns in the *Levant* under Thutmose I are only attested from non-royal sources, specifically, the biographical inscriptions of Ahmose, son of Ibana and Ahmose Pennekhbet.¹⁰⁰ Bryan has proposed that Thutmose I did not document his campaigns in the Levant because these foreign lands were found to be superior to the Egyptians.¹⁰¹ However, as Charles Bonnet has shown, during the Classic Kerma Period, the sites of Kerma were prosperous, marked by "prestigious structures", elaborate tombs and grave goods; in addition, the remains of the fortress of the site show thick walls surrounding the fortification with gates and ramparts.¹⁰² Thutmose I was responsible for sacking the town of Kerma, and it is thus possible that instead of finding the Levant "superior", the conquest of Nubia was simply a greater achievement in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians.¹⁰³ As a whole, it is conceivable that, from the perspective of Thutmose I, the campaigns to Nubia were part of the triumphs of his reign that he wished to promote and be remembered by. In turn, this may imply that the *titulary* referring to the Nine Bows was placed strategically upon the obelisk, in order to link it to the king's southern successes.

⁹⁶ Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 220-221; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Volume II: *The New Kingdom* (Los Angeles, 2006), 14.

⁹⁷ McCarthy, "The Function of 'Emblematic' Scenes", *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 69.

⁹⁸ McCarthy, "The Function of 'Emblematic' Scenes", *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 59-74.

⁹⁹ Daniel L. Schacter, *Searching for Memory: The Brain, The Mind, and the Past* (New York, 1996), 17; Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 223; Davies, "Egyptian rock-inscriptions at Tombos", *Sudan and Nubia* 22 (2018), 46-54.

¹⁰⁰ Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 223-224.

¹⁰¹ Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 225.

¹⁰² Charles Bonnet, "Excavations at the Nubian royal town of Kerma: 1975-91", *Antiquity* 66:252 (1992), 617.

¹⁰³ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 84.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	<i>iti</i>	to conquer, seize	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	<i>t3.w</i>	S. Side	1
	<i>hwi</i>	to smite	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	S. Side	1
Abstract	<i>sdsr</i>	to sanctify	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	<i>hb-sd</i>	S. Side	1
	<i>h^ci</i>	to appear	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	<i>R^c.w</i>	S. Side	1
Emotion	<i>mri.y</i>	to be beloved	<i>Imn.w-R^c.w</i>	<i>nsw.t bi.ty</i>	S. Side	1

Table 5.6 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, namely, Thutmose I in [18.03.01].

A second source from the reign of Thutmose I is a statue with the nine-bow motif [18.03.02]*.¹⁰⁴ The granite statue as it is known today is a misleading hybrid; the legs of the king with the cartouches of Thutmose I were found south of the Fifth Pylon, while the feet were found south of the Hatshepsut chambers.¹⁰⁵ The matching of these two pieces of statuary was tested by Sourouzzian and Larché, who, unfortunately, never moved the statues back and have thus created an incorrect hybrid (Fig. 5.10).¹⁰⁶ Accordingly, the date of the statue with the nine-bow motif is questionable. However, it is noteworthy that this statue appears to be much larger than the other examples studied in Chapter 4, with a width 0.75 metres.



Figure 5.9 The south face of [18.03.01]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 5.10 The misleading hybrid statue [18.03.02] attributed to Thutmose I. SITH website.

¹⁰⁴ Date uncertain. KIU 6089; Barguet, *Temple*, 115 (no. 4); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 536 (KIU 6089).

¹⁰⁵ Personal communication from Luc Gabolde.

¹⁰⁶ Personal communication from Luc Gabolde.

Thutmose II

A similar seated statue of Thutmose I's successor, Thutmose II, was discovered in the "trône d'intronisation d'Amon" [18.04.01] (Cairo JE 41205).¹⁰⁷ This limestone statue measures 2.25 metres tall and is slightly better preserved, with an arm and half the face and headdress of the king missing, as well as a significant portion of the back of the throne lost. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt with his arms resting on his thighs (Fig. 5.11). The right hand grasps a roll of cloth while the left hand lies palm-downwards upon the leg. Overall, this example has a height of 2.25 metres with the nine composite bows engraved faintly beneath the feet of the king.

A second statue is colossal and is located today before the south face of the west wing of the Eighth Pylon [18.04.02].¹⁰⁸ As discussed in Section 5.2, Gabolde proposed that the two colossi of the king, as a pair, may have been initially placed before the pylon built by Thutmose II, and at some point in time, they were relocated to the Eighth Pylon.¹⁰⁹ As the Eighth Pylon did not yet exist during the reign of Thutmose II, it is highly probable that its current position represents a secondary location. Inscriptions on the back of the statue dating to Year 42 of the reign of Thutmose III might be an indication of the time of their removal from their original location, which would also reflect the considerable reworking at Central Karnak and the southern processional way during the reign of Thutmose III, which would have potentially necessitated their relocation (see Chapter 7.2).¹¹⁰

The seated statue depicts the king on a high throne with a back pillar (Fig. 5.12). The statue is lost from the waist upwards, with the arms preserved from the elbows that rest palms-down on the top of the thighs. The buckle on the belt of *shendyt*-kilt preserves the king's prenomen and nomen, whilst there are similar inscriptions on the throne adjacent to the legs. On the left side of the socle, an engraving of Amun is visible, and on the back, the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt are entwined.¹¹¹ The motif of the nine bows is engraved beneath the feet of the king.

¹⁰⁷ Georges Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire* (Geneva, 1908), 197 (no. 336); Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 172 (618); Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II*, 150-151, 242, 244; Luc Gabolde, "Un fragment de stèle au nom d'Ahmès-Néfertari provenant de Karnak", *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 171 (no. 53); Emmanuel Jambon, "Les fouilles de Georges Legrain dans la cachette de Karnak (1903-1907). Nouvelles données sur la chronologie des découvertes et le destin des objets", *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 261 (no. 61), 266 (no. 131).

¹⁰⁸ PM II², 176-177 (O); LD III, 16 (b, c); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 606 (196) c, 154 (63) A, B; Sethe, *Übersetzung*, 75; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 38 (b, 1-4); Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 7593; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, 298-299; Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty*, 60-61, pl. 37b; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 386-388.

¹⁰⁹ Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 21.

¹¹⁰ Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty*, 60.

¹¹¹ Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty*, 60.

There is no evidence for the nine-bow motif on the second statue of the pair before the east wing, as it has suffered significant damage to the base.¹¹²

These three statues of Thutmose I and Thutmose II, together with the prevalence of the nine-bow motif on statues from the Second Intermediate Period, imply that it was a recognised symbol specific to Egyptian kingship.¹¹³ The repeated use of the motif from one king to the next leads to the cultivation of the collective knowledge, evoking the theme of Egyptian control.¹¹⁴

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.



Figure 5.11 The statue of Thutmose II [18.04.01]. Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 5.12 The colossal statue of Thutmose II [18.04.02]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

5.4 Observations and Spatial Distribution from the Reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II

In contrast to the Second Intermediate Period, representations of foreigners from the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II displayed more variety in content as well as in medium (see Table 5.7 for an overview of the sources). Stele and statues with the nine-bow motif continue to be a preferred tool to record the Egyptians' interactions with the "other", though gateways, bark shrines, and obelisks are also utilised. In regard to the content, most texts lack historical

¹¹² Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty*, 61, pl. 37c.

¹¹³ Assmann, "Communicative Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 132.

¹¹⁴ Assmann, "Communicative Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 132.

specificity and appear to be recording universal ideas and values associated with foreigners, though some texts do to provide continued evidence for the use and application of materials sourced from foreign lands at the temple.

When evaluating these documents in terms of their reflexive quality, one can say that the representations of foreigners in this period conform to the concept of *topos*. The texts are promoting general perceptions of foreign peoples rather than specific events in Egyptian history. The texts from Karnak, accordingly, are often stereotypical and re-used sources that convey and assist in the stabilisation of Egyptian collective identity. This is particularly affected by repetition and by evoking a contrast. The foreigners are portrayed as submitted to and literally “under the feet” of the Egyptian king. No longer were they rebels who violated the natural order of kingship, as seen towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period, but now became “scared” (*šꜥt, snd.t*), demonstrated “respect” to the king (*hims*), and brought him “offerings” (*in.w*). The kings were represented as diametrically opposite to this “stereotype” of the “other”, embodying and promoting a warrior ethos through physical acts such as slaughtering and smiting his foes. Accordingly, instead of recording historical contact with foreign lands and the military achievements of the rulers, the texts at Karnak used foreigners as an anonymous group, a general enemy, and a foil through which the Egyptian king could demonstrate his duty to uphold *maat*. As a whole, through this generality and simplifying of the Egyptian’s interactions with foreign lands, the “other” appears to have become important to the manifestation of the kings’ own unique identity together with reifying the values inherent within the office of kingship itself.

With regard to spatial distribution, only two examples appear to have remained in situ: the obelisk of Thutmose I, and perhaps, the colossal statue of Thutmose II before the Eighth Pylon. The bark shrine of Amenhotep I has been reconstructed as being located between the western gateway to the Middle Kingdom court. Together with the smiting scene of Amenhotep I, this would suggest references to foreigners were placed along the east-west processional way. The below figures, Figs. 5.13 and 5.14, have reconstructed these locations within the temple as it was known at the end of the reign of Thutmose II. It has assumed that the shrine of Amenhotep I was not moved, that the colossi of Thutmose II were before the Grand Pylon of Thutmose II, and that the obelisks of Thutmose II were complete for illustrative purposes.

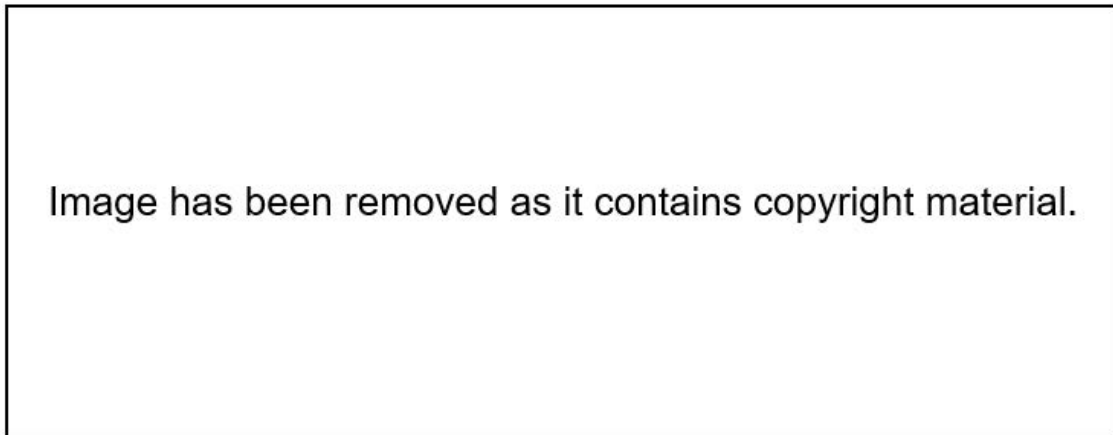


Figure 5.13 Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Thutmose II.

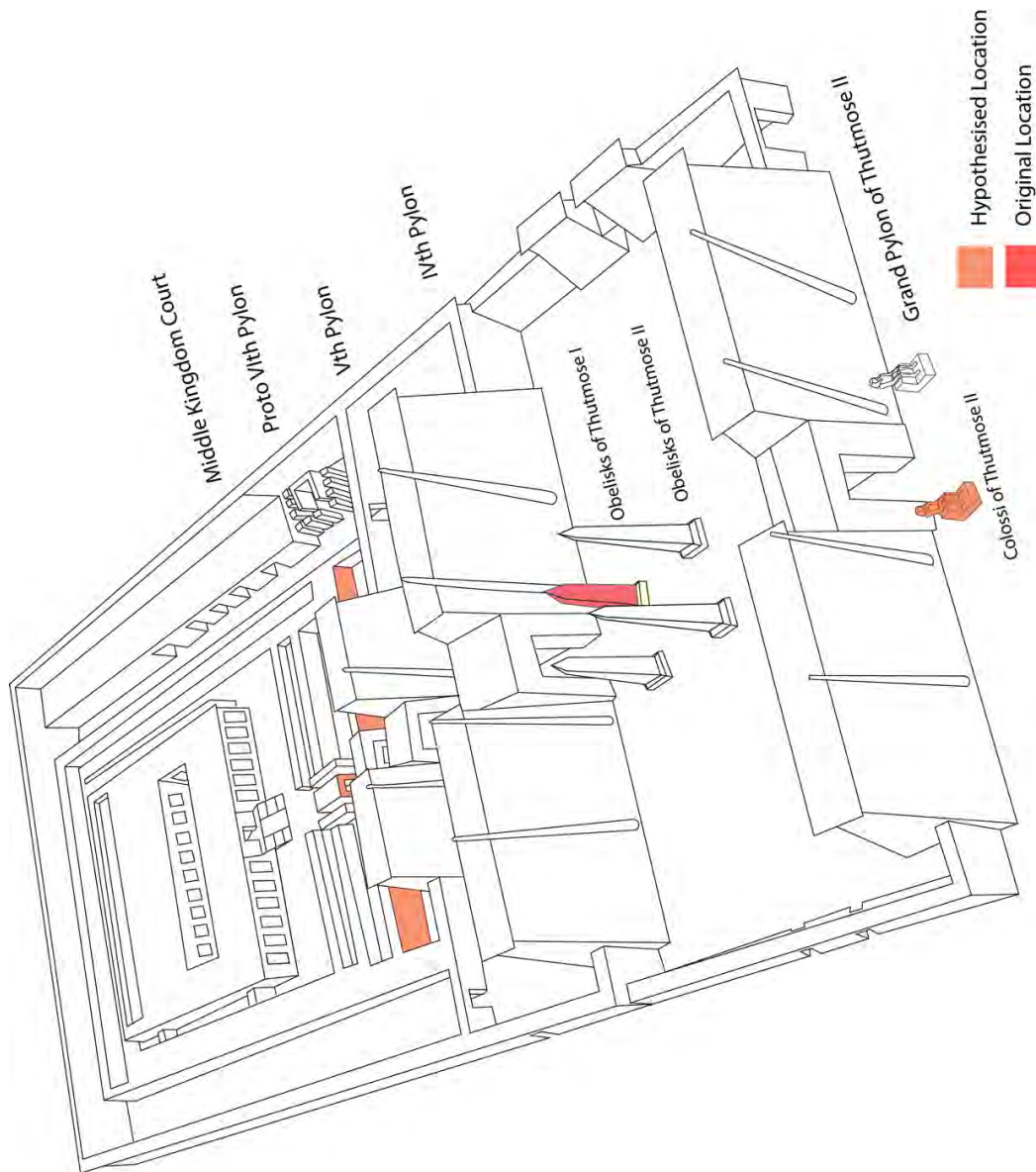


Figure 5.14 Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Thutmose II. Image by Peirce after Digital Karnak and reconstructions by Gabolde (1993).

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Content
18.01.01	Eighth Pylon	H 236 cm W 105 cm D 24 cm	Cairo JE 34001	Stela of Ahmose from Karnak honouring his queen, with references to foreign lands.
18.01.02	Third Pylon	H 180 cm	unknown	Storm Stela of Ahmose with a reference to <i>h3s.t</i> .
18.02.01*	Cachette	H 20-65 cm W 57 cm	Sheikh-Labib Magazine	Gate from Karnak, with blocks that form a scene of people from foreign places presenting offerings.
18.02.02	Third Pylon	H 4.65 m W 3.6 m D 6.75 m	Open Air Museum	Calcite Kiosk of Amenhotep I, reference to copper from Asia.
18.02.03	unknown	unknown	unknown	Entrance to temple, blocks show Amenhotep I smiting enemies.
18.03.01	Wadjet Hall of Thutmose I	H 19.5 m	in situ	Southern obelisk of Thutmose I, with a reference to the nine bows.
18.03.02*	South of the Fifth Pylon	H 1.37 m W 0.75 m	South of the Chambers of Hatshepsut.	A statue base with the nine bows.
18.04.01	The “trône d’intrônisation d’Amon”	H 225 cm W 67 cm D 149 cm	Cairo JE 41205	The remains of a seated statue of Thutmose II on the nine bows.
18.04.02	Eighth Pylon, S. W. Face	H unknown W 2.64 m D 4.47 m	in situ	The remains of a colossal statue of Thutmose II with the nine bows.
* Date uncertain				

Table 5.7 Overview of sources from the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II.

Chapter 6

A Chapel of One's Own

The Reign of Hatshepsut

“He made me ruler of the Black Land and the Red Land as reward.
No one is my opponent in all the flat lands.
All *h3s.wt* are my servants”.
Lines 29-30, Base Inscription of the *Standing Obelisk of Hatshepsut*.¹

Hatshepsut established herself as one of the preeminent builders of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Karnak. During her regency and co-rule with Thutmose III (c. 1479/1473-1458/1457 BC), Hatshepsut's construction work at the temple created the foundation and the space required to incorporate representations of foreigners across the site.² This chapter provides an overview of the socio-political context of the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut with Thutmose III (Section 6.1) and the phases of her construction at the temple (Section 6.2). Following this, the portrayal of foreigners (Section 6.3), in text and image, is discussed in twenty-five sources from Karnak. The chapter finishes with Section 6.4 detailing overall observations to be made regarding references to foreigners at the state temple from the time of Hatshepsut.

6.1 The Socio-Political context of the Reign of Hatshepsut

During the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the expansionist and imperialistic policy established by Thutmose I ebbed. This is not to say there was no conflict in this period of Egyptian history, as Hatshepsut did undoubtedly reap the economic benefits of the empire.³ Confrontations of a military nature are similar to those encountered during the reign of Thutmose II, specifically, the maintenance of the Egyptian territory (see Fig. 6.1). In the co-rule of Hatshepsut, the Nubian uprising, which was seen early in the reign of Thutmose II, occurred again, and at least two campaigns were sent to Nubia by Year 12.⁴ The first was led by Hatshepsut as implied by a graffito of Ty at Sehel describing the Egyptian ruler

¹ [18.05.07].

² Luc Gabolde, “Hatshepsut at Karnak: A Woman under God's Commands”, in J. M. Galán, B. M. Bryan, and P. F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (Chicago, 2014), 47-48; Dimitri Laboury, “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, in J. M. Galán, B. M. Bryan, and P. F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (Chicago, 2014), 49-91; Dieter Arnold, “The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 135; Blyth, *Karnak*, 52.

³ Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*, 127.

⁴ W. V. Davies, “Egypt and Nubia: Conflict with the Kingdom of Kush”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 52.

“overthrowing the (Nubian) nomads...I saw him^(sic) destroying the Land of the Nubians”.⁵ Another insinuation of violent encounters with Nubia may be seen in the southern name rings depicted on the Lower Colonnade at Deir el-Bahari.⁶

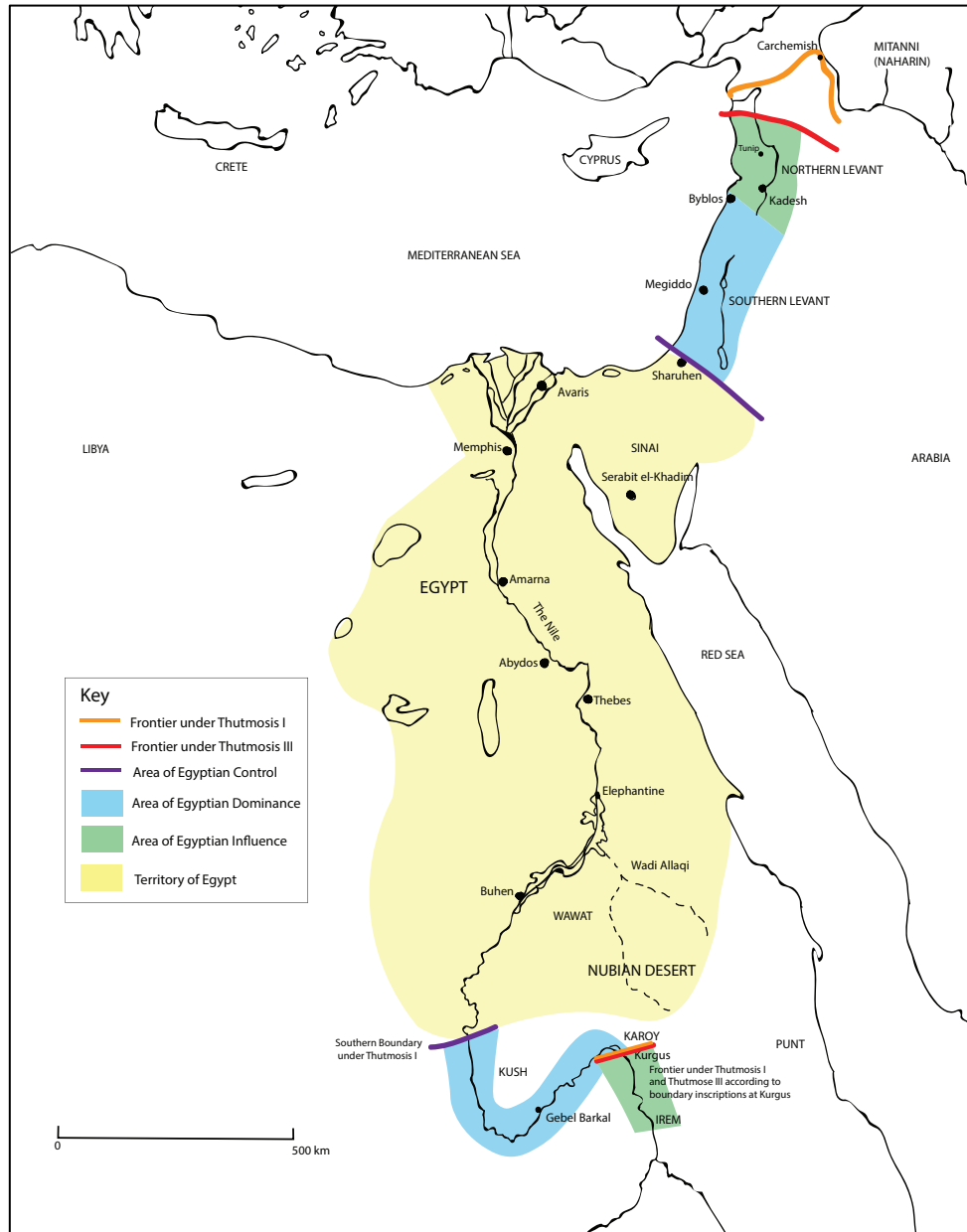


Figure 6.1 The political situation under Hatshepsut.

⁵ Labib Habachi, “Two Graffiti at Sehēl from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut”, *JNES* 16:2 (1957), 99-100; Davies, “Egypt and Nubia”, *Hatshepsut*, 52-53

⁶ PM II², 341 (4); Édouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*. Volume VI: *The Lower Terrace, Additions and Plans* (London, 1908), pl. CLII; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 315-316 (106), A 1, 2; Anne Minault-Gout, “À propos des listes des pays du sud au Nouvel Empire”, in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 2 (Cairo, 1994), 182.

Additional relations with foreign lands are of a trading and transactional nature, including the gifting of *b3k.w* and *in.w* to the Egyptian king as a result of Egypt's domination in the Levant established by Thutmose I.⁷ Further, diplomatic relations with foreign lands are illustrated by the trading expedition to Punt, which returned to Egypt in Year 9, resulting in the importation of numerous incense trees and other valued goods.⁸ Overall, during the regency and later co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, conflict of a *maintenance*-type is evident in the relationship with the southern foreign lands, which appears to have been focused on maintaining and stabilising control in these regions. The interactions with the Levant, as well as with localities in the far south, such as Punt, are characterised by trade and transactions.

6.2 The Temple during the Reign of Hatshepsut

There are four phases of construction at Karnak during the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as identified by Burgos and Larché.⁹ The first phase involved completing the work of her husband, Thutmose II, and the following three phases were undertaken during her co-rule with Thutmose III where she focused on her own building projects.¹⁰

The first phase is revealed in the autobiography of Ineni, who indicates that Hatshepsut ordered the finalisation of Thutmose II's buildings.¹¹ Scholars agree that this comprised of the festival court of Thutmose II before the Fourth Pylon and the obelisks (see Fig. 6.2, Pl. V).¹² In addition, Gabolde (2005) has published numerous fragments of other buildings decorated in bas-relief, which were established during the reign of Thutmose II and realised by Hatshepsut.¹³ These consist of a bark shrine constructed of limestone from Tura¹⁴, a small chapel preserved on two blocks discovered in Karnak North¹⁵, and the "Monument of Niches", which refers to Thutmose II posthumously.¹⁶ The limestone construction of the latter monument resembles the

⁷ Christine Lilyquist, "Egypt and the Near East: Evidence of Contact in the Material Record", in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 60-61.

⁸ For a list of some of these goods see Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 329-329 (106. H); Nicholas B. Millet, "A Fragment of the Hatshepsut Punt Relief", *JARCE* 1 (1962), 55-57; Philippe Martinez, "Une expédition pacifique au lointain pays de Pount", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 84-93; Pearce Paul Creasman, "Hatshepsut and the Politics of Punt", *AAR* 31 (2014), 395-405.

⁹ Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La chapelle rouge d'Hatshepsout*, vol. II (Paris, 2008), 103-120, pls. 334-337.

¹⁰ Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge d'Hatshepsout* II, 103-120, pls. 334-337.

¹¹ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 218; Blyth, *Karnak*, 51.

¹² Gabolde, "Le parvis et la porte du IV^e pylône", *Parcourir l'éternité*, 469; Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

¹³ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief* (2005).

¹⁴ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 99-128.

¹⁵ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 141-144.

¹⁶ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 129-140.

earlier monument of Amenhotep I also decorated with niches, and it may even have been an extension of it.¹⁷

The second phase of Hatshepsut's building program consists of the erection of a pair of obelisks outside a stone gateway at the very east of the complex.¹⁸ Though they are lost today, the evidence would suggest that obelisks survived long after the reign of Thutmose III, contrary to the common assumption that they were pulled down by this king.¹⁹ In addition, the placement of the obelisks at the eastern gate is associated with a building Hatshepsut constructed that was later replaced with Thutmose III's Festival Hall (the Akhmenu), and this may have been the *Ntr.y-Mnw* published by Gabolde.²⁰ It was short-lived, built early in the regency of Hatshepsut, with parts dismantled in Year 7 and the rest prior to the construction of the Akhmenu.²¹

The third phase involved the erection of the second pair of obelisks between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons in the Wadjet Hall bordering the processional way.²² These needles measure 28,52 meters high, with the northern obelisk still standing next to the processional way; the remains of the fallen one now lie next to the Sacred Lake.²³ According to the stela of Hatshepsut's treasurer, Djehuti, the obelisks were coated in gold and reached an incredible 62 meters high; this appears to be the combined height of the two with the bases.²⁴ Though this was undoubtedly an exaggeration, the sizes of the bases, which are larger than those in the Wadjet Hall of Thutmose I, attest to their massive height.²⁵ Erected to celebrate her *sed*-festival in Year 15 to 16, the inscriptions reveal that the pair were also covered in *djam*-gold to dazzle in the sunlight.²⁶

¹⁷ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 129-131.

¹⁸ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 60; Luc Gabolde, "Les obélisques d'Hatchepsout à Karnak", *Egypte* 17 (2000), 46; Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

¹⁹ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 60; Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

²⁰ Gabolde, "Les obélisques d'Hatchepsout", *Egypte* 17 (2000), 46; Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 5-96; Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

²¹ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 20.

²² Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 66; Jean-Claude Golvin, "Hatchepsout et les obélisques de Karnak", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 34-41; Gabolde, "Les obélisques d'Hatchepsout", *Egypte* 17 (2000), 47; Singer, "The Obelisks of Hatshepsut: Legitimacy and Propaganda", *GM* 207 (2005), 37-47; Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

²³ The new measurements of the obelisks were provided by Luc Gabolde in a personal communication. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 60; Gabolde, "Les obélisques d'Hatchepsout", *Egypte* 17 (2000), 47.

²⁴ The notion that the Djehuti measurements belong to those in the Wadjet Hall and not the eastern pair was proposed by Luc Gabolde in a personal communication. Northampton Stela from TT 11. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Die Northamptonstele", *RecTrav* 22 (1900), 118-121; Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

²⁵ Blyth, *Karnak*, 54.

²⁶ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 60-63.

The fourth phase includes the construction of the Chapelle Rouge, the sacred bark shrine manufactured from red quartzite from Gebel el-Ahmar.²⁷ The blocks of this grand chapel were discovered in the foundations of the Third Pylon, and it is presumed today that the dismantling of the shrine took place late in the reign of Thutmose III.²⁸ These surviving blocks, today reconstructed in the Open Air Museum as a building measuring around 13 metres in length, revolve around the consolidation of Hatshepsut's kingship, from images of her coronation to the famous Oracle Text.²⁹ As the shrine features representations of her western pair of obelisks, the construction must have begun after Year 17 and it appears to have been completed in the reign of Thutmose III.³⁰ In regard to the original location, it has been hypothesised that the shrine had been placed in the area known today as the Palace of Maat, though Warburton has disputed this theory.³¹

The Palace of Maat was erected behind the Festival Court of Thutmose I to the east and built adjacent to the Middle Kingdom court.³² Replete with multiple chambers, it has been conjectured that the Palace of Maat was created to store cultic equipment.³³ Furthermore, it has been proposed that it was designed as a cohesive whole with the Chapelle Rouge, and as stated by Hegazy and Martinez, together the two monuments were "le joyau du règne".³⁴ Their creation, however, necessitated the dismantling of Amenhotep I's structures in this area and the relocation of his bark shrine.³⁵ Specifically, it involved the removal of what is now termed the proto-Sixth Pylon, which was later replaced by the Sixth Pylon.³⁶ Though the latter gateway has been assigned to the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, quarry marks published by Gabolde in 2017 suggest that the Sixth Pylon was built later in the sole reign of Thutmose III.³⁷

²⁷ Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977); Blyth, *Karnak*, 51-53; Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La chapelle rouge: le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout: Facsimilés et photographies des scènes* (Paris, 2006).

²⁸ Charles C. Van Siclen III, "New Data on the Date of the Defacement of Hatshepsut's Name and Image on the Chapelle Rouge", *GM* 107 (1989), 85-86; Blyth, *Karnak*, 55-59.

²⁹ Todd Gillen, "The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge", *BACE* 16 (2005), 15-28; Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 226ff.

³⁰ Blyth, *Karnak*, 57; Dimitri Laboury, "Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III", in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (ed.), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 269-270.

³¹ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 236 (no. 236); Blyth, *Karnak*, 57.

³² Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 218; Blyth, *Karnak*, 59-60; El Sayed Hegazy and Philippe Martinez, "Le 'palais de Maat' et la 'place favorite d'Amon' ", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 54-63.

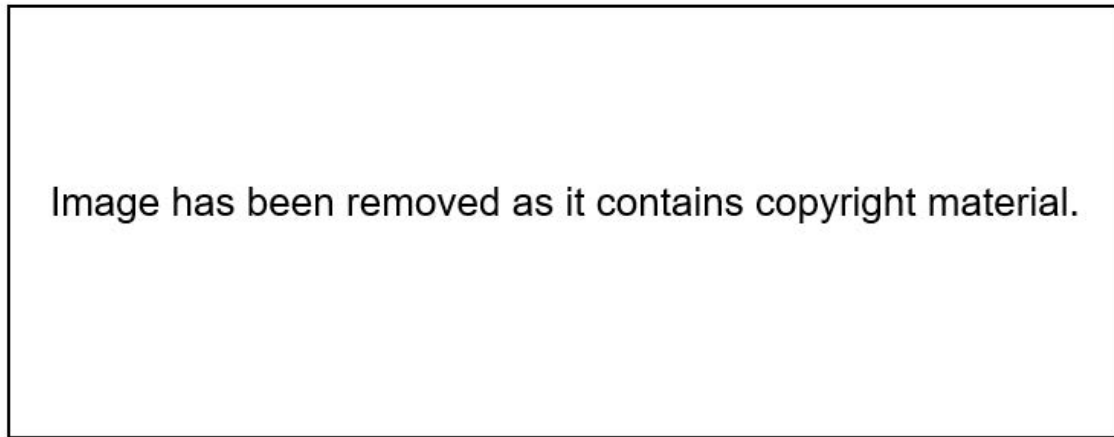
³³ Blyth, *Karnak*, 59-60.

³⁴ Hegazy and Martinez, "Le 'palais de Maat' ", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 62; Jean-François Carlotti, "Mise au point sur les dimensions et la localisation de la chapelle d'Hatchepsout à Karnak", *Karnak* 10 (1995), 151.

³⁵ Carlotti, "Mise au point", *Karnak* 10 (1995), 157.

³⁶ Larché, "A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico", *Causing His Name to Live*, 168.

³⁷ Luc Gabolde, "Les marques de carriers mises au jour lors des fouilles des substructures situées à l'est du VI^e pylône", *Karnak* 16 (2017), 208-209.



• • • •

Figure 6.2 Karnak as it may have looked at the end of the reign of Hatshepsut.

The Eighth Pylon, also attributed to Hatshepsut, was erected south of the complex in sandstone in the north-south axis of the temple and its reconstructed measurements are 21 meters in height and 47.7 meters in width.³⁸ Placing the construction of this pylon within the building phases of Hatshepsut is not precise, with some scholars ascribing it a late date in the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, while others date it to the regency-era before Year 7.³⁹ Though it is

³⁸ Philippe Martinez, “Le VIIIe Pylône et l’axe royal du domaine d’Amon”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 64-71; Jean-François Carlotti, “Contribution à l’étude métrologique de quelques monuments du temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *Karnak* 10 (1995), 85; Blyth, *Karnak*, 60.

³⁹ Philippe Martinez, “Le VIIIe Pylône et l’axe royal du domaine d’Amon”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 66; Cathleen A. Keller, “The Joint Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 96-98.

undecided when construction began, the pylon itself created a new access point to the complex from the south, perhaps together with the Southern Pylon of Amenhotep I.⁴⁰

6.3 The Texts from the Reign of Hatshepsut

There are twenty-five texts known from the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III of relevance to the present study, and compared to earlier periods, a substantial amount of material remains in situ or their original location can be elucidated with some certainty (see Table 6.10 for an overview of the sources). Due to the extensive assortment of sources, this section has three principal points of discussion, namely, miscellaneous texts scattered throughout the site (6.3.1), the obelisk inscriptions (6.3.2), and sources from the Chapelle Rouge (6.3.3).

6.3.1 Miscellaneous Texts found throughout Karnak

Monument of Niches

The remains of vertical frames provide evidence for a toponym associated with the north of Egypt: the Fenkhon [18.05.01].⁴¹ These two block fragments are the remains of vertical niches from the building known as the “Monument of Niches” of Thutmose II that was created or completed by Hatshepsut (Fig. 6.3).⁴² The provenance of these blocks is unknown, but Gabolde suggests that they were found in the Cachette Court.⁴³ The brief and fragmentary inscription reads:

(2) /// t3.w Fnhw⁴⁴ nb.w h ///

(2) /// all the flat lands of the Fenkhon ///

This inscription marks the second reference to the *Fnhw* at Karnak. Like [18.01.01], the term *Fnhw* is again qualified by *t3.w*, indicating that geographical features could be used by the

⁴⁰ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 218; Dieter Arnold, “The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 135.

⁴¹ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 136, pl. XLI b - XLI* b; Laboury, “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, 69 (fig. 5.15); G. Bonfante, “The name of the Phoenicians”, *Classical Philology* 36:1 (1941), 2 (no. 2); Anthony Spalinger, “Traces of the early career of Ramesses II”, *JNES* 38:4 (1976), 276 (no. 28); Giveon, “Phönizier”, *LA* IV, 1039-40.

⁴² Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 129-140.

⁴³ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 136.

⁴⁴ *Wb* I, 577.

Egyptians to characterise and describe various foreign localities.⁴⁵ Though the phrase “all the flat lands of the Fenhkhou” may be denoting a northern campaign led by Thutmose II to Retenu, the Fenhkhou in the Stela of Ahmose [18.01.01] and later periods was mentioned in particular phrases as a device to highlight the Egyptian boundaries.⁴⁶ In effect, the term “Fenhkhou” became a distinct expression to designate the furthest reaches of Egyptian influence to the north. Accordingly, though dated to the co-rule of Hatshepsut, it is debatable whether or not the reference in this structure is related to a historical event during the reign of Thutmose II or if it has been used, here too, as part of a general set phrase. Overall, however, it is clear that by referring to specific foreign lands, the author could delineate the expanse of the empire. In turn, it is possible that the Fenhkhou can be understood as a formulaic trope to demarcate those who belong to the group and those who do not through the concept of “inside” and “outside” space.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.3 The reference to the Fenhkhou from the “Monument of Niches” [18.05.01]. Gabolde (2005), pl. XLI b.

⁴⁵ There is evidence at Deir el-Bahari and in the Biography of Ahmose-Pennekhbet, which suggests a campaign was led to Retenu. Giveon, “Phönizier”, *LÄ* IV, 1039-40; Alessandra Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples: A Re-examination of the Egyptian Sources* (Oxford, 1972), 53.

⁴⁶ For example, an extract from a text of Ramesses III reads: “All lands, all Fenhkhou, the circuit of the heavens, all mankind, all people, all the Hanebu, all folk are under the feet of this Good God”. Translation in Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples*, 53. For the possible campaigns of Thutmose II: Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 51; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 35-37 (9); Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II*, 292-296.

The monument du bloc Labib Habachi

Two blocks mention Nubia from the monument known as the “monument du bloc Labib Habachi” found dismantled in the Third Pylon [18.05.02].⁴⁷ The blocks date from the initial years of the regency of Hatshepsut when she was experimenting with her titulary and manifestations of royal power (Fig. 6.4).⁴⁸

(...) (x+3) /// <i>snd</i> ⁴⁹	(...) (x+3) /// ⁵³ fear,
<i>T3-Nḥsy m w3ḥ-tp</i> ⁵⁰	the land of the Nubians inclines (its) head (i.e. bows),
<i>ḥ3t.t</i> ⁵¹ <i>mnḥ.t n.t Šm</i> ^c	the excellent prow-rope of the south
<i>pḥw.t</i> ⁵² <i>mn[ḥ.t] ///</i> (...)	and the excel[lent] stern-rope of /// (...)

Interspersed within a panegyric, the above nautical metaphors appear to be referring to the territory of Hatshepsut to the north and the south. The only complete term for a region or location is *T3-Nḥsy*, a vague designation for the region associated with the “south Sinai to the Upper Egyptian deserts”, which is here qualified by the phrase *w3ḥ-tp* (literally, to “bow the head”) (see Table 6.1).⁵⁴ Though often translated as “submission”, it has the connotation of showing respect and *acknowledging* authority. The other term, *snd*, implies that “fear” (in the sense of “respect”) is sufficient to control or influence a region.

The nautical terms which follow, namely, that of the ropes of a ship set in relation to the geographical regions of the south and the north are striking and mark the phrases as metaphors. The ship is commonly understood, in ancient Egypt and in other cultural contexts, as a

⁴⁷ Another block of the *Ntr.y-Mnw* has been reconstructed to contain a reference to *ḥ3s.t*, however, as this is a reconstruction, it has not been included. See Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 97. For [18.05.02], see: PM II², 74; Labib Habachi, “Two Graffiti at Sehēl from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut”, *JNES* 16:2 (1957), 101-2 (fig. 7); Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II*, 45; Luc Gabolde and Vincent Rondot, “Une chapelle d’Hatchepsout réemployée à Karnak-Nord”, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 196-197, 210-214 (fig. 17); Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 142-143, pl. XLIV-XLIV*; Laboury, “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, 56 (fig. 5.6).

⁴⁸ Laboury, “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, 56.

⁴⁹ *Wb* IV, 182-183.

⁵⁰ *Wb* I, 257.

⁵¹ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 541.

⁵² Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 307.

⁵³ Habachi reconstructs “Asiatic” in the gap. Habachi, “Two Graffiti at Sehēl”, *JNES* 16:2 (1957), 102.

⁵⁴ *Wb* I, 257; Danièle Michaux-Colombot, “Pitfall Concepts in the Round of ‘Nubia’: Ta-Sety, Nehesy, Medja, Maga and Punt Revisited”, in J. A. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* (Leuven and Paris, 2014), 508.

conceptual metaphor for the nation as a whole, of which the navigator is the king.⁵⁵ Notably, the south is mentioned first in the text (*Šmꜥ*), which would suggest a movement from the south to the north, namely, with the natural flow of the Nile, and not against it; if this sequence was deliberate, it could signify the concept of (natural) progress.⁵⁶

This notion of a metaphor is enhanced by the use of the terms prow-rope and stern-rope.⁵⁷ These ropes, while part of the ship's equipment, are not an integral part of the ship proper as they often hang in the water. The use of the rope metaphor ("the excellent prow-rope of the South...") to designate the regions that lie outside Egypt, suggests that Nubia, and the other unnamed northern locality, are recognised as existing *outside* the territory of Egypt. However, at the same time, like the rope that is attached to the ship, they are still

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.4 The blocks referring to Nubia in [18.05.02].
Gabolde and Rondot, (1996), 210, fig. 17.

connected. Could this imply that the Egyptians have influence in these areas but not necessarily complete dominance? Overall, the ship facilitates an image of progress while the movement of the ship hints at the fluid nature of borders. Used in conjunction with a source experimenting with manifestations of royal power, it is transparent that foreign lands, and the control of them by Hatshepsut, was considered an integral value to her notion of the ideology of kingship.⁵⁸

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier
Nubia	<i>T3-Nḥsy</i>	<i>m w3ḥ-tp</i>
Upper Egypt / South	<i>Šmꜥ</i>	<i>ḥꜥt.t mnḥ.t</i>

Table 6.1 A comparison between the regions in [18.05.02].

⁵⁵ Harris, *Metaphors They Lived by in Ancient Egypt*, 58-60, 89.

⁵⁶ Harris, *Metaphors They Lived by in Ancient Egypt*, 89.

⁵⁷ Laboury, "How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?", *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, 56.

⁵⁸ Laboury, "How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?", *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, 56.

North Court

Another fragmentary inscription relating to foreigners acknowledging Egyptian authority is found in the North Court [18.05.03].⁵⁹ Situated at the end of a scene, there are three short registers with kneeling figures of foreign appearance. These images are bordering onto the east wall, and a large tableau has been carefully effaced, preserving only a diminished section of the scene (see Fig. 6.5). The hieroglyphic text has been cut deeper into the wall and must have been added later. As suggested by Dorman, the erasure probably “occurred after the Hall of Annals was erected”.⁶⁰

The outlines of three foreigners that are visible are arranged vertically. Each figure has discernible stereotypical characteristics which allow their ethnicity to be determined.⁶¹ The curled beard and aquiline nose of the upper foreigner suggests a Tjehenu, while the rounded coiffure, short nose, and clean-shaven face of the middle figure implies a Nubian. The headdress and full beard of the bottom figure denotes a northern Levantine. The poses of these figures, namely, the sitting kneeling posture, is one of obeisance with arms raised, while the palms turned outwards indicate a gesture of praise. As kneeling poses are often associated with offerings scenes, it is possible that the larger tableau is one of the foreigners presenting goods to the Egyptian king.⁶²

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.5 The kneeling foreigners in [18.05.03].
Müller (1906), 152 (fig. 59).

These three foreign figures reaffirm the traditional Egyptian worldview of the existence of four ethnic groups in relation to the natural boundaries, namely, Egyptians, Asiatics, Nubians, and

⁵⁹ PM II², 92 (265); Barguet, *Temple*, 121-122 (no. 2); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 152-153 (fig. 59); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8016, 8828-9; Peter F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (New York, 2009), 47.

⁶⁰ Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 47.

⁶¹ See Chapter 3.2.

⁶² Marsha Hill, *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt: With Special Attention to the Kneeling Pose* (Boston, 2004), 5.

the Tjehenu (Libyans).⁶³ Within this scene from the North Court, the figures have been depicted according to ethnic stereotypes with a conscious effort to distinguish between these groups based on what *the Egyptians* perceived as their most characteristic features. Furthermore, the poses that acknowledge the Egyptian king's authority, namely, kneeling with arms raised, articulate the subordinate nature and lower hierarchical position of the foreigners in a grading under the king. As stated by Smith, the stereotypical portrayal of foreigners (*topos*), when paired with power relations that articulate the dichotomy of subordination/domination, "represents an idealized view of the world".⁶⁴ Accordingly, the features utilised here would not have been selected arbitrarily as they bear meaning relating to the expected and immutable interactions between foreigners and Egyptians.⁶⁵ The representation of the "other" was used to create a sense of Egyptian identity through a noticeable difference in appearance, to contrast with the (presumably) distinctly Egyptian ruler who would have been represented exercising power in a traditional image conforming to the ideology of kingship. The division of three ethnic groups highlights wide-ranging influence and is thus a demonstration of universal success.⁶⁶

A yellow quartzite statue base with the motif of the nine bows was also found in the vicinity of the above-mentioned depiction of kneeling foreigners in the North Court [18.05.04].⁶⁷ This base is quite large, with a height of 50 centimetres, a length of 100 centimetres, and a width of 45 centimetres. Though the statue of the king is missing, the base has the nine-bow motif engraved in the pedestal together with the remains of two lines of text:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) ḥꜥ ntr.t nfr(.t) nb.t t3.wy ḥꜥ Šmꜥ /// | (1) May the Good God ^(fem.) live, the Lord ^(fem.) of |
| /// /// | the Two Lands, the Ruler of Upper Egypt /// /// /// |
| (2) ḥꜥs.t n tw.t ([M3ꜥ.t-k3]-Rꜥ.w) /// /// | (2) ḥꜥs.t for/of/to the statue of [(Maatka)re] /// /// |
| /// | /// |


⁶³ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 4; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Ethnicity and Culture", in T. Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World* (London and New York, 2007), 218-241; Stuart Tyson Smith, "Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity", in J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2014), 194-212.

⁶⁴ Smith, "Ethnicity and Culture", *The Egyptian World*, 221.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 204-205.

⁶⁶ Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: Historical Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* (Padova, 1990), 45-46.

⁶⁷ PM II², 94; Legrain, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903", *ASAE* 5 (1904), 33 (13); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 377-378 (113); Barguet, *Temple*, 123 (no. 2), 125 (no. 4); Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout* (1979), vii (no. 2).

No image is available for this statue base, but on account of the remaining text in the cartouche, it appears to have been a statue of Hatshepsut herself. Further, the hieroglyphic transcription in the *Urkunden* contains an informative determinative for the word *twt*, namely A57 ()⁶⁸, that can shed light on its intended purpose. This sign depicts the king standing with the Red Crown holding a wicker mat, which usually has a loaf of pointed bread placed upon it.⁶⁸ The use of this sign, showing the king in a pose of receiving or offering, probably designates the purpose of this statue, namely, to provide a location where offerings can be presented to the king. In this context, the remains of the word *h3s.t* in line 2 could be qualifying the region from which these offerings originated. The use of this type of statue with the nine-bow motif, which encapsulates world order in relation to the expectations of kingship, indicates that it still remains a traditional form in which to refer to foreigners at the state temple.⁶⁹

Eighth Pylon

On the north face of the east wing of the Eighth Pylon, there are two scenes which are, perhaps, the only evidence of depictions and texts on this monument by its creator, Hatshepsut: documents [18.05.05] and [18.05.06]. The first (bottom) register represents Thutmose I before the Theban Triad thanking Amun for his daughter's accession to the throne [18.05.05].⁷⁰ Though no cartouches associated with Hatshepsut remain as the scene has suffered from targeted erasures, the use of the third-person feminine suffix pronoun and the detail that the king, Thutmose I, is referring to his daughter as king provides significant rationalisation to argue that this scene was carved during the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Fig. 6.6). The text below discusses Thutmose I:

(...) (9) <i>tm3-^c.w</i>	(...) (9) the one who is strong of arm
<i>šni(.w) h3^cy.t</i>	the one who dispels strife,
<i>dn(.w) tp.w h3s.wt bšt.wt</i>	the one who cuts off the heads of the rebellious <i>h3s.wt</i> ,
<i>sip(.w) n sdb k3i.n=sn</i>	the one who destined to oppose what they had planned,
<i>pri(.w) m 3h-bit⁷¹</i>	the one who goes forth from Chemmis,
<i>wts=f nb.ty</i>	he wearing the Two Ladies,

⁶⁸ Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1422.

⁶⁹ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 172.

⁷⁰ PM II², 174 (517); LD III, pl. 18; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 265-74 (87); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 122-126 (87); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 188-189; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5277, 8441, 8794; Philippe Martinez, "Le VIIIe Pylône et l'axe royal du domaine d'Amon", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 65-66.

⁷¹ Known as the birthplace of Horus, and as such, the birthplace of kingship. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 203.

<i>nsw.t w^ci im.y Dp P</i>	sole king in Dep and Pe,
<i>tp.t R^c.w mn.ti m [h3.t=f]</i>	the “Uraeus of Re” which endures at [his forehead],
<i>[hnm.n] (10) hm=f s^cry.t m</i>	His Majesty (10) [having united] the Uraeus with his
<i>nhb.t=f</i>	titulary
<i>sm3.n=f s3.ty msi(.w)</i>	he having united the two daughters of the one who bore
	(him),
<i>wdi(.w) nrw[=f] m T3-Sty⁷²</i>	the one who places the fear of [him] into Nubia,
<i>phr(.w) [r=f] hry.t=f m nb.w(t)⁷³</i>	whose fear [of him] travels among the islands
<i>w[di snd]=f</i>	the one who [places fear of] him
<i>m phw.w t3 h3s.t</i>	to the ends of the flat land and the <i>h3s.t</i> ,
<i>spr(.w) r=f [nht.w=f]</i>	the one who reached [his victory] for him
<i>[r] (11) wp.t t3⁷⁴</i>	[at] (11) the “Horns of the Earth”,
<i>nsw.t bi.ty (3-hpr-k3-R^c.w)</i>	the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Aakheperkare)
	(...)

As the passage above is an expanded titulary harkening back to the reign of Thutmose I, generic statements regarding foreign lands are utilised to reflect upon and encapsulate the associative identity of this illustrious ruler. Most significantly, the physical domination over foreign lands appears to be imperative to Hatshepsut’s perception of Thutmose I’s persona. Foreigners are exclusively discussed in the context of violent conflict. They rebel (*bšt*) against the Egyptian king, with the result that the heads of the anonymous *h3s.wt* are cut off. This sends the message that all lands who rebel against Egyptian rule will be dealt with accordingly. As a whole, the *h3s.wt* are the object or recipient of the actions of Thutmose I with little hierarchical importance (see Tables 6.2).

⁷² This use of the land (*t3*) before the noun for Nubia, like [18.05.02] and seen in the graffito of Ty, may be a characteristic of Hatshepsut’s texts. It likely means Nubia here and *not* the first nome of Upper Egypt, which is seen on the Chapelle Rouge (Block 168). Michaux-Colombot, “Pitfall concepts in the round of ‘Nubia’”, *The Fourth Cataract and beyond*, 507-508. For the Chapelle Rouge block which has not been included as it refers to the nome, see KIU 1507; Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), 72-73 (§115); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 22; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 416 (KIU 1507).

⁷³ This appears to be a reference to the isles or island regions to the north. Like the term Fenkhon, it is a toponym used to encapsulate a type of geographical area. *Wb* II, 227.

⁷⁴ This phrase has the meaning of the extreme southern or northern territory and is thus related to articulating the borders. See *Wb* I, 298.3.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No
Nubia	<i>T3-Sty</i>	n/a	10	1
Top/Horns of the Earth	<i>wp.t t3</i>	n/a	11	1
Flat Lands	<i>t3/t3.w</i>	n/a	10, 14	1
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>bšt.wt</i>	9	1
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	14, 15	2

Table 6.2 A comparison between the groups and regions [18.05.05].

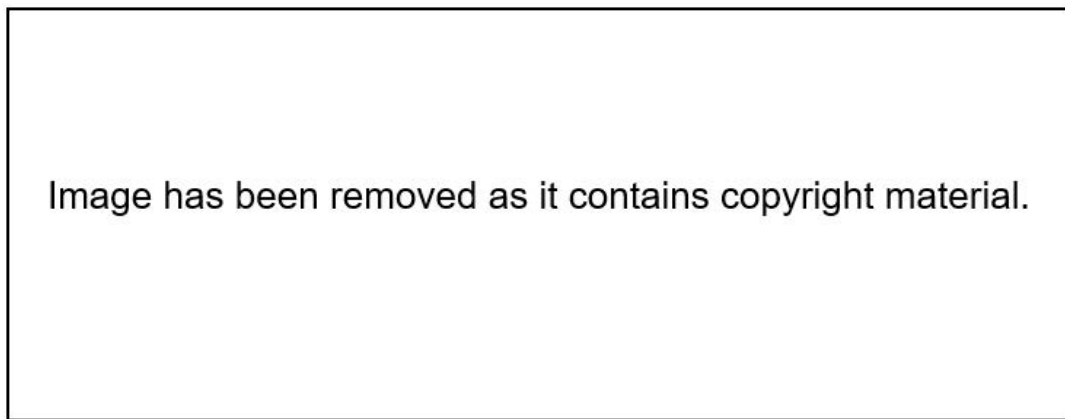


Figure 6.6 Thutmose I before the Theban Triad in [18.05.05]. LD III, pl. 18.

The passage also neatly describes the expanse of the Egyptian territory under the king, from Nubia to the lands far north: the “Horns of the Earth”. They delineate the limits of the territory, with particular emphasis on the occurrence of fear and violence to expand the borders. As explored by Liverani, the pushing of borders outward is integral to the centralised ideology of the political world, with each king expected to expand the sphere of Egyptian influence.⁷⁵ Failure to enlarge the borders is considered a disaster and evidence for illegitimacy. By connecting herself to her father’s successes in foreign lands, Hatshepsut is drawing on this tradition of border control as an expression of her own royal power.

The text continues with the speech of Thutmose I thanking Amun for his victories:

⁷⁵ For example, this is illustrated by Tutankhamun’s Restoration Stela found in the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, Cairo CG 34183. Lines 8-9: “If the [army] was sent to Djahy in order to widen the borders of Egypt, they would have no success (at) all” (revised translation by Peirce after Liverani). Liverani also quotes examples from the Hittite empire referring to the patricide of Ammuna. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 79; Wolfgang Helck, *Urk. IV*, 2027 (772); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 470 (KIU 3450).

(14) (...) <i>ḥtp.kwi m nḥt.w rḏi.n=k n(=i)</i>	(14) (...) I am at peace with the victories that you have given to (me),
<i>ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t bšt.wt ḥr ṯb.ty=i</i>	all rebellious <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> are under my sandals,
<i>nwh.n tp.t=k hr m3^c.w=sn</i>	your uraeus having bound under their gifts,
<i>swsr.n=k ššf.t[=i m ḥ.wt=sn]</i>	you having strengthened respect [of me in their bodies].
<i>hmhm.w[=i ḥt] t3.w=sn</i>	[My] battle cry [is throughout] their flat lands,
(15) <i>sd3=s ḥ^c.w=sn</i>	(15) it causing their bodies to tremble.
<i>iti.tn[=i] s.t m nḥt ḥft wḏ=k</i>	That which [I] seized in victory is in accordance with your command.
<i>iri.(w) gr.t m <n>ḏ.t(=sn)⁷⁶ [ḥft tp.t]-r(3)=k</i>	Further, (they) were made as servants [in accordance with the saying of] your mouth,
<i>wr.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t m w3ḥ-tp</i>	the chiefs of all the <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> bowed their heads,
<i>ḥtr [b3k.w=sn r ḥw.t-ntr=k] (...)</i>	the levy [of their work produce is in your temple] (...)

Above, the success of Thutmose I is attributed to the support of the gods (implied through the Uraeus as the reason for his powers), as well as reiterating his various successful campaigns. The perspective adopted for this text, Thutmose I speaking in the first-person, adds retrospective agency to the former king, while the use of the old perfective as an active historic perfect and present perfect tenses further communicate that the events discussed are in the past. A shift also occurs in the theme of the expanded titulary, from physical domination to the aftermath, in terms of the financial benefits that result from war.

Initially, the concept of control remains dominant. This is illustrated by the phrase “all *ḥ3s.wt* are enclosed under my sandals”, which is a textual rendition of the nine-bows motif, again encapsulating the dominion of the Egyptians over all lands. It is notable that there is no stipulation of owning the *ḥ3s.wt*, which would be revealed through the use of possessive articles and the indirect genitive.⁷⁷ Instead, the first-person suffix pronoun is used with the sandals of this king, which reflects a proactive deed. The focus is not on the ownership of the lands but the actor’s domination of them.

⁷⁶ It is likely *nd.t* is meant here and not *d.t*; the latter has the connotation of a servant of the dead (see *Wb* V, 510; Hannig, *Große Handwörterbuch*, 1066), whilst the former is still a servant but, in the words of Hannig: “Personen von fremden Völkern, gehören zu den königlichen oder Tempelgütern”. Hannig, *Große Handwörterbuch*, 472; *Wb* II, 369.

⁷⁷ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in Late Egyptian Stories*, 172.

As a result of this control of the *h3s.wt*, they fear the king, respect his powers, and bring him offerings (*htr b3k.w*). Aside from the obvious economic advantages that this relationship produces, what is salient about this reference to the *h3s.wt* is in its *universality*. The unspecific term *h3s.wt*, together with the presence of this description within an expanded titulary, highlights the *topos* nature of the inscription. It encapsulates the *ideal* manner of interactions with forces considered “other” and firmly establishes the *political* role that these groups held within the ideology of kingship at this time. As a whole, the actions of the *h3s.wt* highlight their alterity through culturally defined traditions and formulae.

Type	Word	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	<i>spr</i>	to arrive at	= <i>f</i> (Thut. I)	<i>nht</i>	10	1
Abstract	<i>šni</i>	to dispel	(Thut. I)	<i>h3^c.yt</i>	9	1
	<i>bšt.wt</i>	rebellious	(Thut. I)	<i>h3s.wt</i>	9	1
	<i>iti</i>	to seize	[= <i>i</i>]	<i>s.t</i>	15	1
Emotion	<i>nrw</i>	fear	[= <i>f</i>]	<i>T3-Sty</i>	10	1
Physical / Speech	<i>tm3-^c.w</i>	strong of arm	(Thut. I)	n/a	9	1
	<i>dn</i>	to cut off	(Thut. I)	<i>tp.w</i>	9	1
	<i>swsr</i>	to cause to strengthen	= <i>k</i> (Ennead)	<i>ššf.t=i</i> (Thut. I)	14	1
	<i>hmhm.t</i>	roar, war-cry	[= <i>i</i>]	<i>t3.w</i>	14	1
	<i>sd3</i>	to cause to tremble	= <i>s</i>	<i>h^c.w</i>	15	1
Stative	<i>htp.kwi</i>	to be at peace	(Thut. I)	<i>nht.w</i>	14	1


Table 6.3 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, Thutmose I, in [18.05.05].

In tandem, the actions of the king directed against them guarantee the continuation of the order of the world. Thutmose I epitomises the warrior king through physical acts and behavioural characteristics. He is “strong” (*tm3-^c.w*), “dispels strife” (*šni*), “cuts off heads” (*dn tp.w*), is “feared” (*nrw*, *hry.t*, *snd*), “victorious” (*nht*), at “peace” (*htp.kwi*), “respected” (*ššf.t*, *w3h-tp*), and one who “seizes” (*iti*). For the most part, physical deeds of strength are the most conspicuous in the characterisation of Thutmose I, but the concomitant fear and respect in the aftermath of conflict is also desired. Hatshepsut, through this rendering of her father’s interactions with foreign lands, was promoting the image of the *quintessential Egyptian* and an ideal king as a mechanism to cement her royal power.

The second register of this tableau on the Eighth Pylon depicts Thutmose I's successor, Thutmose II, with the Theban Triad and the bark of Amun [18.05.06] (Fig. 6.7).⁷⁸ This scene is more damaged than [18.05.05], but its spatial association with the previous text, together with the use of feminine grammatical forms, has caused scholars to date it likewise to the time of Hatshepsut. In addition, the titulary of Thutmose II has been *carved over* that of Hatshepsut, thus indicating that Hatshepsut was likely to have been the original subject of the composition. The text over the bark of Amun contains cursory allusions to foreign lands:

G. Text over Bark of Amun

(...) (11) [<i>ḥk3 Dšr.t</i>]	(...) (11) [Ruler of the Red Land,]
[<i>ity idb.w</i>] <i>H3.w-nb.wt p.t</i>	[sovereign of the islands] of the Hanebu, chief
(12) /// /// /// [<i>ʕ3</i>] <i>m.w</i>	(12) /// /// /// [Asi]atics
(13) /// /// /// <i>pʕ.t</i>	(13) /// /// /// mankind
(14) /// /// /// [<i>b3.w=t</i>] <i>šhm</i>	(14) /// /// /// [your ^(fem.)] mighty [powers]
<i>šʕ.wt=t m</i> /// /// ///	your ^(fem.) terror is in /// /// ///
(15) /// /// /// <i>ḥr s.t Hr.w</i>	(15) /// /// /// upon the throne of Horus.
<i>rnp.wt=t ʕhʕ.w Rʕ.w m p.t</i>	Your ^(fem.) years are the lifetime of Re in heaven.
(16) /// /// /// [<i>sšm=t t3.w</i>]	(16) /// /// /// [you leading ^(fem.) the flat lands]
<i>b3k.t ḥ3s.t</i>	and the work produce of the <i>ḥ3s.t</i> ,
<i>psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=t mi Rʕ.w d.t</i>	(and) the Nine Bows are bound under your ^(fem.)
	sandals, like Re, forever.

This fragmentary list enumerates explicit factions, including the Hanebu and *ʕ3m.w*-Asiatics, succeeded by the work products of the *ḥ3s.t* and the Nine Bows. There is also the reiteration of fear (*šʕt*) being used as the descriptor of the relationship between the foreign lands in the aftermath of the successes of Thutmose I to Hatshepsut. Notably, “Hanebu” is qualified once again by a geographical feature (*idb.w*), whilst the remaining places and groups, such as “flat lands” and the Nine Bows, are qualified by actions (*sšm*, *dm3*) (see Table 6.4). It is only with *ʕ3m.w* that the term is lexically marked with a determinative indicating “people” (A 49 ).

The verbs used, though abstract, provide supplementary evidence for the qualities esteemed by an Egyptian ruler, including “to lead” the flat lands (*sšm*) and “bind” their enemies (*dm3*) (see

⁷⁸ PM II², 174 (517); LD III, pl. 14; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 281-4 (89 G-I); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 127-130; Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 188-189; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5277, 8441, 8794; Philippe Martinez, “Le VIIIe Pylône et l’axe royal du domaine d’Amon”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 65-66.

Table 6.5). It appears to follow the same layout as [18.05.05], in that the deeds of the king are discussed prior to transferring the focus onto Hatshepsut; in this case, the deeds of Thutmose II are probably being discussed initially.



Figure 6.7 Thutmose II in front of the goddess Weret-Hekau and Hathor, behind him is the bark of Amun-Re in [18.05.06]. LD III, pl. 14.

Foreign Product	Group / Region	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No
Hanebu		<i>H3.w-nb.w</i>	<i>idb.w</i>	G. 11, I. 12	2
Asiatics		[<i>ʕ3</i>] <i>m.w</i>	[lost]	G. 12	1
Flat Lands		<i>t3.w</i>	<i>sšm=t</i>	G. 16	1
<i>h3s.t</i>		<i>h3s.t</i>	<i>b3k.t</i>	G. 16	1
Nine Bows		<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	<i>dm3</i>	G. 16, I. 9	2

Table 6.4 A comparison between the groups and regions [18.05.06].

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abstract	<i>sšm</i>	to lead	<i>=t</i>	<i>t3.w</i>	G. 16	1
	<i>dm3</i>	to bind	<i>tb.ty=t/s</i>	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	G. 16, I.9	2
	<i>hʕi</i>	to appear	<i>=t</i>	<i>ns.t</i>	I. 6	1
	<i>s.t-hr</i>	to supervise	[<i>=s</i>]	<i>Km.t Dsr.t</i>	I. 8-9.	1

Table 6.5 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.06].

The text within the scene of the bark likewise contains fleeting references to foreign lands:

I. Inscription within scene of the bark

(9) (...) *psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty[=s]* (...)

(9) (...) The Nine Bows are bound together
under [her] sandals (...)

- (12) [*dī.n(=i) n=ī*] /// /// [*m*] *ity idb.w Ḥ3.w- nbw (...)* (12) [(I) gave to you^(fem.)] /// /// [as] the sovereign of the islands of the Hanebu (...)

The repetition of the same phrase, “the Nine Bows are bound together under your/her sandals” would suggest continuity from the reign of Thutmose I to Thutmose II (and Hatshepsut) and further, it is an effective non-literal statement that envelopes the known territory of the Egyptian world. It is equivalent to the line “all rebellious *ḥ3s.wt* are under my sandals” in [18.05.05]. Though the term *ḥ3s.wt* has been replaced with the Nine Bows and *nwh* with *dm3*, the suffix pronouns are still attached to the sandals of *the king*. This reiterates the fact that the emphasis is on the *actor’s* physical domination of foreign lands.

The term “Hanebu” is further repeated across the two sections of text and is probably another designation related to the expansion of the borders.⁷⁹ Together with “Fenkhou”, the appellation has come to denote the most northern frontier of the Egyptian territory, and by referring to it, Hatshepsut is reiterating the expansion that was undertaken during the reigns of her father and that of her husband. Overall, as suggested by the geographical classifiers, it appears “Fenkhou” refers to the northern extreme on the *flat land* and “Hanebu” to the most northern *islands* or *marshes*. This differentiation is fitting, as illustrated in Fig. 6.1, the northernmost expansion point of Thutmose I is inland near Carchemish (*flat land*), whilst the farthest point on the *shores* of the Mediterranean is north of where the Orontes meets the sea, which is significantly further south than Carchemish.

In sum, these inscriptions on the Eighth Pylon refer to a number of foreign groups, used with either the vague term *ḥ3s.wt* or terms for large geographical areas (Nubia, the Hanebu, Horns of the Earth). These terms are contrasted against the Egyptian king through both their unspecific yet encompassing designations and their actions towards the Egyptian king/s (*w3ḥ-tp, nrw*). In most cases, however, the mention of the foreign regions reflects a preoccupation of the king, or an ideological expectation, with regard to the expansion or consolidation of borders. The anonymity of the terms ensures that the content of these inscriptions can be transferred from one period and reign to the next and still contain themes of relevance to the Egyptian culture.

⁷⁹ Uphill, “The Nine Bows”, *JEOL* 19 (1967), 420.

By harkening back to the reigns of Thutmose I and II, Hatshepsut may have been seeking to derive an understanding of her own identity as king. By aligning herself with her predecessors, she is articulating the “ideal” king and, in tandem, strengthening her own position and by implication that of the boy-king, Thutmose III. This is reinforced by the continued relevance of the events discussed which mark the *transition* from communicative to cultural memory, specifically, of the events of the reign of Thutmose I. The events would still be living memory (“communicative memory”), but they are an objectified rendition of the past (“cultural memory”). Though both texts are a rendition of an *individual’s* recollection of the past (i.e. Hatshepsut through the lenses of Thutmose I and II), the use of the normative values can consolidate a sense of the group’s wider identity. The collective experience of this period of Egyptian history has inculcated specific values of Egyptian identity, particularly expressed through the Egyptian’s interactions with foreign lands.

6.3.2 The Obelisk Inscriptions of Hatshepsut

The second group of texts from the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are the obelisk inscriptions, from both the standing and the fallen obelisk originally erected in the Wadjet Hall. The northern obelisk [18.05.07]⁸⁰, which remains standing, measures 28.52 meters high and is carved from red granite. It is the base inscription that features a reference to the *h3s.wt*. The first is found on the southern side of the base inscription:

(...) (6) <i>iri.n=s m mn.w=s n it=s</i>	(...) (6) which she made as her monument for her father,
<i>Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy</i>	Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost
<i>hnty Ip.t-Sw.t</i>	of Karnak,
<i>iri.t n=f thn.wy wr.wy</i>	making for him two great obelisks
<i>m3t rwd n.t ʕ.w-rs.y</i>	of hard granite from the southern region,
<i>gs=s n hr(.y) m dʕm</i>	their upper side of <i>djam</i> -gold
(7) <i>n.y tp.(y)w h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	(7) of the best of all <i>h3s.wt</i> ,
<i>m33=tw m hn.ty itrw</i>	which one sees on the two sides of the river,
<i>bʕh{.n} stwt=s n t3.wy</i>	their rays flooding the Two Lands
<i>wbn Itn im.ywt n.y 2</i>	when the sun-disc rises between as the two,

⁸⁰ KIU 1730; PM II², 81-82; LD III, 22-24; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 356-359 (108); Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 25-29; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 60-72, pls. 13-16; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 115-116; Graciela N. Gestoso Singer, “The Obelisks of Hatshepsut: Legitimacy and Propaganda”, *GM* 207 (2005), 37-47; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 432 (KIU 1730).

mi h^c=f m 3h.t n.t p.t (...)

as he rises in the horizon of heaven (...)

The above section reveals explicitly that granite was taken from the southern region (*ḥ.w-rs.y*) and the *djam*-gold from *h3s.wt nb.(w)t*, which in all likelihood was also sourced from the south.⁸¹ No other contextual information is provided on the acquisition of the materials as the theme lies in the application of *djam*-gold to the obelisks dedicated to Amun. Its location on the southern side of the base is further integral to the argument that the placement of references to foreigners at the Temple of Amun was in orientation with the physical world.

The second reference to foreigners is found on the east side, towards the end of the inscription:

(29) (...) *ḏi.n=f hḳ3=i*

(29) (...) he having caused that I might rule

(30) *Km.t Dšr.t m isw ir.y*

(30) the Black Land and the Red Land as the reward thereof.

nn rḳw=i m t3.w nb.w

No one is my opponent in all the flat lands,

*h3s.wt nb.(w)t m <n>ḏt=i*⁸²

(and) all *h3s.wt* are my serfs,

iri.n=f t3š=i (31) *r ḏr.w hr.t (...)*

he having placed my border (31) at the limits to the roads to heaven (...)

The two above clauses can be seen in parallel, expressing two sides of the state ideology regarding Egyptian kingship and domination. The first passage, “no one is my opponent in all the flat lands”, asserts the conception that all flat lands voluntarily submit to Egyptian rule. The second phrase, “all *h3s.wt* are my serfs”, has the ancillary effect of reinforcing the status of the king over these people, and in conjunction with the first-person suffix pronoun, Hatshepsut’s ownership is plainly articulated. In addition, it is notable that the term *nḏt* can be translated as “subject” and “slave”, and accordingly, has the connotation of subordination.⁸³ In its most basic interpretation, the subjects of the relative and anonymous toponym *h3s.wt* are considered the rightful property of the Egyptian rulers as part of the state ideology surrounding the “other”.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ogden, “Metals”, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 161-162.

⁸² It is likely *nḏt* is meant here and not *d.t*. Hannig, *Große Handwörterbuch*, 472.

⁸³ *Wb* V, 510.10-13.

⁸⁴ Julien Cooper, “A Record of a Red Sea Sojourn at Beni Hassan: The Journeys of Ameney/Amenemhat and Relative Place-Names”, *BACE* 25 (2014), 43.

The fallen or southern obelisk elaborates upon the theme of Egyptian ownership and supremacy [18.05.08].⁸⁵ References to foreigners are frequent on this monument, and the first examples are found on the fragmentary base inscription on the north-facing side:

(3) (...) <i>in.w m t3.w nb.w</i> <i>Pwn.t tw[t.ti] /// /// ///</i>	(3) (...) gifts from all flat lands, Punt, [her] likeness /// /// ///
(4) <i>wn.n st R^c.w n ib=s gmi.t(i) h3s(.t)</i> <i>nb(.wt) špt.w ib(.w) mw.yt</i> <i>iwi(.w) m ks.w /// /// ///</i> <i>šnw.tn (5) itn</i> <i>hr šhr.w=s</i> <i>h3b.t wd(.w) r t3</i> <i>iw hm iri=s n wd.t n=s nb.t h3s.t /// /// ///</i>	(4) Re having opened it, because her heart found all <i>h3s.t</i> discontented, heart(s) dying, who come in bowing /// /// // what (5) the sun encircles is under her counsel the commands being sent to the flat land (and) all was done to it as she had ordered. <i>h3s.t</i> /// /// ///
(6) <i>hwi r T3-mri</i> <i>rnpw.t sp /// [nb-r-]dr</i> <i>hr s.t hr</i> <i>(M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w) n^h.ti d.t t3 nb /// /// ///</i> (...)	(6) beat Egypt. year /// [Lord to the] Limit, upon the throne, (Maatkare) , may she live forever, every flat land /// /// /// (...)

Though the lacunae complicate the flow of the text, it is evident that on a thematic level that the text is preoccupied with one facet of Egyptian kingship: the control over all lands. This ownership is outlined by three diverging actions associated with foreign lands, from the *gifting* of *in.w* of the flat lands and Punt, to *discontent* in the *h3s.t*, and the Egyptians *commanding* the flat lands.⁸⁶ The discontent and assumed *resistance* of the *h3s.t* is essential to emphasise the subsequent acquiescence of the foreign lands and are a necessary feature of the text to articulate the role of the Egyptian king in maintaining *maat*.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ PM II², 82-83; LD III, 22-23(a), pl. 24 (b, c, a); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 369-373 (109); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 34-36 (109); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 136; Legrain, “Sur un fragment d’obélisque trouvé à Karnak”, *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 195-6; Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture* III, pl. 29; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 66; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 118, 119.

⁸⁶ A similar approach is seen in [18.01.01], lines 11-14.

⁸⁷ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 182-183.

The base inscription on the eastern side⁸⁸ expands upon the theme of foreign products, ensuring to list the myriad of exotic objects that were given to Egypt during the time of Hatshepsut:

(...) (25) [ink s3=f] mnḥ mri.y ḥm=f	(...) (25) [I am his] excellent [son ^(masc.)], beloved of His Majesty,
rdi.n=f nsy=I Km.t Dšr.t	he having caused that I rule the Black Land and the Red Land,
ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) dmd hr.w tb.ty=i	and all ḥ3s.wt as king, united under (my) sandals.
tš=I rs.y idb.w n.w Pwn.t	My southern border is the shores of Punt,
(26) mh.ty r Kbhḫw-Hr.w	(26) the northern at Qebhou-Horus,
[t3]š(=i) i3b.ty r ḥnm.wt Stt mnt.yw n.w	(my) eastern [bor]der is at the marshes of Asia,
Stt m 3mm.t=I	the nomads of Asia being in my grasp,
tš(=i) imn.ty r m3nw ḥk3 n(.y) (27)	(my) western border is at the western mountains,
[Thnw] m [ksi]	the ruler of the (27) [Tjehenu] is [bowing].
b3.w=i m ḥr.yw-šcy dmd.y(w)	my authority is with the sand-dwellers altogether.
in.ntw n=i cnyw n.w Pwn.t mi hni šsr	That myrrh of Punt was brought to me is like transporting sacks of grain,
(28) /// /// /// w bi3w.w nb(.w) šps.w n.w	(28) /// /// /// all the august wonders of that ḥ3s.t
ḥ3s.t tn ḥrp.w r ḥ=i m (i)ḥ.t wᶜ.t ḥrp.n	they being brought to my palace altogether (as one thing), was when the Asiatics controlled
Sttyw	
(29) ḥtyw mfk3.t ⁸⁹ ḥr ḥ3s.t r š3w.t	(29) the terraces of turquoise in the ḥ3s.t of/for the
ini.n=sn n=i stp.w n.w Sšm ⁹⁰ m cš wᶜn	minerals, and when they brought to me choice
mrw ⁹¹	things of Seshem, namely cedar and meru-wood,
(30) ssndm /// nb(.w) nfr(.w) n.w T3-ntr	(30) costly wood /// all good /// of the God's Land.
iw ini.n=i in.w n.w Thnw m 3b.w ibḥ 700	The produce of Tjehenu was brought to me,
wn im	namely, ivory and 700 tusks therein. ⁹²

⁸⁸ I must offer thanks to Luc Gabolde for providing the new and as yet unpublished transcription of the eastern side of the obelisk, from which this transliteration and translation is based from.

⁸⁹ Curiously, Burkhardt et al. translate this as “malachite”. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 35.

⁹⁰ The hinterland of the seventh Egyptian nome, near the old Mariut Lake. However, Burkhardt et al. have translated this as “Lebanon”. *Wb* IV, 291.22; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1186; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 35.

⁹¹ This kind of wood is identified with cedar of Lebanon. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 368.

⁹² This tribute associated with the Tjehenu is strange. Ivory could be acquired from the Asian elephant, located around the Orontes Valley (Levant), or the African elephant (Forest and Bush), who were located to the south of Egypt. Is it possible that this is not elephant ivory, but hippopotamus ivory as hippopotami were common in the Nile Valley, and theoretically closer to modern-Libya? The other alternative is that the offerings have become disassociated with the west accidentally. Olga Krzyszkowska and Robert Morkot, “Ivory and Related Materials”, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (2009), 322-323.

(31) */// /// /// [dḥr.w]ṣṣ3.w n(.w) 3b n(.y) mḥ 6 ḥr psd mḥ 4 m šn.w=f n(.y) 3b šmṣ* (31) */// /// /// numerous [skins] of the panther of 6 cubits in length (lit.: on the back), 4 cubits circumference of the southern panther, all produce of this ḥ3s.t (...)*

This delineates the expanse of the Egyptian territory in all directions. The text begins with the south, Punt, to the northern border at Qebhou-Horus, to the Tjehenu in the west, followed by another regional area of which the association is lost (see Table 6.6). The eastern boundary is particularly compelling, as the phrase “marshes of Asia” has been used to express the furthest border in this direction. Water has a cosmological connotation in that it marks natural borders, while marshes are more commonly used to identify the *northern* perimeter, not the east.⁹³

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No
Flat Land	<i>t3.w</i>	<i>nb.w</i>	Base, 3	1
<i>ḥ3s.t</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	Base, 4, 25	2
<i>ḥ3s.t</i>	<i>ḥ3s.t</i>	<i>tn</i>	Base, 28, 32	2
Punt	<i>Pwn.t</i>	[lost]	Base, 3	1
Shores of Punt	<i>idb.w</i>	<i>n.w Pwn.t</i>	Base, 25	1
Myrrh	<i>ṣntyw</i>	<i>n.w Pwn.t</i>	Base, 27	1
Marshes of Asia	<i>ḥnm.wt</i>	<i>Štt</i>	Base, 26	1
Nomads of Asia	<i>mnt.yw</i>	<i>Štt</i>	Base, 26	1
Tjehenu	[<i>Tḥnw</i>]	[<i>ksi</i>]	Base, 27, 30	2
Sand-dwellers	<i>ḥr.yw-ṣṣy</i>	<i>dmd.(w)y</i>	Base, 27	1
Turquoise	<i>mḥk3.t</i>	<i>ḥr ḥ3s.t r ṣ3w.t</i>	Base, 29	1
God's Land	<i>nb(.w) nfr(.w)</i>	<i>T3-ntr</i>	Base, 30	1
Cedar	<i>ṣš</i>	[none]	Base, 29	1
Juniper	<i>wṣn</i>	[none]	Base, 29	1
Cedar	<i>mrw</i>	[none]	Base, 29	1

Table 6.6 A comparison between the groups and products in [18.05.08].

The products themselves are physical and symbolic reminders of the expanded area of influence or the maintaining of regions gained previously in war.⁹⁴ Within the context of this study, it is noteworthy that Punt and its commodities have shaped how the Egyptians have seen this land: Punt is a source of the desirable aromatic myrrh, which is now part of its “associative identity”. The sumptuousness of this import is presented through the hyperbole “that myrrh of Punt was brought to me is like transporting sacks of grain”.⁹⁵ A corresponding association of

⁹³ Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 54-55.

⁹⁴ There are other texts referring to produce from foreign lands without explicitly stating their provenance, such as an offering list referring to lapis lazuli from the *Ntr.y-Mnw*. Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux*, 43, pl. VII-VII*.

⁹⁵ Alan H. Gardiner, “Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn”, *JEA* 27 (1941), 20; Lyn Green, “Toiletries and Cosmetics”, in D. B. Redford (ed.), *OEA III* (Oxford, 2001), 412-417.

products with a group seems to apply to other regions as well, such as cedar with modern-day Lebanon and turquoise from the Sinai region. In this sense, the features that characterise and portray the identity of a foreign culture is more complicated than has previously been identified at Karnak. Foreigners are represented not only by their *ethnic* appearance and actions towards Egypt but also by their produce and even the geographical region that they inhabit.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	<i>hwi</i>	to strike, smite	= <i>i</i>	<i>T3-mri</i>	Base, 6	1
	<i>iti</i>	to seize	= <i>s</i>	<i>t3 nb</i>	Base, 8	1
Abstract	<i>wḏ</i>	to command	= <i>s</i>	<i>it=s</i>	Base, 8	1
	<i>mnḥ</i>	to be excellent	[<i>ink</i>]	<i>s3=f</i>	Base, 25	1
	<i>dmd</i>	to unite	<i>h3s.wt nb(.wt)</i>	<i>tb.ty(=i)</i>	Base, 25	1
	<i>b3.w</i>	powers	= <i>i</i>	<i>m hr.yw-šꜥy dmd.y(w)</i>	Base, 27	1
Emotion	<i>hry.t</i>	to (create) terror	= <i>s</i>	<i>m t3.w nb.w</i>	Base, 8	1
	<i>3w.t-ib</i>	wide of heart, happy	= <i>s</i>	<i>hnꜥ k3=s</i>	Base, 32	1
Physical	<i>hfꜥ</i>	to grasp	= <i>s</i>	[lost]	Base, 8	1
	<i>hpš</i>	to be strong	= <i>s</i>	n/a	Base, 8	1
Stative	<i>gm.t(i)</i>	to find	= <i>s</i>	<i>ib</i>	Base, 4	1
	<i>dd.ti</i>	stability	[Hat.]	n/a	Base, 32	1
	<i>w3s.ti</i>	dominion	[Hat.]	n/a	Base, 32	1
	<i>snb.ti</i>	health	[Hat.]	n/a	Base, 32	1

Table 6.7 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.08].

In sum, the inscriptions on the obelisks of the Wadjet Hall reflect a preoccupation with borders. These are articulated through references to the main neighbours in the general directions of the north, south, east, and west, together with the anonymous *h3s.wt*. The boundaries drawn mark a distinction between the inclusive core culture (Egypt) and those exterior to it: the “other”.⁹⁶ This thus marks a sense of identity forged and perpetrated through an awareness of *space*. The resistance of the foreign groups to the Egyptian king is essential for the creation of an image in which the king dominates these regions, while the presence of exotic products from the “outside” strengthens this relationship. On these monuments, there is a diminished emphasis on the Egyptian “warrior king”, even though the verbs employed still convey ideas of control (e.g. *3mm*, see Table 6.7).

⁹⁶ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 183.

6.3.3 Texts found on the Chapelle Rouge

The Chapelle Rouge contains an abundance of sources of relevance to the present study. There are twenty blocks in numerous sections across the chapel that refer to foreign lands in some capacity. In the re-assembling achieved by the French, these blocks have been predominantly reconstructed as being on the exterior of the monument, with some exceptions (see Figs. 6.12-6.18).

The Oracle Text

The lengthy Oracle Text contains a number of references to foreign lands [18.05.09].⁹⁷ The text itself is divided and found on the north and south façades of the chapel along the first course, above the *soubassement*, and today, twenty-four blocks of this inscription have survived. The majority of the blocks were found in the vicinity of the Third Pylon, and an identical copy of the text is also known from Deir el-Bahari.⁹⁸ Allusions to foreign lands or the Nine Bows occur on Blocks 166, 44, 194, and 287.

The blocks with the beginning of the text are lost, and from what is preserved, the text commences with the detailing of a “great wonder” at Karnak. The text tells us that Hatshepsut entered the Karnak Temple to praise Amun, wherein oracles were made by the god. Further gaps in the text are encountered, after which a speech of Amun begins that harkens back to the time of Thutmose I.⁹⁹

Block 166

(...) (1) *dd(.w) [r] hfty.w=f*

(...) [you are...] (1) one (Thutmose I) who speaks
[against] his enemies.

⁹⁷ KIU 1634; Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), 92-153; William J. Murnane, “Unpublished Fragments of Hatshepsut’s Historical Inscription from her Sanctuary at Karnak”, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 91-102; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pls. 30-42; Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 226-237; Gillen, “The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge”, *BACE* 16 (2005), 15-28; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 420 (KIU 1634).

⁹⁸ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 226-237; Todd Gillen, “The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge”, *BACE* 16 (2005), 15-28.

⁹⁹ This translation follows Gillen’s and Warburton’s recent ordering of the blocks and Lacau and Chevrier’s reconstruction of the damaged areas, which follows the inscription at Deir el-Bahari, as well as the recent publication by Burgos and Larché for improved understanding of the inscriptions on the blocks.

<i>dm.t=f m hm.t sd.t t3¹⁰⁰ (2) hh hpr(.w)</i>	His knife is the servant of the (2) hot flame and
<i>šsp=f snws t3.w špt.w-ib (3) ///¹⁰¹ sw¹⁰²</i>	[its] heat having developed, it begins to
	cook/boil/fry the flat lands of the disaffected (3)
	///,
<i>h3s.wt mi iri(.w) w3w3.t</i>	the <i>h3s.wt</i> are like one who creates fire.
<i>rwd.ty=fy m m33 n.y (4) ///</i>	He who will endure is the one whom (4) /// has
	seen.
<i>wsr(.w) ph.ty r k3(i) n.t p.t nht.w=f r hi</i>	The one who is mighty in power to the height of
<i>im=i</i>	heaven, his victories will come to me.
<i>(5) [sh]tp(=i) tn hr ns.wt=i</i>	(5) That (I) [place] you ^(fem.) upon my thrones,
<i>3m=i n=t hk3(.t) nh3h3</i>	That I seize for you ^(fem.) the crook and flail,
<i>hwsil(=i) tn (6) [mri.t]n(=i) iri.t</i>	That (I) build you ^(fem.) up, (6) whom (I) desired to
	make,
<i>drp=t m-b3h m3k.y=tn</i>	is that you ^(fem.) may make an offering before the
	one who created you,
<i>srwd=t hm.w (7) ntr.w snb</i>	that you ^(fem.) may cause to strengthen the shrines
	of (7) the gods to grow,
<i>snb3b3=t t3 pw hr mhr.w=f</i>	that you ^(fem.) may protect this land and its affairs,
<i>iti (8) šc=t iri m hbn.t</i>	that (8) your ^(fem.) terror may seize the one who has
	acted criminally
<i>k3w.w (9) sbi.t n 3.wt=t iti=t nht m nb</i>	and those who plan (9) rebellion in your times,
<i>ph.wy</i>	that you ^(fem.) may seize victory as lord of might.
<i>wn.k3 (10) t3 pn m hfr=t</i>	Then (10) this land will be in your ^(fem.) grasp,
<i>hnmm.t hr s.t-hr=t (...)</i>	and the sun-folk of Heliopolis under your ^(fem.)
	supervision (...)

The first five columns of Block 166 detail the past endeavours of Thutmose I against the *h3s.wt*, and as such the text is similar to the discussion of this king on [18.05.05].¹⁰³ From line 5, Amun announces Hatshepsut's appointment as ruler, ensuring her legitimacy, together with

¹⁰⁰ Though damaged, this would appear to be an abbreviated form of "flame" (*sd.t*) followed by "hot" (*t3*), without the brazier determinative (Q7). "Hot" suits the context rather than "kiln".

¹⁰¹ Warburton has reconstructed this as "fear"; however, the remains of the hieroglyph appear to be that of a sparrow (G 37). Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 226.

¹⁰² Gillen has translated this as "king" though the *sw* plant is depicted with the quail chick and there is no loaf of bread which is traditionally seen with the term *nsw.t*; it is more likely to be the third person male dependent pronoun *sw*. Gillen, "The Historical Inscription", *BACE* 16 (2005), 18.

¹⁰³ There is a reference to Thutmose I on the proceeding block (Block 295). This block however has suffered significant damage. Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 227.

prophesying her future achievements as king of Egypt.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, the latter focus is upon Hatshepsut's divine selection by Amun, while the description of Thutmose I and the *h3s.wt* adds another dimension to Hatshepsut's right to rule through the achievements of her father.¹⁰⁵

The violence of Thutmose I against Egypt's enemies is chronicled in vivid language, and in fact, the inimical power of fire is revealed as a trusted choice to obliterate those who are against Egyptian rule, namely the "disaffected" who are later suggested to be those of the *h3s.wt*. This is in reference to the role of the Uraeus who destroys the enemies of the king, and it is a theme pervasive throughout the entire Oracle Text.¹⁰⁶ The use of the anonymous term *h3s.wt* intimates that a similar approach is taken in terms of describing the deeds of Thutmose I as [18.05.05]. The oppression of the "other" is presented as a normative value and as what is expected of the king, and accordingly, is it not necessarily to be taken as a statement of historical fact.

Two more blocks follow Block 166 describing the people's reaction to Amun's appointment of Hatshepsut as king and following this is a gap of four blocks. Block 44 is the next preserved component of the narrative and commences with the words of the deity, Wadjet, in direct speech:

Block 44

(...) (1) <i>mri.tn=k sip.kw n mstiw.t=k</i>	(...) (1) whom you [Amun] desired. I having been entrusted to your ^(fem.) offspring,
<i>nsw bi.ty (M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w) </i>	(namely) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Maatkare)
(2) <i>hby.t hnm.t(i) msi(.w)=s</i>	(2) who is in festival ^(fem.) , she being united with the one who begat her
<i>iri=k s^ch=s</i>	you (Amun) making her rank
<i>km3=k nrw=s m (3) rn=k n.y km3 nhh</i>	you creating fear of her in (3) your name of "the creator of eternity".
<i>h^ci(=i) m tp=s ^c3=i m h3.t(=s) (4)</i>	(I) will appear upon her head, I being great at
<i>hnm=i sy mi hkr=i it=i wr hy=i n=s m</i>	(her) forehead. (4) I will unite with her just as I
(5) <i>hr.yt-tp i^crt=s</i>	adorn my father (Amun). My rejoicing in her is

¹⁰⁴ Gillen, "The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge", *BACE* 16 (2005), 25 (no. 13).

¹⁰⁵ Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 66.

¹⁰⁶ George Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London, 1990), 220-221.

	great as (5) “the one who is on her brow” (her uraeus),
<i>ḥr(=i) n=s Tw̄n.tyw-St.tyw</i>	as (I) overthrow for her the Nubian nomads,
<i>spth(=i) r imi.yt wp.t=s ///</i>	(I) coiling at the middle of her brow ///
(6) <i>Mntw Stt</i>	(6) the Nomads and Asiatics,
<i>wnwn=i ḥi.kw m ḥ3.t=s</i>	I swaying about, ¹⁰⁷ having appeared at her brow
<i>[dr] (7) =i n=s šnn.t Km-wr twt iri.y</i>	I [will subdue] (7) for her completely what the
<i>[n=s] ///</i> <i>.tn=i</i>	Kem-wer surrounds. I will make [for her] /// what
	I have ///
<i>[mri.tn=i] (8) mri.tn it=s Imn.w</i>	[and that which I desired and that which] (8) her
	father Amun desired.
<i>dī=i šfšf.t[=s ḥr] (9) t3.w nb.w</i>	I placing respect [of her] (9) (in) all the flat lands
<i>ḥry.t=s ḥt ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	and her terror is throughout all the <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> ,
<i>dī=i¹⁰⁸ b3.w=s s[mn] ///</i>	I placing her authority ///

This block discusses Hatshepsut through the eyes of the Uraeus, with the clauses alternating from perfective, future, and old perfective expressing a state. The future forms, in particular, used with the second-person pronoun have an optative quality, namely, implying a modality expressing a wish (see line 2).¹⁰⁹ Wadjet is conversing about the former events of Hatshepsut’s regency and co-rule, and *desiring* for similar achievements in her future.

Like on Block 166, the Uraeus is defending the king against chaotic forces through the blinding radiance of the sun.¹¹⁰ As a wearer of the Uraeus, Hatshepsut is declaring her legitimacy in that she is actively protected by the gods; it is not just Amun who has accepted her. Unlike Block 166, however, the *ḥ3s.wt* are explicitly identified as the Nubian nomads, Bedouins, and Asiatics. It is possible that these ethnic groups denote the cultures that Hatshepsut considered the adversaries of Egypt and as regions at the three of the four pillars of the earth. Further, the domination of these foreigners is by physical force, as exemplified by the actions of the Uraeus,

¹⁰⁷ Warburton translates this as “when I rush” (p. 228), whilst Gillen translates it as “I swaying about” (p. 19). The latter appears to be more appropriate considering the swaying movements of cobras in particular. Notably, in cobras, this head movement leads to a greater distribution of their venom and suggests the uraeus is about to attack. G. Westhoff, K. Tzschätzsch, and H. Bleckmann, “The spitting behavior of two species of spitting cobras”, *J. Comp. Physiol. A* 191:10 (2005), 873-881.

¹⁰⁸ Causative construction. The focus is placed on the action (*dī*), with the actor (Wadjet) secondary. Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 88.

¹⁰⁹ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 95.

¹¹⁰ Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London, 1990), 220-221; Katja Goebbs, “Crowns”, in D. B. Redford (ed.), *OEAE I* (Oxford, 2001), 321-326.

resulting in a situation in which peace is maintained through “respect” (*šfšf.t*), “terror” (*nrv*), or “dread” (*hry.t*).

Block 194, reconstructed on the northern façade, contains a cursory reference to the Nine Bows. It is placed some fifteen blocks after Block 44, of which eight are lost. The remaining blocks contain various praises addressed to Hatshepsut and a discussion of her building activity at Karnak.

Block 194

(2) (...) <i>iti.n(=i)</i> (3) <i>rdi.tn=f m-</i>	(2) (...) (I) having seized (3) that which he has given to
<i>hr=i</i>	me,
<i>t3.w nb(.w) ʕrf.w m hfʕ=i</i>	all the flat lands which are enclosed in my grasp,
(4) <i>psd.t pd.wt nn nhw ir.w (...)</i>	the Nine Bows are without loss thereof (...)

This section denotes the deeds of Hatshepsut in the present perfect tense, namely, events that occurred prior to the writing of this text in the regency or co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Thematically, they suggest encounters of a military nature, with synonyms used to highlight the physical capabilities of Hatshepsut as ruler. These include to “seize” or to “take possession” of (*iti*), to “enclose”, “contain” (*ʕrf*), and to “grasp” (*hfʕ*). They all have further connotations of containment, which may reflect the maintenance of the Egyptian empire and the suppression of rebellions.¹¹¹ This idea of maintenance is reiterated through the next phrase, in which the Nine Bows are deemed to be “without loss”. This seems to be an indication that the lands regarded as the Nine Bows in the reigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose II remained the same in the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Accordingly, through the various actions of Hatshepsut, the king provided continuity for the empire by containing chaos and maintaining *maat* on various levels: ideologically, militarily, and politically.

After four more blocks detailing the deeds of Hatshepsut, Block 287, also from the northern façade, contains a reference to the *h3s.wt*:

Block 287

(...) (1) <i>ʕ3.t wr.t</i>	(...) (1) very greatly
<i>m-b3h-ʕ.w ntr nfr pn</i>	in the presence of this Good God,

¹¹¹ W. Vivian Davies, “Egypt and Nubia: Conflict with the Kingdom of Kush”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut from Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 52.

sr(.w) n=i ns.yt t3.wy who foretold to me the kingship of the Two Lands,
 (2) *Šm^c Mḥw hr snd.w=i hr di.t n=i* (2) Upper and Lower Egypt being under fear of me, on
ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t account of the giving to me (of) all *ḥ3s.wt*
hr šḥd.t (3) *nḥt.w ḥm.t=i (...)* and illuminating (3) the victories of my Majesty^(fem.)
 (...)

This block provides further evidence of the use of fear to maintain the boundaries of Egypt and to instil order within Egypt itself. Like [18.05.05] and [18.05.06], there is again the reiteration of the gods giving the king the *ḥ3s.wt* as a way of articulating the legitimacy of Hatshepsut's royal power.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (proactive)	<i>ḥr</i>	to overthrow	(=i)	<i>Twn.tyw-St.tyw</i>	Block 44, 5	1
	<i>iti</i>	to seize	(=i)	<i>iw^c=f</i>	Block 194, 1	1
	<i>iti</i>	to seize	(=i)	<i>rdi.tn=f m-ḥr-i</i>	Block 194, 2-3	1
Abstract	<i>šḥtp</i>	to place	<i>tn</i>	<i>ns.wt</i>	Block 166, 5	1
	<i>3m</i>	to grasp	=i	<i>ḥk3(.t) nḥ3ḥ3</i>	Block 166, 5	1
	<i>ḥwsi</i>	to mould	(=i)	<i>[mri.t]n(=i) iri.t</i>	Block 166, 5-6	1
	<i>drp</i>	to offer	=t	<i>m3k.y=t</i>	Block 166, 6	1
	<i>srwd</i>	to cause to strengthen	=t	<i>ḥm.w ntr.w</i>	Block 166, 6-7	1
	<i>s.t-ḥr</i>	to supervise	=t	<i>ḥnmm.t</i>	Block 166, 10	1
	<i>km3</i>	to create	=k	<i>nrw</i>	Block 44, 2	1
	<i>di</i>	to give	n=i	<i>ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	Block 287, 2	1
Emotion	<i>š^ct</i>	to (cause) terror	=t	<i>iti ... iri m ḥbn.t</i>	Block 166, 8-9	1
	<i>šfšf.t</i>	respect	[=s]	<i>t3.w nb.w</i>	Block 44, 8-9	1
	<i>ḥry.t</i>	to (cause) fear	=s	<i>ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	Block 44, 9	1
Physical	<i>iti</i>	to seize	=t	<i>nḥt</i>	Block 166, 9	1
	<i>ḥf^c</i>	to grasp	=t	<i>t3 pn</i>	Block 166, 10	1
	<i>ḥf^c</i>	to grasp	=i	<i>t3.w nb.(w)</i>	Block 194, 3	1
	<i>b3.w</i>	powers	=i	<i>spr dr t3.wy</i>	Block 194, 3	1

Table 6.8 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.05.09].

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>mi iri(.w) w3w3.t</i>	Block 166, 3	1
<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	Block 44, 9; Block 287, 2	2
Nubian Nomads	<i>Twn.tyw-St.tyw</i>	<i>ḥr</i>	Block 44, 5	1
Nomads/Bedouins	<i>Mntw</i>	[lost]	Block 44, 6	1
Asiatics	<i>Stt</i>	[lost]	Block 44, 6	1
Flat Lands	<i>t3.w</i>	<i>nb.w</i>	Block 44, 6	1
Nine Bows	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	<i>nn nhw ir.w</i>	Block 194, 4	1

Table 6.9 A comparison between the groups and products in [18.05.09].

Thus, over the entire Oracle Text, a number of nominal references to foreign lands and foreign peoples are encountered. Curiously, in both instances, no determinatives are used, even for terms that denote people, such as the “Nubian Nomads” and “Nomads”. This lack of determinatives, which was probably undertaken to condense the length of the inscription, has resulted in obscurity regarding whether or not the text is focused on foreign regions or foreign peoples. The difference between them is salient, as a focus on regions would suggest a preoccupation with boundaries, while the focus on people would imply the need to control manifestations of *isfet*. As a whole, if one considers how the foreign regions and peoples are qualified in the text, there does, however, appear to be a focus on the latter: namely, control (see Table 6.9). Three references to foreign lands are qualified by “all” (*nb.w*), with the remaining three examples by actions or experiences, including “fear” (emotion), “to overthrow” (physical action), and “without loss” (abstract).

In tandem with these references to vast tracts of land and peoples, the actions associated with Hatshepsut are correlated with physical strength within the context of divine inheritance. The king is no longer entirely reacting to incursions by foreign lands but is proactively maintaining (and perhaps, expanding) the territory (Table 6.8).¹¹² A number of synonyms reflect the physicality of this endeavour (*iti*, *3mm*, and *hꜥ*), whilst “fear” (*šꜥt* and *hꜥry.t*) in addition to “respect” (*šꜥšꜥ.t*) ensure the longevity and maintenance of Egyptian rule. Notably, themes of diplomacy and transactions are absent from the preserved blocks of the Oracle Text. This implies that the inscription is presenting a different image of Hatshepsut’s royal power, namely, one that is intimately related to control.

Other blocks from the Chapelle Rouge

The sixteen other blocks from the Chapelle Rouge are predominantly captions of the *topos* variety, describing Egyptian domination over foreign lands in some form or another. The discernible themes of these captions include Egyptian ownership, the Nine Bows, and products from the *hꜥs.wt*.

¹¹² Donald B. Redford, “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden and New York, 1995), 165.

Theme of Egyptian Ownership

Numerous phrases present statements regarding the Egyptian king, in this case, Hatshepsut, possessing the territory of the *ḥ3s.wt*. This is expressed through the direct speech of the god, Amun:

Block 14 [18.05.10]:¹¹³

(...) (6) *ḏd mdw ḏi.n(=i) n=t t3.w nb(.w)*
ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) 3wi-ib=t im=sn mi R^c.w

(...) (6) Words spoken (by Amun): “(I) have given to you^(fem.) all the flat lands and all the *ḥ3s.wt*, so that your^(fem.) heart may delight in them like Re.”

Block 157 [18.05.12]:¹¹⁴

(...) (5) *ḏd mdw ḏi.n(=i) n=t nḥ w3s nb ḥr=i*
t3.w nb(.w) ḥ3s.(w)t nb(.wt) ///

(...) (5) Words spoken (by Amun): “I have given to you^(fem.) all life and dominion belonging to me, all flat lands and all *ḥ3s.(w)t ///*”

Block 164 [18.05.15]:¹¹⁵

(1) *ḏd mdw ḏi.n(=i) n=t t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt*
nb(.wt) b3k=sn n=t mi w^c (...)

(1) Words spoken (by Amun): “(I) have given to you^(fem.) all flat lands and all *ḥ3s.wt*, their work produce for you^(fem.) as one (...)”

These three texts detail a past event, and by implication, this is the transference of authority over the *ḥ3s.wt* during the coronation of Hatshepsut from the supreme god Amun to the Egyptian king. The use of *ḏi* places emphasis on the action, namely, the *giving* of the *ḥ3s.wt* to Hatshepsut.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ KIU 1290; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 219 (§337), pl. 10; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 70; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408 (KIU 1290).

¹¹⁴ KIU 1438; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 61-63 (§92-93), 95-99, pl. 2; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 138; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 413 (KIU 1438).

¹¹⁵ KIU 1684; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 311 (§526), pl. 6, 18; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 237; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 422 (KIU 1684).

¹¹⁶ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in Late Egyptian Stories*, 88.



Figure 6.8 Amun giving Hatshepsut *h3s.wt* on Block 14 [18.05.10]. Burgos and Larché, pl. 70.

Interestingly, these brief texts provide the first known evidence at Karnak, in the period studied, for the use of the paired expression “*t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.wt*” (“all flat lands and all *h3s.wt*”). The sequence of the words, flat land before *h3s.wt*, appears to be grammatical and stylistic rather than ideological. As Peust has shown, conjoined words that are fixed reveal a pattern whereby they are ordered grammatically by male followed by female (hence *t3.w* before *h3s.wt*), while on a stylistic level, shorter words are generally placed before longer ones (known as “schwerer Schluss”).¹¹⁷ Overall, *t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.wt* is a formulaic rendering of the two extremes in the topography that the Egyptians knew: the (fertile) flat land and the (hostile) desert and mountainous regions. This set expression is devoid of specifics and it has the capacity to denote the entire known world. Though “foreign land” is implied with the noun *h3s.wt*, the paired expression is more reflective of the totality of the landscape and its topography (hills/desert) rather than *specifically* foreign lands.

Other blocks containing captions revolving around ownership are more varied:

Block 183 [18.05.11], from the exterior north side of the Chapel:¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Carsten Peust, “Ladies and Gentlemen or Gentlemen and Ladies? On the Order of Conjoined Gendered Nouns in Egyptian”, *BACE* 17 (2007), 113–121.

¹¹⁸ KIU 1385; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 223–224 (§352), pl. 21; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 118; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 411 (KIU 1385).

(...) (3) */// /// /// nb t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t* (...) (3) */// /// ///* all ... all the flat lands and all
mi mrr.tn(=i) (...) *h3s.wt* according that what (I) have chosen (...)

Block 262 [18.05.13], from the east sanctuary of the Chapel:¹¹⁹

(1) *ḥḥ dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb.t* (2) (1) All life, stability and dominion, all health,
t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t r rd.wy (3) *Imn.w* all joy, (2) all flat lands, all *h3s.wt* are at the two
 (...) feet (lit.: two legs) of (3) Amun (...)

Block 133 [18.05.14], from the east wall of the vestibule:¹²⁰

(1) *ḥḥ dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb.t* (2) (1) All life, stability and dominion, all health,
t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t rd.wy (3) *Imn.w* all joy, (2) all flat lands, all *h3s.wt*, (are at) the
 (...) two feet (lit.: two legs) of (3) Amun (...)

Block 186 [18.05.18], from the exterior north side of the Chapel:¹²¹

(...) (10) *snd=s ht h3s.wt nb.(w)t Km.t* (...) (10) fear of her is throughout all *h3s.wt*, the
Dšr.t hr tb.ty=s (...) Black Land and Red Land are under her sandals
 (...)

Block 225 [18.05.19], from the underbody of the north side of the Chapel:¹²²

(1) *ph.w h3s.tyw (?) /// /// ///* (1) the marshes of the *h3s.tyw (?) /// /// ///*

Block 43 [18.05.24], from the west sanctuary of the Chapel:¹²³

(1) *ḥḥ dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb.t* (2) (1) All life, stability and dominion, all health, all
t3.w nb.(w) Fnḥw nb.t št3.t (3) *r rd.wy* joy, (2) all flat lands, all mysterious Fenkhout (3)
Imn.w (...) are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of Amun (...)

Block 145 [18.05.25], from the exterior south face of the Chapel:¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ KIU 1604; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 307 (§518), pl. 24; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 202; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 419 (KIU 1604).

¹²⁰ KIU 1563; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 304-309 (§510-518), pl. 17; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 192; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 418 (KIU 1563).

¹²¹ KIU 1400; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 237-240 (§382-386), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 127; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 412 (KIU 1400).

¹²² KIU 1478; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 89-91 (§148); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 27; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 415 (KIU 1478).

¹²³ KIU 1588; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 307 (§518), pl. 23; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 198; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 419 (KIU 1588).

¹²⁴ KIU 1310; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), 243-246 (§393-396); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 82; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1310).

(9) (...) *iw nbi.w=t r H3.w-nb.wt*

(9) (...) Your^(fem.) flames are (directed) against the Hanebu.

The inscriptions found on these ten blocks are stereotypical phrases that highlight Hatshepsut's right to kingship and Egyptian domination over the *h3s.wt*. The theme of ownership is the most common on the chapel, and it is the only theme related to foreign lands and foreigners found both *outside* and *inside* the monument (see Figs. 6.12-6.18). Seven (and a possible eight) of the texts use the term *h3s.wt*, implying that the statements are generic and are designed to encapsulate the entirety of Egyptian influence. However, the remaining two blocks refer to specific foreign lands that are associated with regions to the north of Egypt: the Fenkhou and the Hanebu. As detailed above (see Section 6.3.1), the Hanebu represent the extreme north of the Egyptian boundaries near water, while the Fenkhou highlight the northern inland boundaries.¹²⁵

These repetitive inscriptions can be seen as engendering and cultivating a system of values around Egyptian kingship as an institution, and by extension, the expected attitudes and actions of the Egyptian people as a whole.¹²⁶ In most cases, the designation for an unspecific region, *h3s.wt*, encapsulates the “other” and is a device through which Hatshepsut can project herself as a successful ruler and maintain power. Repetition is central to mnemotechnics (namely, the storage and renewal of memory), and “*guarantee[s]* continuity and identity”.¹²⁷ The deeds of Hatshepsut are thus “identity-shaping” through the utilisation of objectified knowledge and *repetition*.¹²⁸ Overall, the repetition of phrases regarding ownership is the most prolific theme perceived at Karnak so far. No longer was it dictated by warfare, but now, there is the assumption that the foreign lands are simply given to the king upon their coronation by the state god Amun as a measure to maintain *maat*.

Theme of Produce from Foreign Lands

¹²⁵ For example, an extract from a text of Ramesses III reads: “All lands, all Fenkhou, the circuit of the heavens, all mankind, all people, all the Hanebu, all folk are under the feet of this Good God”. Translation in Nibbi, *The Sea Peoples*, 53.

¹²⁶ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 130-131.

¹²⁷ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 72.

¹²⁸ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 72.

The second theme within these blocks is that of products from the *h3s.wt*, particularly in the form of *djam*-gold. Block 196 [18.05.16] features Hatshepsut consecrating *b3k.w* from the *h3s.wt*, and it has been reconstructed as part of the western exterior wall.¹²⁹

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) <i>nsw.t ds=f hrp(.w) dꜥm ʕ3 wr.t n Imn.w nb [ns.wt t3.wy] m ///</i></p> <p>(2) <i>tp.yw b3k.w n(.w) h3s.wt nb(.wt) r nbi.t thn.wy ʕ3(.wy) iri=s di(.w) ʕnh</i></p> | <p>(1) The king himself^(sic) is the one who controls the very great (amount of) <i>djam</i>-gold for Amun, Lord of [Thrones of the Two Lands] with ///</p> <p>(2) the best of the work produce of all <i>h3s.wt</i>, for the melting of the two great obelisks that she, may she be given life, is making.</p> |
|--|---|

Another block, Block 53 [18.05.17], now reconstructed on the north side of the chapel, contains a very similar scene of the king consecrating *b3k.w* before Amun.¹³⁰

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) <i>nsw ds=f hrp(.w) dꜥm ʕ3 wr.t n Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy m</i></p> <p>(2) <i>tp.yw b3k(.w) n(.w) h3s.wt nb(.wt) r shkr sh-ntr šps iri=s di.t ʕnh.t</i></p> | <p>(1) The king himself^(sic) is the one who controls the very great (amount of) <i>djam</i>-gold for Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, with</p> <p>(2) the best of the work produce of all <i>h3s.wt</i> for adorning the divine booth that she, may she be given life, made.</p> |
|---|--|

These texts clearly articulate that the quantities of *djam*-gold originated as “work products” from all *h3s.wt*. This designation of “all *h3s.wt*” suggests that multiple regions were responsible for the mining of the gold and providing it to the Egyptians. Though this vague statement is not conducive to identifying a particular region involved in this *b3k.w*-relationship with the Egyptians, *djam*-gold was likely extracted from localities to the south and the east of Egypt during this period.¹³¹ Further, as argued by Spalinger, the transfer of goods as *b3k.w* would have been regular and “stipulated as requirement, an obligation that one could not refuse”.¹³² The subtleties of the language, in turn, suggest that these blocks represent the provision of goods from lands under Egyptian control to the south who were obligated to make this

¹²⁹ KIU 1299; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 229-230 (§364-365), pls. 2, 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 76; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408-409 (KIU 1299).

¹³⁰ KIU 1405; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 230-321 (§366), pl. 2; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 128; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 412 (KIU 1405).

¹³¹ Ogden, “Metals”, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 161-162.

¹³² Spalinger, “From Local to Global”, *SAK* 23 (1996), 365.

“payment” of desired resources. It marks the continuation of a relationship of dominance and submission between the Egyptians and the regions perceived as *ḥ3s.wt* revolving around products. By inscribing this message on stone, Hatshepsut is ensuring that these values are safeguarded. This implies that they form a tradition within the group, in which objects given to Egypt by the “other” have become, and are symbols of, Egyptian superiority and domination.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.9 Produce from *ḥ3s.wt* on Block 196 [18.05.16]. Burgos and Larché, pl. 76.

The Nine Bows

A third theme found on these blocks of the Chapelle Rouge is the Nine Bows. References to the Nine Bows are found on four blocks, not including the Oracle Text, and three of these occur on the exterior south side and one on the exterior north side of the chapel. All four of the references to the Nine Bows occur in the context of coronation scenes.

Block 172 [18.05.20]¹³³, depicts Hatshepsut receiving the *nemes*-headdress from Amun.¹³⁴ The text reads.

<p>(9) (...) <i>ḏi(.w) nrw=s m ib.w rḥy.t wšn=s</i> <i>psd.t pd.wt</i></p>	<p>(9) (...) who placed dread of her in the hearts of the common folk, she wringing the necks of the Nine Bows.</p>
---	---

¹³³ KIU 1307; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 237-240 (§382-386), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 79; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1307).

¹³⁴ Sandra Collier, *The Crowns of Pharaoh: The Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (PhD Thesis: University of California Los Angeles, 1996), 88.

Block 23 [18.05.21]¹³⁵, a coronation scene depicting the king receiving the *kheprsh*-crown.¹³⁶

(9) (...) *rth.t=f n=t* (10) *psd.t pd.wt* (...) (9) (...) he restrains for you^(fem.) (10) the Nine Bows (...)

Further, Blocks 95 [18.05.22]¹³⁷ and 141 [18.05.23]¹³⁸ portray Hatshepsut in two different coronation scenes receiving the *atef*-crown from Amun.¹³⁹

Block 95 [18.05.22]:

(5) (...) *dw3 tn psd.t pd.wt* (5) (...) the Nine Bows praise you.

Block 141 [18.05.23]:

(3) (...) *snd=t* (4) *m psd.t pd.wt m rn=t* (...) (3) (...) fear of you^(fem.) is (4) among the Nine Bows in your^(fem.) name (...)

Though each block describes a different dynamic with regard to the Nine Bows, including “fear” (*snd*), “praising” (*dw3*), “restraining” (*rth*), and “wringing the necks” (*wšn*), as a whole the statements have been used to reiterate that the Nine Bows *are* under the authority of the Egyptian king. During the *coronation* of the king, the transfer of the responsibility of subjugating the Nine Bows occurs. The desired outcome of the relationship with foreign lands is also expressed: the Nine Bows need to be dominated, which leads to fear and adoration.

These captions are textual renditions of the traditional and canonised nine-bow motif on statues. The king is still the one who interacts with foreign lands in terms of dominating them and maintaining order. This is particularly exemplified by the fact that the above captions are found within the context of coronation scenes for a range of crowns, namely, the *nemes*, *kheprsh*, and *atef*. As discussed in 3.2.7 and 4.4.1 above, the concept of the Nine Bows is linked to kingship, controlling chaos, and the expectations of the group.¹⁴⁰ Hatshepsut’s

¹³⁵ KIU 1308; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 240-242 (§387-389), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 80; Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)”, *ASAE* 24 (1924), 60-61, pl. V; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1308).

¹³⁶ Davies, “The Origin of the Blue Crown”, *JEA* 68 (1982), 69-76; Collier, *The Crowns of Pharaoh*, 116-126.

¹³⁷ KIU 1312; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 246-247 (§397-398), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 83; Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (mars-mai 1926)”, *ASAE* 26 (1926), 120-1, pl. V (B); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1312).

¹³⁸ KIU 1398; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 247-248 (§399-400), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I*, pl. 125; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 411 (KIU 1398).

¹³⁹ Collier, *The Crowns of Pharaoh*, 49.

¹⁴⁰ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 123-124.

repeated use of the Nine Bows in captions accompanying the coronation scenes illuminates the intended purpose: to set and name the boundaries and thereby legitimise her power as king and justify her right to rule.¹⁴¹ The crowns and the coronation itself provide pictorial renditions of divine support, whilst the Nine Bows, as a motif inextricably linked to kingship, provides further justification for her sovereignty. They encapsulate a set of values and qualities to which Hatshepsut and the wider group aspires to, namely, justice (*maat*) and the oppression of chaos.¹⁴²

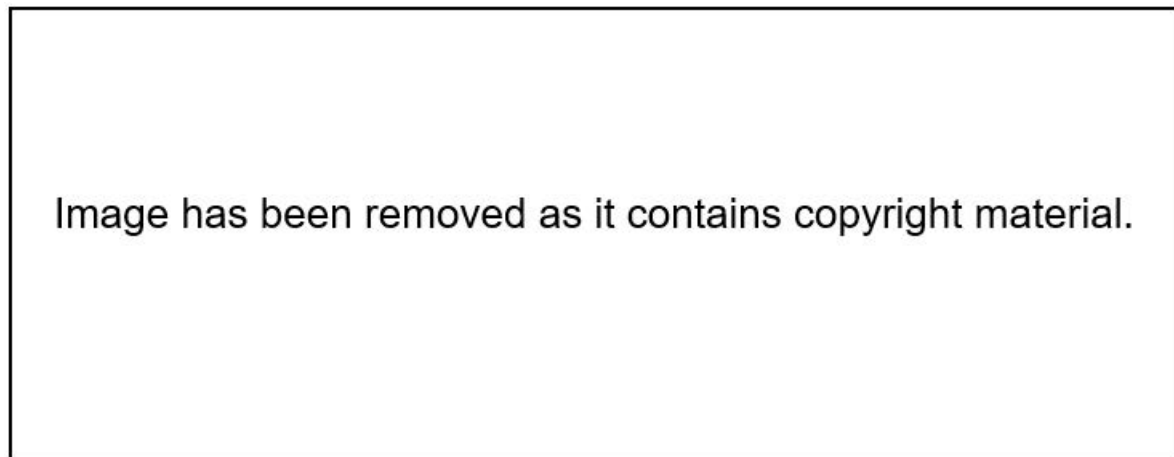


Figure 6.10 The Nine Bows on Block 23 [18.05.21]. Burgos and Larché, pl. 80.

6.4 Observations and Spatial Distribution in the Reign of Hatshepsut

Due to the increased number of monuments preserved from this period, one can observe an increase in the number of references to foreign lands during the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (see Table 6.10 for an overview). In addition to this growth, it also transpires that foreigners are represented in a more dynamic manner during this period. Foreigners are still understood as chaotic forces (*bš.t.wt*) who need to be physically controlled by the Egyptian king, but now there is an emphasis on *respect* and obeisance. They are literally represented kneeling with arms raised in gestures of humility, and there is evidence that they brought goods to Egypt as part of both *in.w*- and *b3k.w*-relationships. Multiple terms for “fear” are also encountered, namely, *snd*, *nrw*, *hry.t*, and *šꜥt*, suggesting that these strong emotions became a control mechanism. The physical domination of foreign lands was no longer the main

¹⁴¹ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 251.

¹⁴² Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 107.

characteristic of the Egyptians' interactions with the "other", but now the texts dwelt on the *benefits* resulting from their subservience.

It is also transparent that the inscriptions referring to foreign lands are self-consciously ideological. This is evidenced from their incorporation in Hatshepsut's titulary, the focus on borders, and the piety shown towards Amun together with her foretold divine selection.¹⁴³ In tandem with this ideological focus, another defining characteristic of the references to foreigners during Hatshepsut's co-rule is repetition, particularly in the form of captions. These short texts can actually be understood as microaggressive as they are commonplace statements aimed at promoting the Egyptians at the expense of the foreign groups, often, but not always, referring to them in a hostile way.¹⁴⁴ Hatshepsut's goal is power, from its justification, maintenance, and accumulation, and foreign lands would appear to be partly key to this concern.¹⁴⁵ To a degree, Hatshepsut is represented as a warrior king, though even in the texts dating to her regency and co-rule, these attributes are more often associated with Thutmose I and II rather than with herself. She is the divine protégée of Amun who receives the gifts of the foreigners and redistributes them to embellish the temple. Foreigners are a way to enhance her pious deeds for her god, who in turn, supports her rise to kingship.

Regarding spatial distribution, the majority of texts appear to have been placed along the east-west processional way, including the Wadjet Hall of Thutmose I, the North Court, and the Palace of Maat (see Figs. 6.20-6.21). The monument that contains the majority of the texts discussed in this chapter, however, is the Chapelle Rouge. On this chapel alone, some twenty-blocks were found across the monument that refer to foreign lands in the form of captions. In addition, if we look at spatial distribution on a microscopic level on this monument alone (Figs. 6.12-6.18), sixteen of these blocks are found on the exterior walls below eye level or above. They are either close to the bottom of the monument, along the *soubassement* or part of the first course of decorated blocks or on the fifth and sixth course. Though the *soubassement* and the first course are somewhat clearer for the viewer to read, the upper courses would *not* have lent themselves to communicating and disseminating information easily (see Fig. 6.11). Accordingly, if this chapel was placed *within* the more sacred and secluded sections of the temple in the Palace of Maat, the blocks referring to foreign lands on the walls would not have

¹⁴³ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 251

¹⁴⁴ Pierce, "Offensive Mechanisms", *In the Black Seventies*, 265-282.

¹⁴⁵ Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 251

been easily accessible.¹⁴⁶ Paired with relatively small hieroglyphs¹⁴⁷ and the location of the monument in the more sacred regions of the temple, the iconographic and textual content on this chapel cannot have been communicated readily to a more general audience. This has ramifications for the potential audience and accessibility, which is to be revisited in Chapter 12.



Figure 6.11 The view of Block 196 [18.05.16] on the sixth course from the ground. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

¹⁴⁶ The inaccessibility of these scenes, argues Warburton, makes it “absurd” to place the Chapel inside the Palace of Maat, as “Hatshepsut’s intention was that the monument be seen”. Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 236 (no. 745).

¹⁴⁷ Measurements taken on-site by the author suggest the general dimensions of signs being 6 cm by 2.5 cm.

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

*Figure 6.12 Spatial distribution on the west façade of the Chapelle
Rouge.*

*Figure 6.13 Spatial distribution on the east wall of the vestibule of the Chapelle
Rouge.*

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.14 Spatial distribution on the south façade of the Chapelle Rouge.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.15 Spatial distribution on the north façade of the Chapelle Rouge.

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

Figure 6.16 Spatial distribution on the east wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge.

Figure 6.17 Spatial distribution on the west wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6.18 Spatial distribution on the south wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

○ ○ ○ ○

Fig. 6.19 Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Hatshepsut.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Fig. 6.20 Spatial distribution of references as represented at the end of the reign of Hatshepsut. Drawing by Peirce after Golvin (1993), 34-35.

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Content
18.05.01	Cachette	unknown	Open Air Museum	Reference to Fenkhou on vertical frames of Thutmose II.
18.05.02	Third Pylon	H 117cm W 115cm	Open Air Museum	Two Blocks of Hatshepsut, with text mentioning Nubia.
18.05.03	North Court	unknown	in situ	A representation of three kneeling foreigners.
18.05.04	North Court	H 50 cm W 45 cm D 100 cm	unknown	A statue base of Hatshepsut with the nine-bow motif.
18.05.05	Eighth Pylon, E. Wing, N. Face	unknown	in situ	Scene of Thutmose I thanking Amun for Hatshepsut's accession.
18.05.06	Eighth Pylon, E. Wing, N. Face.	unknown	in situ	Scene of Thutmose II with Theban Triad and various reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.07	Colonnade of Thutmose I	H 29.5m	in situ	Standing obelisk claiming all <i>h3s.wt</i> as the subjects of the Egyptian king.
18.05.08	Colonnade of Thutmose I	Approx. H 29.5m	Sacred Lake and various museums.	Fallen obelisk of Hatshepsut, reference to Punt and other foreign lands.
18.05.09	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Oracle Text, reference <i>h3s.t</i> , Nine Bows, Nubians, Asiatics. and Bedouins.
18.05.10	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 14. Reference to all Amun giving Hatshepsut all <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.11	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 183. Hatshepsut before Osiris. Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.12	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 53 and 157. Hatshepsut receives <i>kheprsh</i> -crown. Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.13	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 262. A ritual text that puts all <i>h3s.wt</i> at the feet of Amun.
18.05.14	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 133. A ritual text that puts all <i>h3s.wt</i> at the feet of Amun.
18.05.15	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 164. Hatshepsut offering to Amun with reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.16	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 196. Hatshepsut consecrates tribute from <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.17	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 53. Hatshepsut consecrates tribute from <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.18	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 186. Hatshepsut receives <i>nemes</i> -crown. Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.19	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 225. Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.05.20	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Blocks 172 and 261. Hatshepsut receives <i>nemes</i> -crown. Reference to Nine Bows.
18.05.21	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 23. Hatshepsut receives the <i>kheprsh</i> -crown. Reference to Nine Bows.
18.05.22	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 95. Hatshepsut receives the <i>atef</i> -crown from Amun. Reference to Nine Bows.
18.05.23	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 141. Hatshepsut receives the <i>atef</i> -crown from Amun. Reference to Nine Bows.
18.05.24	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 43. A ritual text that puts all <i>h3s.wt</i> at the feet of Amun.
18.05.25	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 145. Coronation scene referring to the Hanebu.

Table 6.10 Overview of the sources from the reign of Hatshepsut.

Chapter 7

The Reign of Thutmose III

The Annals

“Then, it was at the head of his army that His Majesty prevailed over them,
and they saw His Majesty prevail over them.
They fled, headlong of flight, towards Megiddo, with faces of fear”.
Line 86, *The Annals of Thutmose III*, Stück I.¹

Long before Ramesses II irrevocably left his mark on Karnak, Thutmose III is credited with shaping the temple into the form that it is so famous for today. Throughout most of his sole reign after the death of Hatshepsut (c. 1458/7 - 1425 BC), the constructions at Karnak were undertaken in tandem with Thutmose III's campaigns abroad. The acquired booty often provided the necessary materials and labour, whilst themes of warfare can be seen to pervade the inscriptions and images that adorned the site.² As a whole, in regard to the references to foreigners at the temple, the reign of Thutmose III is marked by both diversification and proliferation, resulting in some eighty-six sources still preserved today. In order to analyse these texts in a meaningful way, they have been divided into four categories which are presented and discussed across four chapters. This categorisation is based on text type, with Chapter 7 examining the Annals, Chapter 8 the stele and other longer monumental inscriptions, Chapter 9 the artistic representations of foreign peoples and statues with the nine-bow motif, and finally, Chapter 10 detailing the captions and shorter documents. Accordingly, the current chapter begins with reflections on the socio-political context of the reign of Thutmose III (Section 7.1) and the changes at the temple (Section 7.2), before examining the references to foreigners in the Annals (Section 7.3) [18.06.01]-[18.06.05]. This is followed by a discussion of pertinent observations in Section 7.4.

7.1 The Socio-Political Context of the Reign of Thutmose III

The various campaigns of Thutmose III opened up the horizons of the Egyptian empire in an unprecedented manner, especially in the Levant and in Nubia (see Fig. 7.1).³ The first campaign

¹ [18.06.01].

² Numerous texts discussed in the following chapters not only list the booty acquired from the campaigns, but their subsequent applications at Karnak. David O'Connor, “Thutmose III: An Enigmatic Pharaoh”, in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 31; Piotr Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 183.

³ Blyth, *Karnak*, 68.

led by Thutmose III is known to scholars today as the Battle of Megiddo dating to Years 22 and 23.⁴ The campaign left Egypt some six months after the death of Hatshepsut, and, as Spalinger comments, it was crucial for the “reconsolidation of the Egyptian Empire”.⁵ It was fundamental for Egypt’s occupation and influence in the southern Levant from the reign of Thutmose III onwards and appears to have commenced against a backdrop of disaffection and rebellion towards Egyptian rule.⁶ After a siege lasting seven months at the city of Megiddo, Thutmose III and his army were victorious.⁷

The victory at Megiddo had a profound effect, confirming the king in his role as a strong military leader and set a precedent for the military activity that would characterise the remainder of his reign.⁸ The second, third, and fourth campaigns in Years 24 to 28 are a conundrum, though it is incontrovertible that the king did return to the Levant in Year 25.⁹ The campaigns from Years 29 to 31 moved north to Kadesh to secure the Levantine coast towards Byblos.¹⁰ The high-point of his reign is generally perceived as the eighth campaign that occurred in Year 33 to the region of the Mitanni, which was commemorated on the Stela of Armant and at Gebel Barkal.¹¹ The later years saw further campaigns to the Levant and Nubia, with the first Nubian campaign occurring after Year 42.¹² Overall, the frequent campaigns of Thutmose III had an irrevocable impact on the concept and administration of the Egyptian army itself, developing from a corps of troops drawn from the royal household dependent upon the land and on booty for sustenance to a self-sufficient and financed army by the end of the fifth campaign.¹³ The nature of campaigning itself also ostensibly shifted from warfare designed to extend the borders in physical encounters to “march-about” of Egyptian armed forces to reinforce the dominance of the Egyptian king, with no opposition anticipated.¹⁴

Taken as a whole, the reign of Thutmose III is marked by unprecedented military activity, particularly in the Levant. Accordingly, the king was portrayed as a figurehead for the army,

⁴ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 83.

⁵ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 83.

⁶ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 83.

⁷ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 1234, 18; Dimitri Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique* (Liège, 1998), 35.

⁸ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 101.

⁹ Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 775-77 (213) (see [18.06.40]); Donald B. Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 331.

¹⁰ Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 331.

¹¹ Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, 293-294.

¹² Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 331; Anthony Spalinger, “Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt’s Domination over Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 355.

¹³ Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 327-328.

¹⁴ Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 327-328.

and to complement the success of the military campaigns, enormous wealth flooded into Egypt in the form of plunder and booty taken from the battlefield. This was further enhanced and consolidated through the subsequent *in.w*- and *b3k.w*-relationships, which appear to have included more lands than previously documented in ancient Egypt.

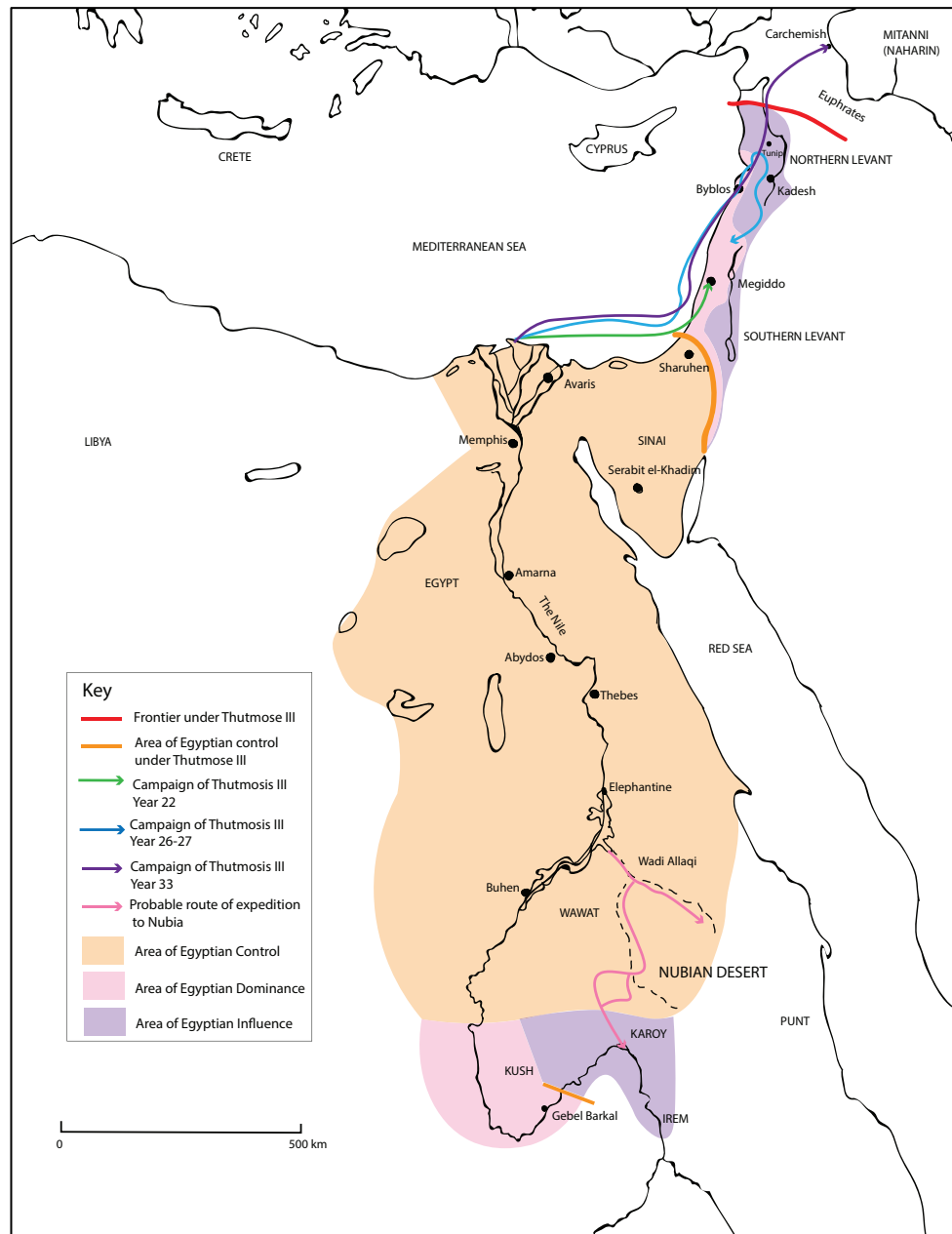


Figure 7.1 The political situation under Thutmose III.

7.2 The Temple during the Reign of Thutmose III

Towards the end of the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the latter embarked on an ambitious building program that left almost no corner of the Temple of Karnak untouched (Fig.

7.2, Pl. VI). Scholars such as Burgos and Larché have identified four phases of construction for the reign of Thutmose III, stretching over some four decades and the entire length of his reign.¹⁵

The first phase appears to have begun around Year 15 of the reign of Thutmose III, which was during his co-rule with Hatshepsut.¹⁶ The initial monument that was finalised was the Chapelle Rouge, to which Thutmose III incorporated three blocks to the seventh course and the entire eight course.¹⁷ Research has revealed that Thutmose III was also responsible for the heightening of the façade on the short, narrow ends of the building.¹⁸

New constructions include the Sixth Pylon which was appended to the east-west axis, creating a new court and replacing the proto-Sixth Pylon of Amenhotep I.¹⁹ The new pylon would later be decorated at the same time as the Akhmenu and features depictions of the campaign in Year 23 at Megiddo.²⁰ This was followed by renovations of the Wadjet Hall of Thutmose I between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons and the incorporation of the Station of the King and the Corridor, which connected the court of the Fifth Pylon to what would become the Akhmenu.²¹ Finally, it is possible that the sandstone masonry encasing the obelisks of Hatshepsut in the Wadjet Hall was also accomplished at this time if it was not undertaken in the reign of Hatshepsut.²²

The second phase encompasses the establishment of the Akhmenu and the obelisks before the Fourth Pylon. The Akhmenu, or Festival Temple of Thutmose III, is situated at the eastern end of the Temple of Karnak, and construction began in Year 24.²³ It is a separate free-standing

¹⁵ Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* II, 341; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 183-203.

¹⁶ Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* II, 338; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 191.

¹⁷ Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 81; Dimitri Laboury, “Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 269-270; Sébastien Biston-Moulin, “L’épithète *ḥq3 m3’(t)* et l’activité architecturale du début du règne autonome de Thoutmosis III”, in A. Gasse, F. Servajean, C. Thiers (eds), *Égypte et ad Égyptum: Recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier* (Montpellier, 2012), 82-83.

¹⁸ Laboury, “Royal Portrait and Ideology”, *Thutmose III*, 269-270.

¹⁹ Blyth, *Karnak*, 77; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* II (2008), 338; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 189-190; Gabolde, “Les marques de carriers mises au jour lors des fouilles des substructures situées à l’est du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 16 (2017), 208-209.

²⁰ KIU 944; PM II², 106 (328); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 155-76 (64); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 75-83; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 190; Biston-Moulin, “L’épithète *ḥq3 m3’(t)*”, *Égypte et ad Égyptum: Recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier*, 85-87.

²¹ Jean-François Carlotti and Luc Gabolde, “Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt”, *Karnak* 11 (2003), 283-284; Blyth, *Karnak*, 77, 96-97.

²² Luc Gabolde, “Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation”, *Karnak* 14 (2013), 383-399.

²³ Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 56; Jean-François Pécoil, *L’Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (Paris, 2000); Jean-François Carlotti, *L’Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, texte* (Paris, 2001), 18-20; O’Connor, “Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 31; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 192;

temple with the entrance located in the south-western corner, by a pathway that circumvents the Middle Kingdom Court.²⁴ The 40-metre long Festival Hall is oriented north-south and is filled with thirty-two columns on the western half of the structure.²⁵ The other rooms of the temple include three chapels as well as rooms dedicated to Amun-Re with botanical representations in the “Jardin botanique”.²⁶ In the north-eastern corner of the building, stairs were built that reached a platform open to the sky dedicated to the cult of the sun god.²⁷ Further, on the eastern exterior side of the temple, a “contra”, or “temple of hearing” was appended, which allowed individuals who would not have been granted access to the temple itself to interact with the deities.²⁸

Repair works at the Temple of Ptah, situated against the northern ambulatory wall, were conducted after the campaign of Year 23.²⁹ On a granite stela discovered near the fourth gate (Cairo CG 34013) the king describes a temple fallen into ruin, which he repaired with materials sourced from foreign lands, including doors of cedar banded with Asiatic copper.³⁰ On the southern side of this building, Thutmose III constructed a court with three chapels, which represents the oldest preserved remains of the Temple of Ptah.³¹

Blyth, *Karnak*, 68-69; Julie Masquelier-Loorius, “The Akh-menu of Thutmosis III at Karnak. The Sokarian Rooms”, in G. Rosati and M. C. Guidotti (eds), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists: Florence, Italy 23-30 August 2015* (Oxford, 2017), 394-398.

²⁴ Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak, texte*, 18-20; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 192; Blyth, *Karnak*, 68-69; Elaine Sullivan, “Visualising the size and movement of the portable festival barks at Karnak Temple”, *BMSAES* 19 (2012), 16.

²⁵ Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak, texte*, 18-20.

²⁶ See [18.06.40] in Chapter 9.3 for a further discussion of these scenes. Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 194; Nathalie Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III: plantes et animaux du “Jardin botanique” de Karnak* (Leuven, 1990).

²⁷ Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 195.

²⁸ Alexandra Varille, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d'Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 137-172; Lana Troy, “Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmosis III”, in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 162; Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 136.

²⁹ Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 93-94; Biston-Moulin, “L'épithète *ḥq3 m3'(.t)*”, *Ægypto et ad Ægyptum: Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier*, 88.

³⁰ See [18.06.08]. PM II², 198 (6); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 763-772 (211); Gaston Maspero, “La consécration du nouvel temple de Ptah thébain par Thoutmôsis III”, *CRAIBL* 1 (1900), 113-123; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 27-30, pl. IX; Georges Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 107-111; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 119; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 135-136 (458); Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 93-94; Barguet, *Temple*, 14; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 219-223; Peter A. Piccione, “The Women of Thutmose III in the Stelae of Egyptian Museum”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 91-94; Peter J. Brand, *Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 2000), 84-85, fig. 51; Christophe Thiers and Pierre Zignani, “The Temple of Ptah at Karnak”, *EA* 38 (2011), 20; Kara Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King* (New York, 2014), 265-266 (no. 33); Michel Azim and Gérard Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain. Catalogue raisonné des archives photographiques du premier directeur des travaux de Karnak de 1895 à 1917* (Paris, 2004), I. 349 (4-11/17), II. 326 (4-11/17).

³¹ Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 93-94; Thiers and Zignani, “The Temple of Ptah at Karnak”, *EA* 38 (2011), 20; Sébastien Biston-Moulin and Christophe Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (2016).

In Year 25, Thutmose III erected a pair of red granite obelisks celebrating his *sed*-festival, between the pairs erected by his grandfather and his father, Thutmose I and Thutmose II, before the Fourth Pylon.³² Today, only the granite bases of these obelisks remain, as the needles themselves are lost and only fragments have been found.³³

The third phase includes the Central Bark Shrine, the addition of columns along the north side of the Wadjet Hall, the First Court, the Seventh Pylon, and the obelisks before the south face of the Seventh Pylon. The reworking of Central Karnak further involved alterations to the Palace of Maat and the dismantling of the Chapelle Rouge, in addition to finalising the removal of the monuments of Amenhotep I.³⁴ It is believed that this dissembling occurred sometime before Year 42.³⁵ Around the ambulatory walls of the bark sanctuary in Central Karnak, Thutmose III recorded his famous Annals, which are spread across the rooms known as VI and VII, engraved between Years 40 and 50.³⁶

The Wadjet Hall, which contained the obelisks of Hatshepsut, had its wooden roof removed and replaced with stone slabs, resulting in more columns installed to support the ensuing weight and the obelisks themselves were encased in “mini pylon towers”.³⁷ Though some have seen this encasement as an attempt to hide the obelisks from view, it has been suggested by Blyth that the structures may have fulfilled an architectural purpose, as they would have assisted in supporting the new roof.³⁸ Others, such as Larché, have argued that Hatshepsut herself was responsible for this pylon-like structure, which may have been built to address the weak foundation of the southern obelisk.³⁹ Currently, however, the consensus among scholars is that

³² Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 73; Blyth, *Karnak*, 86; Luc Gabolde, “An Atlas of the Obelisks of Karnak in Preparation”, *EA* 31 (2007), 34.

³³ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 73; Blyth, *Karnak*, 86; Gabolde, “An Atlas of the Obelisks”, *EA* 31 (2007), 34.
³⁴ Blyth, *Karnak*, 77.

³⁵ Laboury, “Royal Portrait and Ideology”, *Thutmose III*, 270; Blyth, *Karnak*, 80; Charles C. Van Siclen III, “New Data on the Date of the Defacement of Hatshepsut’s Name and Image on the Chapelle Rouge”, *GM* 107 (1989), 85-86.

³⁶ PM II², 89-90 (240-244); LD III, 25, pls. 30(a), 31(a); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 684-734 (206-207); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 13; Karl Richard Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums: Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1842), pl. xii; Samuel Birch, “Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak”, *TRSL* 2 (1847), 317-373; Pritchard, *ANET*, 234-238; Anthony J. Spalinger, “A Critical Analysis of the ‘Annals’ of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)”, *JARCE* 14 (1977), 41-54; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 1-98; William J. Murnane, “Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III’s First Campaign in Western Asia”, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 183-189; Michel Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes, II: L’apogée du Nouvel Empire, Hatshepsout, Thoutmosis III, Amenhotep II et Thoutmosis IV* (Arles, 2012), 181-213; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 57-58.

³⁷ Blyth, *Karnak*, 78; Gabolde, “Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques”, *Karnak* 14 (2013), 398-399.

³⁸ Blyth, *Karnak*, 78; Larché, “Nouvelles observations”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 449; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 86.

³⁹ Larché, “Nouvelles observations”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 462; Gabolde, “Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation”, *Karnak* 14 (2013), 283-299; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six*, 86-87.

the obelisks were encased in masonry in the reign of Thutmose III and that they had some form of architectural purpose relating to the structural stability of the building.⁴⁰

The construction of the Seventh Pylon along the north-south axis of the temple added to the southern processional way between the Central Karnak and the Eighth Pylon. Inscriptions from Karnak indicate that Thutmose “found the Seventh Pylon of mud-brick”, possibly the southern gateway constructed by Amenhotep I, and remade it in stone.⁴¹ The new pylon, with decoration dating to Year 33, was decorated on both the west and east wings as well as on its north and south sides, with scenes of the king smiting enemies.⁴² The southern gateway of the Seventh Pylon was further embellished with the creation and placement of two striding colossi of the king⁴³ and a pair of red granite obelisks.⁴⁴ In the fourth century AD, the western obelisk of this pair was removed by Constantius II to the Hippodrome in Istanbul; of the eastern obelisk, only the top half has survived, which remains in the Second Court.⁴⁵

The fourth phase was the construction of a large temenos enclosure wall around Central Karnak and the Akhmenu, whilst walls were also constructed linking the Seventh and the Eighth Pylons. This large sandstone girdle wall enclosed both the Festival Temple and Central Karnak on three sides.⁴⁶ This replaced the existing mud brick wall, and extended from the east side of the complex, joining the north side of the Fifth Pylon, and the Fourth Pylon back to the eastern wall.⁴⁷ Next to the Seventh Pylon in the east, Thutmose III expanded the Sacred Lake.⁴⁸ Connected to this lake in the Second Court is the Alabaster Bark Shrine of Thutmose III, with

⁴⁰ Gabolde, “Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques”, *Karnak* 14 (2013), 283-299.

⁴¹ This is found in a recent publication of new blocks of the Annals of Thutmose III, as reconstructed and published by Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde: Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 71 (col. 27). See also: Blyth, *Karnak*, 84; Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 91; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 735-738 (208). The discovery of the “Southern Pylon” in mud-brick is also recounted on a block written in retrograde that was discovered in the Second Pylon, [18.06.62], (line x+15), see PM II², 99; Charles F. Nims, “Thutmosis III’s benefactions to Amon”, in E. B. Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), 70-71 (vii) (69-74); Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1953-1954”, *ASAE* 53 (1955), 27-28; Barguet, *Temple*, 53 (note 4), 54 (note 2).

⁴² Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 91; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 196; Blyth, *Karnak*, 84.

⁴³ PM II², 171 (Statues I and J); Georges Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 9, 17; Jean Capart, *Thèbes. La gloire d’un grand passé* (Bruxelles, 1925), 347-348, fig. 255; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 369, 371; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 114-117 (C17 and 18); Laura Peirce, “The Curious Case of the Colossal Statue of Thutmose III before the South-East Face of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak”, *GM* 257 (2019), 153-164.

⁴⁴ Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 195-196; Blyth, *Karnak*, 84.

⁴⁵ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 145-148.

⁴⁶ Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 197; Blyth, *Karnak*, 76.

⁴⁷ Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 197; Blyth, *Karnak*, 76.

⁴⁸ See [18.06.61], line x+19. Nims, “Thutmosis III’s benefactions to Amon”, *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 70, 73; O’Connor, “Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 18; Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture”, *Thutmose III*, 196.

its eastern doorway aligned with and oriented towards the Sacred Lake.⁴⁹ The first phase of this chapel was a kiosk enclosed by square pillars, and later, around Year 33, further pillars were added to the area, which established a courtyard.⁵⁰ Finally, around Year 42, the king led restoration works, which may have included the colossi of Thutmose II being removed from before the Grand Pylon of Thutmose II and relocated to the south face of the Eighth Pylon.⁵¹

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

° ° ° °

Figure 7.2 Karnak as it may have looked at the end of the reign of Thutmose III.

7.3 The Annals

The Annals [18.06.01-18.06.05] impart the most comprehensive account of the military campaigns under the reign of Thutmose III, and as such, it is a text of *mimetic* nature (see Table 7.5 for an overview). As argued by Redford, the Annals represent excerpts of the day-books which were composed on Thutmose III's various campaigns and provide astounding detail of the minutiae of war.⁵² The text itself covers numerous walls around the Vestibule of Thutmose

⁴⁹ Laskowski, "Monumental Architecture", *Thutmose III*, 196-197; Blyth, *Karnak*, 84-85.

⁵⁰ Laskowski, "Monumental Architecture", *Thutmose III*, 196-197; Blyth, *Karnak*, 84-85.

⁵¹ Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 21; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 41-42, 57; Élisabeth Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire: la Chambre des Ancêtres, les Annales de Thoutmosis III, le décor de palais de Séthi Ier* (Paris, 2015), 150-152.

⁵² As stated by Baines, however, many of the events in the Annals are "difficult to imagine as forming part of a day book". Other sources must thus be imagined for the creation of the Annals, such as inventory lists.

III which were inscribed after Year 42.⁵³ Due to the complexity of the Annals and the ordering of the various sections, for convenience sake, and following the convention established in Egyptology, this chapter arranges the text after the *Urkunden*, though this also results in a less than exact chronological order.⁵⁴

As a whole, the Annals are perhaps the most studied document of the reign of Thutmose III. It provides a wealth of information and examining the Annals is, and has been, worthy of a study in and of itself.⁵⁵ The inscription contains precise information, including dates, the names of places, and the number of captives taken.⁵⁶ As stated by Redford, this appears to have been the intended purpose of the text: to present a document of extreme detail so that no questions could be raised regarding the accuracy of the content of the inscription.⁵⁷ Overall, it is clear that the Annals was a carefully constructed document, ordered, and presented to accommodate the goals that Thutmose III set himself, with large sections of text relating to the genre of *Königsnovelle*.⁵⁸ The main overriding goal, at its most fundamental level, appears to have been to provide evidence for Thutmose III's extraordinary exploits as king, and more specifically, for his capabilities as a warrior sovereign and his piety towards the gods.

For the current study, a different approach is taken regarding the treatment of the Annals. This chapter focuses on the Egyptians' interactions with foreign lands as mentioned within the inscription. This aims to explore a spectrum of attitudes, interactions, and how they are presented. These include physical demonstrations of respect from the foreigners to the Egyptian king, foreigners taken as captives, and "dues" or income that the Egyptians derive from the various conflicts. Due to the extraordinary length of the Annals, it is not possible in

John Baines, "On the evolution, purpose, and forms of Egyptian annals", in E. M. Engel, V. Müller, U. Hartung (eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, (Wiesbaden, 2008), 29; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 5.

⁵³ Redford, "The Northern Wars of Thutmose III", *Thutmose III*, 325; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 169.

⁵⁴ Following the Annals from Sethe's rendering is a common practice amongst Egyptologists, and it would take a significant reworking of the Annals to rectify the sections into one cohesive whole, a feat which might not be possible to achieve due to the missing sections. Such work is beyond the scope of the current study.

⁵⁵ For example, Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo* (PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 1913); Hermann Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neues Reiches* (Berlin, 1947); Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003).

⁵⁶ Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 115.

⁵⁷ Redford, "The Northern Wars of Thutmose III", *Thutmose III*, 326.

⁵⁸ Baines, "On the evolution, purpose, and forms of Egyptian annals", *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 19; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 115.

the framework of the current study to provide sufficient justice to the entire text.⁵⁹ As a consequence, short excerpts, or rather “case studies” have been extracted, selected on the basis of the occurrence of specific lexical terms and place names, as well as those passages that are representative for the various types of narrative styles, like the reports, the lists, and the *Königsnovelle*. The subsequent chapters will study other texts from the reign of Thutmose III from around Karnak in order to provide a holistic understanding of the range and types of relationships that the Egyptians had with their neighbours separate from warfare, which is, undoubtedly, the dominant theme of the Annals. In turn, these four chapters dedicated to Thutmose III (Chapters 7 to 10) aim to understand the commonalities in the presentation of foreign people and lands that may exist in these various texts and how foreign and Egyptian identity is perceived and evaluated.

Stück I

The most commonly referred to section of the Annals is Piece I, also known as “Stück I”, which details the legendary Battle of Megiddo [18.06.01].⁶⁰ As a report, the format is complex as there are multiple instances of rising action and crises. Essentially, the passage includes an introduction detailing the purpose of the text (lines 1-6), followed by a list of victories (lines 6-56), with the climax situated around the battles of Kadesh and Megiddo (lines 56-94), and a resolution, being a description of the conclusion of the campaigns and a list of all the booty acquired (lines 95-103). From line 104 to 110, the inscription shifts to the chiefs of foreign lands bringing goods to Egypt.

Firstly, however, the extended diegetic “caption” to the large-scale scene of Thutmose III presenting gifts to Amun introduces the Annals. The following translations of [18.06.01] have

⁵⁹ For the convenience of the reader, the translations of the Annals as a whole are provided in the Appendix (Volume 2).

⁶⁰ PM II², 97 (280 and 281), 98 (II); LD III, 31 (1-11), b (right); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 644-645 (202), 645-675 (203); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 188-199 (202-203); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 6007, 6009, 6154, 8558-62, 8710; Champollion. *Not. descr.* II, 155-159; Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo*; R. O. Faulkner, “The Battle of Megiddo”, *JEA* 28 (1942), 2-15; Martin Noth, “Die Annalen Thutmosis III. als Geschichtsquelle”, *ZDPV* 66:2 (1943), 156-174; Hermann Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neues Reiches* (Berlin, 1947); Donald B. Redford, “The Historical Retrospective at the Beginning of Thutmose III’s Annals”, *Festschrift Elmar Edel* 12. März 1979 (Bamberg, 1979), 338-342; William J. Murnane, “Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III’s First Campaign in Western Asia”, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 183-189; Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 1-98; Hans Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore, 2000); Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 83-100; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 181-213.

been adapted varyingly from Burkhardt et al. (1984), Goedicke (2000), Redford (2003), and Dessoudeix (2012).⁶¹ The text reads:

Urk. IV, 644-645 (202).

(1) <i>dd mdw</i>	(1) Words spoken:
<i>iw hrp.tw [b3k.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	“It is the case [the work-produce of all the <i>h3s.wt</i>]
<i>r hw.t-ntr n.t Imn.w]</i>	are brought
(2) <i>m htr r tnw [rnp.t] ///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	[to temple of Amun]
(3) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>hnt</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	(2) as dues numbering, [year] <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
(4) <i>hbny</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> (5) - (11) (lost)	(3) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> foremost <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
(12) <i>ht</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	(4) ebony <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> (5) - (11) (lost)
(13) <i>hr in.w=sn</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	(12) through <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
(14) <i>snd.w hm=f m [ib.w=sn</i>	(13) carrying their gifts <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
<i>sh3=f]</i>	(14) fear of His Majesty is in [their hearts,
(15) <i>mn(.w) m r3.w nh.w</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	the memory of him]
(16) <i>h3s.wt nb.(w)t hm⁶² n=f</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	(15) enduring in the mouths of the living <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
(17) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>[rn=f] dd m r3 n.y</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>	(16) all <i>h3s.wt</i> retreat from him <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
(18) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>nb.t pr.w tm [R^c.w-Hr.w-</i>	(17) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> [his name] enduring in the mouth of
<i>3h.ty]</i>	<i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i>
(19) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>[iri=f] di(.w) [nh(.w)</i>	(18) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> the entire estate of [Re-Harakhte]
<i>dd(.w)] w3s(.w) snb(.w) mi R^c.w d.t</i>	(19) <i>///</i> <i>///</i> <i>///</i> [which he makes]. May he be given
	[life, stability,] dominion, and health like Re,
	forever.

Overall, this introduction acts as an effective summation of the Annals as a whole. The words are probably those of the king to Amun, though their content was directed to any individual who had cause to enter this secluded area of the temple and to read the inscription. It is clear from the structure of the text that the most important outcome of the campaigns of Thutmose III was the resultative “work-products” [*b3k.w*], “dues” (*htr*), and “gifts” (*in.w*) which were

⁶¹ It should be noted that Goedicke can be very liberal in his translations; some examples of this are noted throughout the chapter, though he does offer detailed and useful commentary throughout his work. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 188-199 (202-203); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (2000); Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003), 1-98; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 181-213.

⁶² *Wb* III, 80.

“offered” (*hrp*) to the king, who in turn gave them to the temple/s and Amun; and in fact, this is what the pictorial depiction represents. Due to the lacunae, most of the names of the offerings are lost, but there is a reference to “ebony” (*hbny*) preserved in line 4 which would suggest it was a list of offerings from the south.⁶³ After this discourse on the offerings, the text then details further information: the use of “fear” (*snd*) appears as a measure of control and a sign of power in the *h3s.wt*.

Following this passage, the main section of the Annals begins with an expansive military account of the reign of Thutmose III. The opening lines of the text reveal that the Annals was made as a record of all the victories of Thutmose III as a royal decree to display the achievements of the king.⁶⁴ The text then proceeds to report on the events of the campaign in Year 22, for example:

Urk. IV, 645-675 (203).

(6) (...) *rnp.t-sp 22 3bd 4 pr.t sw 25*

(6) (...) Regnal Year 22, fourth month of the harvest, day 25:

[*sn hm=f htm n.y*] (7) *T3rw*

[His Majesty passed by the fortress of] (7) Tjarou⁶⁵

m wdy.t tp.(y)t n.t nht

during the first campaign of victory.

[*r dr⁶⁶ tkk(w).w⁶⁷*] (8) *t3š.w Km.t*

[in order to subdue those who attacked]⁶⁸ (8) the borders of Egypt,

m kn[.t m nht m wsr m m3^c-hrw] (...)

in brav[ery, in strength, in might and in justification] (...)

In the extracted passage, which marks the beginning of the campaign trail of Thutmose III, a date and a location are specified, namely, Tjarou, a locale close to the eastern Delta (modern-

⁶³ Ebony was grown in tropical Africa as well as western India. Gale et al., “Wood”, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 338.

⁶⁴ Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 7.

⁶⁵ Namely, Sile. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 8-9.

⁶⁶ *Wb V*, 473.1-474.12

⁶⁷ *Wb V*, 336.2-10.

⁶⁸ Strangely, Goedicke adds sinister intention to his translation: “against those plotting to attack Egypt’s borders”. Not only is this a reconstruction, but it is not evident in Sethe’s reconstruction, which Goedicke’s version is based upon. The other alternative by Redford is “in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt”, who argues this translation would also fit in the space available. However, the Annals has a trend of justifying conflict, and to simply “extend the borders” is somewhat lacking in purpose, which is why the translation presented above prefers to adhere to Sethe. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 12; Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 647.14. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 8 (no. 29).

day el-Qantara). A justification for the action trails this, which has been reconstructed by Sethe as “violating” [*tkk(w).w*] the frontiers or the borders of Egypt (*ḥš.w Km.t*). Here, the maintenance and the possibility of crushing an attack on the borders provide validation for Thutmose III’s conflict with this region.

The same layout of the verse with the place name followed by a statement of justification for conflict continues throughout the Annals:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (...) (11) <i>hpr.n</i> ⁶⁹ <i>is m ḥ(3)w k(y).wy</i> | (11) Then, in later times, it occurred that a |
| <i>iwꜥ(y).t nt(y).t im</i> | garrison which was there |
| (12) <i>m dmi n.y Ṣ3-r3-ḥn st š3ꜥ m Ἰ-r3-d3</i> | (12) was (now) in the town of Sharouhen while |
| | (the territory) of Yoursa, |
| (13) <i>nfry.t r phw.w t3 w3i(.w)</i> ⁷⁰ <i>r bšt ḥr</i> | (13) at the end of the marshlands, fell into |
| <i>ḥm=f(...)</i> | rebellion against His Majesty (...) |

The next fortress described is Sharouhen, where the transgression is not just violating borders, but it is explicitly linked to a rebellion (*bšt*) against the king.⁷¹ This rebellion, in turn, presupposes that the land was under Egyptian control prior to the campaign of Thutmose III, and as such, that the danger occurred *within* the territory dominated by Egypt.

In the next locality, Gaza, the king appears to move from the region understood as belonging to the Egyptian empire into “outside” space:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (14) (...) <i>rnpt-sp 23</i> (15) (<i>3bd</i>) <i>tp(.y) šm.w</i> | (14) (...) Regnal Year 23 (15) first (month) of |
| <i>sw 5</i> | summer, day 5: |
| <i>wḏi m s.t tn m ḳn.t m nḥt</i> (16) <i>m wsr m m3ꜥ-</i> | departing from this place (Gaza) in bravery, in |
| <i>ḥrw</i> | victory, (16) in strength and in justification, |

⁶⁹ The author has dismissed the previous section’s supposed “Avaris” translation that allegedly harkens back to the Hyksos Period, though unfortunately it still has currency in some circles, such as in Dessoudeix’s recent 2012 translation. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 190. See also Redford (1979), where he refutes the possibility that Avaris is present in the hieroglyphs. Redford, “The Historical Retrospective at the Beginning of Thutmose III’s Annals”, *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (1979), 339.

⁷⁰ In the sense of getting “involved” with something. Compare with Goedicke “were ready to rebel about His Majesty”, Redford “had broken out in rebellion against His Majesty”, and Burkhardt et al.: “Sie begannen sich (nun) gegen Seine Majestät zu empören von Ἰ-r-d3 bis zu den Enden der Erde”. *Wb* I, 244.7-8; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 12; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 9; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 189 (203).

⁷¹ Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 12.

<i>r shr.t hr(w) pf hs(.y)</i>	in order to overthrow this feeble enemy ⁷² (of Kadesh) ⁷³
<i>r swsh⁷⁴ (17) t3š.w Km.t (...)</i>	and in order to extend (17) the borders of Egypt (...)

This conflict has a two-pronged justification: the first is to “overthrow” (*shr*) the “enemy” (*hr(w)*) and the second is to *expand the borders* (*r swsh Km.t*). The same mode of interaction as previously is, however, presented through the implication of violence (*shr*) through physical encounters. The enemy, which in this context is a reference to the king of Kadesh, is characterised as “weak” and “feeble” (*hs(.y)*). By contrast, the protagonist of the narrative, Thutmose III, is associated with distinct corpora of terminologies which serve to elevate him in the story and reinforce his hierarchical importance. Notably, the Egyptian army is omitted at the beginning of the text, which serves to emphasise the deeds of Thutmose III alone. Specifically, the king is proactive, namely “departing” (*wḏi m*) to face his foes, and furthermore, he is explicitly labelled as “brave” (*kn.t*), “victorious” (*nḥt*), “strong” (*wsr*), and “justified” (*m3ꜥ-hrw*) (see Table 7.1). These distinctions evoked through the elucidatory language in relation to both the king and foreign peoples highlights the characteristics associated with the “ideal (Egyptian)” and the ethnic “other”. In this case, the king is not only the *strong* and *brave* leader of the Egyptian people but also the quintessential Egyptian that one should strive to emulate (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2).

This juxtaposition of the foreign peoples and the king is expected in a text detailing the various military campaigns. However, the language used in relation to the foreigners is particularly negative and often lists various reasons for the king’s violent involvement with them. The explanatory nature of these statements implies that they are based on legitimate historical events (*mimesis*).⁷⁵ Presenting diverging justifications is salient, as it is a move away from the traditional ideology and generalising view that all foreign lands are the property of the king. It is intriguing that reasons are given for taking a specific town, and further that they vary depending on the locality (see Table 7.2). It is possible that these statements are shaped by the

⁷² Goedicke translates this as “that enemy, may he be miserable”, Redford as “that [vile] doomed one”, and Burkhardt et al. as “um jenen elenden Feind niederzuwerfen”. The latter appears the most faithful to the original, as *hs(.y)* is qualifying “enemy”. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 22; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 13; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 190 (203).

⁷³ This word pairing suggests the King of Kadesh, who is referred to as the “feeble enemy” just a few lines later in lines 20-21.

⁷⁴ *Wb* IV, 74-75.

⁷⁵ Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 12-13.

foreign group's distance from Egypt and how the Egyptians had previously interacted with them. This is evidenced by the fact that Tjarou was close enough to have attacked the borders and Sharouhen to have rebelled. As a consequence, the portrayal of Thutmose III as the ideal Egyptian is particularly expressed through how *he acts* towards other foreign lands and how *they react to him*. On one level, the various actions imply a king *willing to adapt* to the conditions (and in a sense, a diplomatic and considering ruler), whilst the frequently held consensus regarding initial *violence* and the subsequent submission of the foreign lands reiterates the narratological role of foreigners in encapsulating the "other".

This inherent focus on Thutmose III is the main characteristic of the Annals, presenting the heroism of Thutmose III in various situations. For example, the king determines not to sit back idly as his army fights, where mentioned, but to be placed at the *head* of his army:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(51) (...) <i>m=k hm=f iri.n=f</i> (52) <i>nh⁷⁶ r-dd</i></p> <p><i>nn di=i pri [ms^c=i n.y nht]</i> (53) <i>hr-h3.t hm=i</i></p> <p><i>m [s.t tn]</i></p> <p><i>ist rdi.n hm=f m ib=f</i></p> <p>(54) <i>pri=f r-h3.t ms^c=f ds=f (...)</i></p> | <p>(51) (...) Behold, His Majesty, he swore (52)</p> <p>an oath saying:</p> <p>"I will not let my [victorious army] to go</p> <p>forth (53) from [this place] before my</p> <p>Majesty".</p> <p>His Majesty had determined in his heart⁷⁷</p> <p>(54) that he would go forth at the head of his</p> <p>army himself⁷⁸ (...)</p> |
|---|---|

Incorporating direct speech ("direct discourse") immediately adds further agency to Thutmose III and provides confirmation that the king follows his plans through by the repetition of his statement turned to action in the next clause. The use of direct discourse has the further effect of reinforcing that Thutmose III is the main character, and the army, as a collective, is subordinate.⁷⁹ Within the extracted passage, and throughout the Annals, Thutmose III leads his

⁷⁶ Wb I, 203.

⁷⁷ While Burkhardt et al. translate this as "[Denn Seine Majestät hatte beschlossen], selbst an der Spitze seines Heeres auszurücken", Goedicke translates this as "And then His Majesty caused that he go forth in front"; this does not take into consideration the presence of *ib* in the text. Redford corrects this as "It was His Majesty's desire that he should go forth at the [head of his army]". Dessoudeix improves upon the general meaning of it as: "Comme Sa Majesté avait décidé dans son cœur". In turn, it has the sense of placing something in the heart, namely, a *determination*, and it appears to indicate the stubbornness of Thutmose III to follow through with his plans. This is of course reinforced by the fact Thutmose III also swears an oath to the same effect in the sentence earlier. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 190 (203); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 43; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 21; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 197.

⁷⁸ The vanguard of the army is notoriously the most dangerous position to be in.

⁷⁹ Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield, 1983), 59-60.

army bravely to countless victories with only his own counsel and that of the gods. In this sense, the Annals contain distinct characteristics of a particular genre of narrative, namely, the *Königsnovelle* as defined by Jansen-Winkel.⁸⁰ This includes the memorable deeds of the king, the public nature of the document, the reporting style (speech combined with narrative), and the function as royal propaganda.⁸¹ It is recognisable through the prominence placed upon the depiction of the main character (protagonist) as opposed to the military strategy and events.⁸²

However, as a whole, the Annals does appear to be a combination of *Königsnovelle* with a military reporting genre. The latter conventionally contains the planning of a military event, its execution, and the subsequent results in the form of a victory.⁸³ The report genre is evident in the crisis and climax of the text, which is situated around the narration of the battles of Kadesh and Megiddo (lines 56-94):

<i>ist pḥ.wy n.y mšꜥ nḥt n.y ḥm=f r [dmi] n.y</i> (73) <i>ꜥrn</i> <i>p3 ḥ3.ty pri(.w) r t3 in.t Kḥn</i> (74) <i>mḥ.n=sn pg(3) n.y in.t tn</i>	While the rear-guard of the victorious army of His Majesty was at the [town] of (73) Arouna, the vanguard went forth to the valley of Qina, (74) they having filled the entrance of this valley. ⁸⁴
<i>ꜥḥꜥ.n dd.n=sn ḥr ḥm=f ꜥnḥ(.w) wd3(.w)</i> <i>snb(.w)</i> (75) <i>m=k ḥm=f pr(.w) ḥnꜥ mšꜥ=f n.y nḥt.w</i> <i>mḥ.n=sn t3 (76) in.t</i>	Then they (the army) said to His Majesty, (l.p.h.): (75) “Behold, His Majesty went forth with his victorious army, they having filled the (76) valley.
<i>im sdm⁸⁵ n=n nb=n nḥt m p3y sp</i> (77) <i>im s3y n=n nb=n pḥ.wy n.y mšꜥ=f ḥnꜥ</i> <i>r(m)t=f</i>	Let our victorious lord listen to us this time. (77) Let our lord protect for us the rear-guard of his army together with his people.

⁸⁰ Karl Jansen-Winkel, “Die ägyptische ‘Königsnovelle’ als Texttyp”, *WZKM* 83 (1993), 107-108; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 195-196.

⁸¹ Jansen-Winkel, “Die ägyptische ‘Königsnovelle’ als Texttyp”, *WZKM* 83 (1993), 107-108; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 195-196.

⁸² Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 196-197.

⁸³ Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 196-197.

⁸⁴ The following sections detail the army’s passage through the mountain: the Arouna Pass. From a tactical perspective, this feat enables Thutmose III to surprise the enemy. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 84.

⁸⁵ Imperative prospective. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 199; Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

(78) <i>pri n=n ph.wy n.y p3 mš^c r-h3 k3(=n)</i>	(78) May the rear-guard of this army go forth
<i>h3=n r (79) nn n.y h3s.tyw</i>	for us, then we will fight (79) against these
	<i>h3s.tyw</i> .
<i>k3(=n) tm=n rdi.t ib=n [m-s3] ph(.wy) n.y</i>	Then (we) will not give [tho]ught to the rear-
(80) <i>p3(y)=n mš^c</i>	guard (80) of this army.”
<i>smn.t in⁸⁶ hm=f hr-bnrw snd[m] (81) im hr</i>	Standing still by His Majesty outside and (81)
<i>s3.yt ph.wy n.y mš^c=f n.y nht(.w)</i>	there watching out for the rear-guard of his
	victorious army.
<i>ist ph.n p3 m3^c.w (82) pr.t hr mtn pn iw</i>	Then the troops in front reached (82) the exit
<i>phr(.w) rf (83) šw.t</i>	of this road, the shade (83) shifted (i.e. around
	midday) ⁸⁷
<i>spr.n hm=f r rs(.y) Mkti hr sp.t hnw n.y Kn</i>	It was on the bank of the water of Qina that
	His Majesty reached the south of Megiddo. ⁸⁸

This scene details the movements of the army to various towns, revealing the structure of the army (namely, the rear-guard and vanguard), their interactions with the king, together with the military strategy used, such as the troops travelling through the Arouna Pass, and its execution. It is pertinent as it allows the army to have agency and value within the narrative. This is a development from the initial passages of the Annals in the form of the *Königsnovelle*, where the king himself appears to lead and quash all conflicts. In these passages now, various divisions of the troops play a significant role. This does, however, have the effect of demonstrating a progression in the text of a cline of conflicts with the army being essential during the “crisis” or turning point of the narrative. This effect is somewhat negated by the army, particularly by the rear-guard, asking for the king to protect them so that they can fight the *h3s.tyw*. Despite this request, it is clear that the Egyptian army desires to fight the people of the foreign lands, and accordingly, they are not cowards but brave warriors aiming to follow in the footsteps of the king. In this sense, the Egyptians as a whole in the Annals are moving

⁸⁶ Infinitive + *in* marks a point in time in a narrative. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 50; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 24. This translation follows Dessoudeix: “Sa Majesté s’établit à l’extérieur...”. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 200.

⁸⁷ Often translated as the “Seventh Hour”, as on a shadow clock, this marks the time of day; namely, the very early afternoon when the army exited the Arouna Pass. The Seventh Hour is mentioned later in the text: Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 655.14 (203); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 50; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 24 (no. 149), 26-27; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 87; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 200.

⁸⁸ The Qina brook passes south of Megiddo, and it is in front of this brook that the Arouna Pass ends. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 84 (see map 4).

towards an aggregate identity specifically modelled on the values and qualities promoted by Thutmose III.

The most vivid contrast is the climax and falling action where the qualities of the foreigners and Egyptians are shown in direct comparison on the battlefield:

- (85) (...) *p3 db rs(.y) n.y p3 mšc n.y hm=f r* (85) (...) The southern wing of His Majesty's
dw rs(.y) [hnw n.y] Kn p3 db mh.ty r mh.ty army was against the southern hill of the
imn.ty Mkti [water of] Qina, and the north wing was
northwest of Megiddo.
- iw hm=f m hr(.y)-ib=sn [Imn.w] m s3(.w)* Then His Majesty was in their midst, [Amun]
h3c(w)=f <r> r(3)-d3y.w ph.ty [Sth ht] (86) protecting his body during the battle, and the
c.(w)t=f strength of [Seth being through his] (86)
limbs.
- h3c.n shm.n⁸⁹ hm=f r=s(n) hr-h3.t mšc=f* Then, His Majesty prevailed over them at the
m3.in=sn⁹⁰ hm=f hr shm r=s(n) head of his army, and then they (the army of
Megiddo) saw His Majesty prevail over
th(em).
- iw=sn hr ifd m gbgb.yt r Mkti m hr(.w)* They fled, headlong of flight, towards
n(.w) snd Megiddo, with faces of fear⁹¹,
h3c.n=sn htr(.w)=sn wrr.(w)t=sn n(y).w(t) they having abandoned their horses, their
nbw hr hd chariots of *nbw*-gold and silver.
- ith.tw=sn⁹² m tbtb⁹³ m hbs(.w)=sn r dmi pn* They were dragged to this town by hoisting
their clothing,⁹⁴
- ist htm(.w)n n3 n.y r(m)t dmi pn hr=s(n)* as people had sealed this city upon th(em),
sh3.n=sn (87) hbs(.w) r tbtb=sn r hr(w) r they dropped (87) the clothes in order to hoist
dmi pn them to that town.

⁸⁹ To have “power over”, to “prevail over”. *Wb* IV, 247-248.

⁹⁰ Contingent perfect narrative form indicating a sequence of events. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 203; Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §80.

⁹¹ Alternatively, Dessoudeix: “le visage terrifié” and Redford “through fear”. This translation follows Goedicke: “with faces of fear”, as it encapsulates the plural and use of “faces”. The army is not just scared: it is clearly visible across their faces. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 203; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 71; Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 30.

⁹² To “drag”, “pull”, “draw”. Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 33.

⁹³ To “hoist”, “pull up”. *Wb* V, 262.

⁹⁴ Goedicke: “they were pulled, by heaving with their cloths”; Redford: “[so they cast] clothes over to hoist them up into this town”; Dessoudeix: “On les tire jusqu’à cette ville en (les) hissant par les vêtements”. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 72; Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 30 (no. 177); Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 204.

<i>ist ḥ3⁹⁵ n ir mš^c n.y ḥm=f rḏi.t ib=sn r ḥ3k</i>	Indeed, if the army of His Majesty had not
<i>n3 n.y (i)ḥ.t n(.yt) n3 n.y ḥrw.w</i>	yielded to their desire of plundering the things
	of these enemies.
<i>iw[=sn ḥr ḥ3k] Mkti m t3 3.t</i>	[They plundered] Megiddo in a moment.
<i>ist ith=tw p3 ḥrw ḥs(.y) n.y Kdš ḥn^c ḥrw</i>	While the feeble enemy of Kadesh and the
<i>ḥs(.y) n.y dmi pn m ḥ3s r s^ck.t=sn r dmi=sn</i>	feeble enemy of that town, scrambling so that
	they may enter their town.
<i>iw snd.t ḥm=f [ḥr] ^ck (88) [m ḥ^c(.w)=sn]</i>	The fear of His Majesty entered (88) [their
<i>^c.wy=sn bdš[.w] (...)</i>	limbs] and their arms were weak (...)

Presented within the midst of a battle, the above tableau describes a vivid episode in which Thutmose III, appearing at the head of the army with the divine support of Amun and Seth, prevails over the military forces of Megiddo. Notably, *how* the king prevails is not detailed as the text jumps from the king at the head of his army followed by the flight of the foreigners. Do the foreigners flee because they witness the physical strength of the king? A scene verging on farce ensues, in which the foreigners scatter in desperation, discarding their clothes and are “hoisted” into the town, whilst the king and his army plunder the possessions left by the fleeing enemy. As the *Egyptian army* becomes distracted by plundering, the result is that a long siege must be kept to ensure Egyptian victory at last.⁹⁶ The narrator of the Annals is transparent that this was the fault of the Egyptian army and *not* of the king: “if the army of His Majesty had not yielded to their desire of plundering...”.

In order to avoid directly addressing this failure of the Egyptian army, the text highlights instead the cowardly behaviour of the foreigners who “flee” (*ifd*) in “terror” (*snd*) (see Table 7.2). They are left defenceless, discarding their weapons, horses, and chariots on the battlefield, so that they might, at least, survive the battle with just their lives. However, it is a curious feature of the text that the enemy is not explicitly labelled as “foreign” or a group of “foreigners”; they are consistently referred to in the third-person plural. This has the consequence of restricting their agency through anonymity whilst also having the narratological effect of encompassing *all* who pose a threat to the Egyptians. The only individual who is given some form of identifiable identity is the king of Kadesh, who is simply designated as the “feeble enemy of Kadesh” (*ḥrw ḥs(.y) n.y Kdš*). This wording denies him the status of a foreign ruler in a very deliberate manner.

⁹⁵ Non-enclitic particle used with the subjunctive. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §37.

⁹⁶ Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 30-31.

The contrast evoked between the Egyptian army and the foreigners is also intriguing. Firstly, Thutmose III is described as the cause of the flight of the foreigners; he is so “fearsome” (*snd*) that the *entire* foreign army fled rather than fight him. As a further differentiation, the foreigners are left with nothing, even to the dispensation of their clothing, while the Egyptian army is surrounded with the plunder of a variety of riches. However, what is so momentous about this section of the Annals is not only the distinction between the foreigners and the Egyptians but between the Egyptian *king* and *his army*. The king is infallible while his army is not. They “yield to their desire of plundering” rather than fight the enemy. This is the first clearly stated expression that the king is the perfect leader and his people *should* aspire to him and *follow his actions*. As a consequence, the depictions of the king can transparently cultivate a *system of values* that his people can, and should, aspire to as part of the collective image and identity of the group.⁹⁷

After this, a siege ensues in which it was necessary for the king and his army to watch over the town “by night and by day” for several months. Finally, the blockade comes to an end:

(94) (...) <i>ist wr(.w) n.y h3s.t tn iyi(.w) hr h.t</i>	(94) (...) Now, the chief(s) of this <i>h3s.t</i> had
<i>ir.w r sn t3 n b3.w hm=f r dbh t3.w r</i>	come upon their bellies in order kiss the land
<i>fnd.w=sn</i>	because of the powers of His Majesty to ask
	for the breath for their noses
<i>n 3(.t) hps=f n wr b3.w n.y [Imn.w hr]</i>	because of the greatness of his strength,
<i>h3s.wt (95) [nb.(w)t] /// /// /// h3s.t</i>	because of the greatness of the power of
	[Amun over all] the (95) <i>h3s.wt /// /// /// h3s.t</i> .
<i>[s]t [wr.w nb.w] ini.n b3.w hm=f hr</i>	[I]t was [all the chiefs] who, through the power
<i>in.w=sn m hd nbw hsb d mfk(3).t hr f3i.t</i>	of His Majesty, brought, carrying their gifts of
<i>sš(r) irp i3w.w 3w.t n mš3 n.y hm=f(...)</i>	silver, <i>nbw</i> -gold, lapis lazuli and turquoise,
	carrying corn, wine, oxen, small cattle for the
	army of His Majesty (...)

The siege ends with the surrender of the officials of the city together with various gifts given to the king. The end of the conflict provides a reference to a different form of gesture or action demonstrating respect towards the king: “the chiefs of the *h3s.t* had come upon their bellies in order to kiss the land”. Previously, in the context of the current study, the most respectful

⁹⁷ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 131.

posture or gesture in the body language had been “to bow the head” (*w3h-tp*) and “to bow (from the waist)” (*ksi*). “Upon their bellies” and “kissing the earth” implies a description of complete prostration. This posture is traditionally associated with a ritual of divine worship, though it also appears to indicate abnegation and complete submission to the person that the pose is directed towards.⁹⁸ This suits the context, in which the “chiefs” or the high officials of the foreign city beg the Egyptian king for their lives (“breath for their noses”), and presumably, for the inhabitants of the city that they rule. It is a sign of the deepest respect, acknowledgement of authority, together with the absolute renouncement of their own power in the situation. It is curious that the lives of the officials are not taken - this intimates that they have things to offer which are attractive to the Egyptians - and instead the king prefers to accept the offerings (*in.w*) that were given to him, together with living captives.

In the falling action and resolution of Piece One, the booty from the war is listed and linked to specific victories, with immense quantities of captives, horses, precious metals and stones, oxen, armour, and goats. As observed by Goedicke, however, not all the goods lend themselves to transport, and the list must, in turn, be understood as “a factual enumeration rather than as a shipping list of goods sent to Egypt”.⁹⁹ Out of all the products, most are actually of a military kind, with a number of horses, chariots, soldiers, and even coats of mail taken.¹⁰⁰ In addition, there is a reference to a foreign woman being given to the king:

(104) (...) <i>in.w n(.w) wr.w n.w Rtnw s3.t</i>	(104) (...) Gifts of the princes of Retenu:
<i>wr ʕpr.w[=s] m nbw hr hsbḏ n.y h3s.t[=s]</i>	daughter of a chief, [her] jewellery in <i>nbw</i> -gold
	with lapis lazuli of [her] <i>h3s.t</i> .
<i>šms.w sdm-ʕš [hm.w hm.wt n=s im].y 30</i>	Followers, servants, [male slaves, female slaves,
	belonging to her]: 30.
<i>hm.w hm.wt n in.w=f 65 (...)</i>	Male slaves, female slaves for his gifts: 65. (...)

This list details the giving (*in.w*) of a high-ranking woman of Retenu to Thutmose III. Her high status is indicated by the phrase “daughter of a chief” (*s3.t wr*), together with her jewellery in *nbw*-gold and lapis lazuli, and perhaps even more intriguing is her entourage with three

⁹⁸ Jean-Claude Goyon, “Le cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris”, *RdE* 20 (1968), 95, no. 60; Marsha Hill, *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt: With Special Attention to the Kneeling Pose* (Boston, 2004), 123.

⁹⁹ Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 98.

¹⁰⁰ Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 98-99.

different types of servants or retainers: *šms.w*, *sdm-ꜥš*, and *ḥm.w ḥm.wt*.¹⁰¹ This woman was hence not destined to work as a captive on the temple estates. Is it possible that Thutmose III married this foreign princess? The tomb of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III in Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud at western Thebes shows that this is not an impossibility, as the king had some wives of foreign origin, particularly from the Levantine region. This tomb was lavishly furnished, and even included necklaces of gold with lapis lazuli, along with other grave goods.¹⁰² This tomb itself intimates that the foreign wives of Thutmose III were prized persons whose high social status in their homeland was preserved when they were taken to Egypt. However, if this was a diplomatic marriage, this event is never explicitly stated as such within the Annals. Instead, the reference to the chief's daughter in this text implies a transaction-type of relationship in the aftermath of Thutmose III's victory in the Levant. This transparently shows a disjunction between the archaeological evidence and the texts at Karnak, indicating a carefully curated message.

Type	Word	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>dr</i>	to subdue	(king)	<i>tkk(w).w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 7	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>mḥ.n</i>	captured	<i>ḥk3</i>	<i>dmi</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 14	1
	<i>mḥ(w)</i>	to capture	(king)	<i>nḥt</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 18	1
	<i>iti</i>	to seize	=f	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 14	1
	<i>ḥ3k</i>	to plunder	(army)	<i>ḥtr(.w)=sn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 88	1
	<i>šhr.t</i>	to overthrow	(king)	<i>ḥr(w) pf ḥs(.y)</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 14	1
	<i>swh</i>	to extend	<i>t3š.w</i>	<i>Km.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 16-17	1
	<i>pri</i>	to go forth	=f	<i>r-ḥ3.t mšꜥ=f</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 54, 61, 75	3
	<i>ḥtm</i>	to seal (barricade)	<i>ḥm=f</i>	<i>dmi pn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 91	1
Abstract	<i>wḏ</i>	to order	<i>ḥm=f</i>	<i>nḏwt-r</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 18-19	1
Emotion	<i>snḏ</i>	to (be) feared	<i>ḥm=f</i>	<i>[ib.w=sn]</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (202), 14	1
	<i>snḏ</i>	to (be) feared	<i>ḥm=f</i>	<i>ꜥk [m ḥꜥ(w)=sn]</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 87-88	1
Physical	<i>nḥt</i>	victory	(king)	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 15	1
	<i>wsr</i>	strength	(king)	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 16	1
	<i>m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	justification	(king)	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 16	1
	<i>nḥt</i>	victorious	<i>mšꜥ</i>	<i>n.y ḥm=f</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 88	1
	<i>rs</i>	to watch	<i>[iw=f]</i>	(the town)	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 91	1

Table 7.1 Examples of the verbs and attributes associated with the actor, Thutmose III in [18.06.01].

¹⁰¹ Christine Lilyquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III* (New Haven and London, 2003), 334-335.

¹⁰² Lilyquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, 30.

Type	Word	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>hm</i>	to retreat	<i>h3s.wt</i>	= <i>f</i> (Thut. III)	<i>Urk.</i> (202), 16	1
	<i>ifd</i>	to flee	= <i>sn</i> (army)	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 86	1
	<i>h3^c</i>	to abandon	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>htr(.w)=sn</i> <i>wrr(.w)t=sn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 86	1
	<i>ith</i>	to (be) dragged	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>dmi pn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 86	1
	<i>tbth</i>	to (be) hoisted	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>dmi pn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 86, 87	2
	<i>htm</i>	to (be) sealed	= <i>s(n)</i> (army)	<i>dmi pn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 86	1
	<i>sh3i</i>	to drop	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>hbs(.w)</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 87	1
	<i>h3s</i>	to scramble	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>dmi</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 87	1
	<i>s^ck</i>	to cause to enter	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>dmi</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 87	1
	<i>štb</i>	to enclose, lock	<i>h3s(.w)t</i>	<i>hnw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 90	1
	<i>iyi</i>	to come	= <i>sn</i> (chiefs)	<i>hr h.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 94	1
	<i>ini</i>	to bring	= <i>sn</i> (chiefs)	<i>in.w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 95	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>bšt</i>	to rebel	<i>I-r3-d3</i>	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 12-13	1
	<i>iwi</i>	to come	<i>hrw</i>	<i>Mkti</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 19-20	1
	<i>ḳ</i>	to go	<i>hrw</i>	<i>Mkti</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 19-20	1
	<i>ḥ^c r</i>	to stand against	= <i>i</i> (king of Kadesh)	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 24	1
Abstract	-	-	-	-	-	-
Emotion	<i>snd</i>	to fear	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>hr(.w)</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 87	
	<i>snd</i>	to fear	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 87	1
Physical	<i>bdš</i>	to become weak	= <i>sn</i> (army)	<i>ḥ.wy</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 88	1

Table 7.2 Examples of the verbs and attributes associated with the foreigners in [18.06.01].

Stück II

Piece Two of the Annals [18.06.02] is preserved on a section of wall now in the Cairo Museum as JE 29242.¹⁰³ The original placement within the Annals is unknown, but the text appears to refer to a date during the Levantine campaigns of Year 25. The following translation has been adapted from Burkhardt et al. (1984).¹⁰⁴

Urk. IV, 675-678 (204).

- (1) */// /// ///* (2) */// /// /// mw n.tt* (1) */// /// ///* (2) */// /// ///* water(?) which goes forth from
pri.w=s is.t=f m /// /// /// his company (of soldiers) in */// /// ///*
(3) */// /// /// m (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t n* (3) */// /// ///* with everything good for Amun-Re,
Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy n R^c.w- Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, and for Re-
Hr.w-[3h.ty] /// /// /// Har[akhte] */// /// ///*

¹⁰³ PM II², 99; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 675-678 (204); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 199-200 (204); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 25, pl. 16; Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten*, 10-15.

¹⁰⁴ Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 199-200 (204).

(4) /// /// /// [wn].in hm=f hr sd3y ¹⁰⁵ hr=f m [sti.t] /// /// ///	(4) /// /// /// [Then] His Majesty took his recreation with shooting /// /// ///
(5) /// /// /// [h ^c .n sti.t] sd.t m nn dmi.w m-ht [nn] /// /// ///	(5) /// /// /// [Then, shooting] the fire with these towns in the following of [these] /// /// ///
(6) /// /// /// [ist sbi.n hm=f mš ^c .w n.(w) htri r h3k wht ¹⁰⁶ tn h ^c .n ini /// /// /// (7) /// /// ///	(6) /// /// /// [Then His Majesty travelled with the army of chariots] in order to plunder this settlement. Then /// brought /// /// (7) /// /// ///
[hm=i] nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) wd hm=f rdi.t nwy [tw rmt.w] /// /// /// (8) /// /// ///	[my Majesty], l.p.h. His Majesty commanded the doing of the return [of this people] /// /// /// (8) /// /// ///
[hb]hb mtn.w n.w [t3 pn] /// /// ///	traversing the roads of [this flat land] /// /// ///
(9) /// /// /// r šd.t=f n=i m bnr.w [h ^c .n] /// /// ///	(9) /// /// /// in order for him to cut for me outside, [then] /// /// ///

Though the lacunae create numerous difficulties for the interpretation of the inscription in this piece of the Annals, the language used would suggest a summation of offerings (“with everything good for Amun-Re”) followed by a description of an encounter with foreign lands, though no specific groups are named. From line 5, there are a number of actions linked to the king, including “shooting” (*sti.t*), “travelling” (*sbi*), “plundering” (*h3k*), “traversing” (*[hb]hb*), and “cutting” (*šd.t*). The reference to “shooting” is qualified as “recreation” (*sd3y*), however, it also has a connotation of travelling, as it is derived from the verb “to travel, depart” (*sd3*). Most of these terms designate movement and suggest purpose, implying that the campaign referred to is a “march-about” (or “chevauchée”) rather than a war of conquest.¹⁰⁷ The fact that the king is described as taking “recreation” by shooting supports this notion. It is a show of power, perhaps designed to intimidate the enemy, while “cutting” may be a reference to cutting wood, such as cedar to be used in the temple, or the cutting and destroying of grain.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Wb IV, 378.

¹⁰⁶ This noun has the meaning of a place in both the foreign lands and in Egypt. Considering the context of the verb “to plunder” it likely has the former meaning. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 223.

¹⁰⁷ Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 328.

¹⁰⁸ For example of the cutting of cedar, see [18.06.14], line 10; for the cutting of grain: [18.06.03], line 9.

Stück V

The next pieces of the Annals known as Stücke III and IV are lost. However, the sections of Pieces V-VI are preserved, encompassing a long passage of text detailing the campaigns of Years 29-42 [18.06.03].¹⁰⁹ The following translation is adapted from Spalinger (1977), Burkhardt et al. (1984), and the most recent publication by Delange (2015).¹¹⁰ The ordering within this section follows the protocol established in [18.06.01], in which the campaign or small battle is noted followed by a justification:

Urk. IV, 679-723 (206)

(...) (3) *rnp.t sp 29*

(...) (3) Regnal Year 29.

ist hm[=f hr D3]hy hr sksk¹¹¹ h3s.wt Now, [His] Majesty [was in Dj]ahy, destroying the
bšt.w(t) hr=f *h3s.wt* and the rebellion against him,¹¹²

m wdy.t 5 n.t nht (...)

in the fifth campaign of victory (...)

The conflict in Djahy is recorded with its date, the campaign number, the actions of the king, together with the premise upon which the encounter is based upon. As always, the king is the dominant actor, initiator, or agent, and the sole individual who, by all appearances, fights and “destroys” (*sksk*) the *h3s.wt*. It is transparent that the combat was not simply a whim of the king, but a rationed decision to defeat a rebellion (*bštw*). This statement is crucial as it separates the king from committing notable sins such as killing or creating terror; instead, the king aligns himself with *maat* by suppressing the chaotic forces of the “other”.¹¹³ This legitimises the

¹⁰⁹ KIU 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 5230; PM II², 89-90 (240-244); LD III, 25, pl. 30(a), 31(a); Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 679-734 (206-207); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 200-223 (206-207); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 13; Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. xii; Birch, “Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak”, *TRSL* 2 (1847), 317-373; Pritchard, *ANET*, 234-238; Anthony J. Spalinger, “A Critical Analysis of the ‘Annals’ of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)”, *JARCE* 14 (1977), 41-54; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 113-183; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 470-471 (KIU 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480), 514 (KIU 5230).

¹¹⁰ Spalinger, “A Critical Analysis of the ‘Annals’ of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)”, *JARCE* 14 (1977), 41-54; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 200-223 (206-207); Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 113-183;

¹¹¹ Though Spalinger translates this as “smiting”, *sksk* has a connotation of destroying, not only of smiting. Spalinger, “A Critical Analysis of the ‘Annals’ of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)”, *JARCE* 14 (1977) 44; *Wb* IV, 319.

¹¹² Spalinger translates this as “Lo, his majesty was [in D3]hy, smiting the rebellious lands in it upon the fifth campaign of *nht*”. Burkhardt et al. as “Regierungsjahr 29. Seine majestät [war über Dja]hi und verwüstete die Fremdländer, die sich gegen ihn empört hatten, auf dem 5. siegreichen Feldzug”, and finally, Delange as “La 29e année, voici [Sa] majesté au Proche-O]rient (*d3hy*) pour détruire les pays étrangers qui s’étai[ent li]gués contre elle, dans sa cinquième campagne victorieuse”. The latter is more consistent with the original which is why this translation follows Delange for the relevant sections. Spalinger, “A Critical Analysis of the ‘Annals’ of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)”, *JARCE* 14 (1977), 44; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 201 (206); Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 135.

¹¹³ R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (New York, 1972), 31-32.

actions of Thutmose III through his maintenance of the cosmic order, and instead of his actions being immoral, they are rendered in a positive light.

The next campaign, the sixth, in Year 30 appears to be evidence for a “march-about”:

(9) (...) <i>rnw.t-sp 30 ist hm=f hr h3s.t Rtnw m wdy.t 6-nw n.t nht n.t hm=f</i>	(9) (...) Regnal Year 30. Now, His Majesty was in the <i>h3s.t</i> of Retenu on the sixth campaign of victory of His Majesty.
<i>spr r dmi n.y Kdšw sk=s¹¹⁴ š^cd mnw=s wh3¹¹⁵ iti=s wd3 hr šsr.ytw</i>	Arrival at the town of Kadesh, destroying it, cutting down its trees, and plucking up its grain. Setting out by the arid region,
<i>spr r dmi n.y Dmr spr r dmi n.y Trtw ir.t mī.tt r=s</i>	arriving at the town of Sumur, arriving at the town of Ardata, and doing the like to it,
<i>rh.t in.w (10) ini.y n b3.w hm=f in wr.w n.w Rtnw m rnw.t tn</i>	counting the (10) gifts brought because of the powers of His Majesty by the princes of Retenu in this year.
<i>ist ini ms.w wr.w sn.w=sn r wnn m nhtw¹¹⁶ hr Km.t</i>	Now, the children of the princes and their brothers were brought to be hostages in Egypt.
<i>ist ir p3 nty nb hr mw.t m nn n.y wr.w hr di hm=f šm [s3]=fr h^c hr s.t=f</i>	Now, when any of these chiefs died, His Majesty would have his [son] to go to stand in his place.
<i>rh.t ms.w wr.w in.y m rnw.t tn si 36 (...)</i>	Number of the children of the chiefs brought in this year: 36 (...)

This passage details a campaign to the north, to the region of Retenu. There is no validation, purpose, or agenda, with the implication being that the Egyptian army had free access to these foreign regions. This new approach to campaigning is expressed through the sacking of towns, the acquisition of *in.w* from the chiefs, together with the protocol for replacing hostages or wards, namely those sons who were taken to Egypt to be “re-educated” as allies of the Egyptians: “when any of these chiefs died, His Majesty would have his [son] to go to stand in

¹¹⁴ *Wb* IV, 311.9-312.17; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 135.

¹¹⁵ To break, pick, or pluck. *Wb* I, 346.15-347.5. However, Burkhardt et al. translate this as “ihr Getreide ausraufen”; perhaps, instead of the Egyptian’s plucking the grain, Burkhardt et al. read it as the Egyptians’ “digging” up the trees, i.e. completely destroying the plants. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 203 (206).

¹¹⁶ Though translated as “hostage”, it actually has the sense of “spoils”. *Wb* II 317; Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 139; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 203 (206); Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 135.

his place”. Through this constant replacement of the wards, Thutmose III ensured his domination in these regions for generations to come. As a further point of differentiation, the actions described are in the third-person, denoting the actions of the Egyptian army as a whole rather than singling out the king. Most of these activities are proactive and verbs of movement: “arriving at” (*spr*), “cutting” (*šꜥd*), and so forth (Table 7.3). The overall lack of purpose suggests this affair is a “march-about” which establishes authority through plundering and pillaging.

Type	Word	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>sksk</i>	to destroy	<i>hm[=f]</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt bštw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 3	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>ski</i>	to destroy	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>dmi n.y Irṯt</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 6	1
	<i>spr</i>	to arrive at	(king)	<i>dmi n.y Ḳdšw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 9	1
	<i>sk</i>	to sack	(king)	<i>=s</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 9	1
	<i>ḥ3k</i>	to plunder	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>dmi pn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 12	1
	<i>ḥ3k</i>	to plunder	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>dmi.w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 20	1
	<i>ḥb3</i>	to destroy	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>wḥ.wyt</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 20	1
	<i>šhm</i>	to prevail	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>ḥ3s.tyw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 40	1
	<i>spr</i>	to arrive at	(king)	<i>Twnp</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (207) 11	1
	<i>sksk</i>	to destroy	(king)	<i>dmi</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (207) 11	1
Abstract	<i>ḳni</i>	brave	(king)	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 2	1
	<i>nḥt.w</i>	victorious	(king)	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 4	1
	<i>b3.w</i>	powerful	<i>hm=f</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 10, 12, 88; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 4	4
Emotion	<i>3w(.t)-ib</i>	happiness	<i>hm=f</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 6	1
Physical / Speech	<i>šꜥd.w</i>	to cut	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>ḥt.w=s nb bnr</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 6	1
	<i>wḥ3</i>	to cut	<i>=f</i>	<i>šmw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (207) 11	1
	<i>šꜥd</i>	to cut	<i>=f</i>	<i>mnw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (207) 11	1

Table 7.3 Examples of the verbs and attributes associated with the actor, Thutmose III in [18.06.03].

It is poignant that the structure and the language for this campaign are starkly different from the majority of the passages of the Annals, particularly the sections in the first half of [18.06.01]. The language itself is more descriptive and there is no justification for the conflict. This is curious, but as the events described occur in the foreign lands, this setting appears justification enough for what are traditionally deeds of an evil nature: robbery, stealing, the destroying of food supplies, the taking of food, making terror, and disturbances; all of which are listed as sins, for example, in Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead.¹¹⁷ This provides insight into the broader worldview of the Egyptians and the existence of a spectrum of deeds of evil.

¹¹⁷ Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 31-32.

If deeds are undertaken against chaotic forces (*isfet*, or the “other”), then those who stop these forces by any means possible are effectively absolved.

The next two dozen lines feature further descriptions of various “march-about” from Years 31 to 34. This includes the reception of the king in the harbours, together with detailing various battles. As is expected for the Annals, many of these events are followed by tallies of the goods received. A number of these products are raw materials, such as *nbw*-gold, silver, copper, lead, bronze, together with cattle and wood. In Year 34, the wealth listed from Retenu illustrates the great variety:

(34) (...) *in.w n wr.w n.w Rtnw rnp.t tn* (34) (...) Gifts of the chiefs of Retenu in this year:

<i>ss[m.t] 40 [wrr.yt b3]k m ḥd nbw</i>	ho[rses]: 40, [chariots work]ed in silver and <i>nbw</i> -gold,
<i>ḥn^c n^cw 90</i>	together with the undecorated: 90,
<i>ḥm.w ḥm.wt 702</i>	male slaves and female slaves: 702,
<i>nbw dbn 55 ḳd.t 6</i>	<i>nbw</i> -gold: 55 deben, 6 kite,
<i>ḥd ḥn.w šbn (35) m b3k n.y ḥ3s.t</i>	various silver vessels (35) worked by the <i>ḥ3s.t</i> , ///
<i>[dbn] /// [ḳd.t] /// nbw ḥd [ḥsbd]</i>	[deben] /// [kite], <i>nbw</i> -gold, silver, [lapis lazuli],
<i>mni.w 3.t nb.t ḥn.w [šbn]</i>	vessels with every precious stone, [various] vessels,
<i>ḥm.t ḥr ḥ3s.t=f db.t 80</i>	copper of its <i>ḥ3s.t</i> , 80 ingots,
<i>dḥty db.t 11 sš.w dbn 100</i>	lead: 11 ingots, paint: 100 deben,
<i>ḥntyw w3d sšm.t /// /// ///</i>	myrrh, green stone, malachite /// /// ///
<i>iw3 wndm 13</i>	long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle: 13,
<i>k3.w 530 3 84 ḥsmn</i>	bulls: 530, donkeys: 84, bronze,
<i>ḥ^c.w 33.w ḥn.w n.y ḥm.t 33</i>	many weapons, many vessels of copper,
<i>sntr mni.w 693</i>	jars of incense: 693
<i>(36) b3ḳ ḥr b3ḳ w3d [mni.w] 2080</i>	(36) moringa oil with fresh moringa oil: 2080 [jars],
<i>irp mni.w 608</i>	wine: 608 jars,
<i>ḫgw [ḥt] [w]rry.t 3</i>	wood [of timber], chariots: 3,
<i>ssndm knkn.wt</i>	costly wood and wooden objects,
<i>ḥt nb n.y ḥ3s.t tn</i>	and all the woods of this <i>ḥ3s.t</i> .

ist mni.wt nb n.t hm=f sspd(.w) m Now, all the harbours of His Majesty were stocked
(i)h.t nb.t nfr.t with every good thing
n.t šsp¹¹⁸ hm[=f hr h3s.t D3]hy which [his] Majesty took [in the *h3s.t* of Dj]ahy,
m ʕš kf.tyw¹¹⁹ knb.wt¹²⁰ sk.twt¹²¹ 3tp m in cedar *keftiu*-ships, *kebenout*-ships, *sektu*-vessels,
wh3.w ss3.t (...) loaded with poles and floor boards (...)

As detailed above, the goods given to the king from the Chiefs of Retenu are wide-ranging, from people (slaves), raw materials (metals, precious stones, wood), livestock (horses, cattle, donkeys), unguents (oil, incense), and manufactured objects (vessels, chariots, and ships).¹²² The diversity of these products is remarkable, but as many objects are not listed with a specific number or quantity, this suggests that this might be a list of commodities for a whole year and the entire region of Retenu (the Levant), rather than a list of goods received from one town after a single battle or *chevauchée*.

The list, as a whole, assists in revealing the economic *reality* of the relationships and contacts between the Egyptians and foreign lands.¹²³ Qualifying the foreign peoples as the enemy is somewhat absent in this passage of text, and instead, it highlights the *value* of these people.¹²⁴ This achieves a three-fold purpose. On one level, these goods are *physical* reminders of the Egyptians' dominance or influence in foreign lands, and on another, these goods are, in general, given to the temples, and thus they become markers of the Egyptian king's piety. On a final and more general plane, they are evidence of the *realpolitik* or the economic value of relations with foreign lands. These relationships do not have to be characterised by war and these lists exemplify the varied experiences that the Egyptians had with foreign peoples.¹²⁵ In sum, these lists of foreign products highlight the value that the Egyptians perceived in trading and

¹¹⁸ To "receive" or to "take". *Wb* IV, 530-533; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 903; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 143.

¹¹⁹ A large sea-going vessel associated with Crete and Greece. On the other hand, Wachsmann points out that this term was used to identify the ships of Hatshepsut's Punt expedition. *Wb* V, 122; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala and Leipzig, 1946), 49-50; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 119-120.

¹²⁰ A sea-going vessel associated with Byblos and Greece. In the Persian Period, the word is used in such contexts that indicate it was a war-ship. Though this was perhaps a later development, the term *knb.t* does appear to refer to a large ship associated with the Mediterranean. *Wb* V, 118; Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, 48-49; Alan B. Lloyd, "Triremes and the Saïte Navy", *JEA* 58 (1972), 268-279.

¹²¹ A sea-going vessel associated with foreign lands. *Wb* IV, 315; Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, 50-52.

¹²² Wachsmann has argued that the *keftiu*-ships, rather than being a ship from the Keftiu-region, is a type of ship "used on the trade route between the Near East and the Aegean". Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 119-121; Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, 49-50.

¹²³ O'Connor, "Egypt's Views of 'Others' ", "Never Had the Like Occurred", 159.

¹²⁴ O'Connor, "Egypt's Views of 'Others' ", "Never Had the Like Occurred", 159.

¹²⁵ O'Connor, "Egypt's Views of 'Others' ", "Never Had the Like Occurred", 167.

economic-types of relationships with the “other”. Though not contrasting the Egyptians with the foreigners, it feeds into the ideology of kingship regarding his granted ownership of the world.

Stück VI

Stück VI of the Annals details the work-products given to the king from various regions, including Isy, Kush, Retenu, the Fenkhau, Kadesh, and Naharin (see Table 7.4). A multitude of products again characterises the lists. Below, the products acquired in Year 40 are enumerated:

Urk. IV, 723-734 (207).

(16) /// /// /// *ndm n.y h3s.t tn*

*ist mni.wt nb.t sspd m-ht nb.t nfr.t mi ntw-
c.w=sn n.w tnw rnp.t*

šm.w n.y h3s.t tn

(17) /// /// /// *hn^c dd.wt hr.w n.w k3.w¹²⁶*

iri.n dbn 341 kd.t 2

hsbd m3^c inr 1 iri.n kd.t 33

tgw

m3.wt nfr.t hm.t hr h3s.t

(18) /// /// /// *n.y Tny¹²⁷ hd šwbty*

m b3k.w n.w Kftyw

hn^c hnw n.w bi3 dr.t m hd 4

iri.n dbn 56 kd.t 3

(16) /// /// /// sweet of this *h3s.t*.

Every port was equipped with all the good things as is their yearly due, the harvest of this *h3s.t*.

(17) /// /// // with dishes (with?) faces of bulls, made 341 and 2/10 deben,

1 true lapis-lazuli stone, which made 33 kite, *tjgaw*-wood,

new and beautiful wood, copper of the *h3s.t*.

(18) /// /// /// of Teni, silver shabtis

as the work produce of Keftiu¹²⁸,

with jars of bronze, 4 hands of silver,

made 56 deben and 3 kite.

Though some materials occur in other lists throughout the Annals (such as *nbw*-gold, copper, and silver), it is evident that the lists can also reflect regional differences and specialties. The

¹²⁶ Burkhardt et al. also seem confused by this translation, choosing to describe it as “ddt-Schauen (verziert mit ?) Stierköpfen” (p. 222). However, what appears to be denoting is the decoration of a type of dish, specifically described as the “heads/faces of bulls”. Accordingly, it may be a *protome*, namely, a dish with a frontal view of an animal. It probably describes a vessel originating from the Aegean (perhaps Minoan in origin) and may be a something like a *rhyton* or *aryballos*. It is unclear if the bulls were carved or painted. Its “foreign” nature is suggested by the fact it is described as a dish with “faces of bulls” rather than named as a specific type of vessel. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 222 (207).

¹²⁷ A region associated with modern-Rhodes in the Aegean. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1202-1203.

¹²⁸ This is translated as “Crete” in Burkhardt et al. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 223 (207).

above is sourced from regions in the Aegean, namely Teni (associated with modern-day Rhodes) and Keftiu; the products from the latter are explicitly designated as *b3k.w*, namely, work produce. The list before Teni also appears to be from another Aegean-based region, with a reference to dishes with the faces of bulls.

Foreign Region	Group /	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Djahy		<i>D3hy</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 3, 31, 39	3
<i>h3s.wt</i>		<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>bštw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 3	1
Ullaza		<i>Wrtt</i>	<i>dmi n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 3, 11	2
Tunip		<i>Tnp</i>	<i>h3s.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 5	1
Levantine warriors		<i>thr.w</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 5	1
Ardata		<i>Trtt</i>	<i>dmi n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 6, 9	2
Djahy		<i>D3hy</i>	[<i>t3 n.y</i>]	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 6	1
Retenu		<i>Rtnw</i>	<i>h3s.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 9, 15	2
Kadesh		<i>Kdšw</i>	<i>dmi n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 9	1
Sumur		<i>Dmr</i>	<i>dmi n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 9	1
Chiefs of Retenu		<i>Rtnw</i>	<i>wr.w n.w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 10, 12, 34, 44, 93; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 4	6
Nesren		<i>Nsrn</i>	<i>sp.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 11	1
Kush		<i>Kš</i>	<i>b3k.w...hs.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 17, 29, 37, 85, 92; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 2, 8	7
Wawat		<i>W3w3.t</i>	<i>b3k.w n.w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 18, 30, 38, 86, 92; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 19	6
Keden		<i>Kdn</i>	<i>w n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 19	1
Naharin		<i>Nhrn</i>	<i>hs.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 20, 39; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 13	3
Niya		<i>Nyy</i>	<i>dmi n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 22-23	1
Naharin		<i>Nhrn</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 23, 29	2
Remenen		<i>Rmn</i>	<i>b3k n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 26, 90, 96	3
Chiefs of Remenen		<i>Rmn</i>	<i>wr.w n.w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 26	1
Chief of Babylon		<i>Sngr</i>	<i>wr n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 27	1
Hatti		<i>ht</i>	<i>in.w n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 28; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 7	2
Punt		<i>Pwn.t</i>	<i>h3s.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 29	1
Nukhashshe		<i>Ngs</i>	<i>w n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 32, 87, 88	3
Djahy		[<i>D3</i>] <i>hy</i>	[<i>h3s.t</i>]	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 36	1
Chiefs of Isy		<i>Isy</i>	<i>wr.w n.w</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 37, 91	2
<i>h3s.tyw</i>		<i>h3s.tyw</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 40	1
<i>h3s.tyw</i> of Naharin		<i>h3s.tyw</i>	<i>n.w Nhrn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 41	1
Punt		<i>Pwn.t</i>	<i>bi3.wyt in.yt</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 29, 91	2
Fenkhau		<i>Fnhw</i>	[lost]	<i>Urk.</i> (207), 10	1
Tunip		<i>Twnp</i>	n/a	<i>Urk.</i> (207), 11	1
Kadesh		<i>Kdš</i>	<i>h3k</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (207), 12	1
Keftiu		<i>Kftyw</i>	<i>b3k n.y</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (207), 18	1

Table 7.4 Examples of the variety of foreign regions listed in [18.06.03].

The proliferation of the terms *b3k.w* and *in.w* across the entirety of the Annals and the implied economic impact has been discussed by Bleiberg.¹²⁹ To paraphrase his work, *b3k.w* was used for *regions* traditionally to the south of Egypt, including Kush and Wawat, though it can also be applied to modern-day Lebanon.¹³⁰ *In.w*, on the other hand, was used for when goods were given from *people* within Egypt and those to the north of Egypt *directly to the king* and included regions such as Retenu and Djahy.¹³¹ While this division is not strict, it does not appear to apply to Keftiu, which is a region unequivocally to the north of Egypt. However, the two concepts of *b3k.w* and *in.w* do impart a sense of Egyptian superiority, as in both cases the foreign regions are the *givers* of the products and Egypt is the *recipient*. It fits into the ideology of Egyptian *predestined* and *earned* ownership together with the *realpolitik* of the relationships with foreign lands. The frequent occurrence of *b3k.w* and *in.w* in the Annals, and across the sources from the reign of Thutmose III as a whole (see also Chapters 8-10) reiterate that with territorial expansion, trading and diplomatic affairs could also be extended to encompass significant tracts of foreign regions.

The Annals can thus be seen as a reflection of the Egyptians socio-economic relationships with the “other”. They provide useful documentation for the prized resources of the foreign lands and the value that they held from the perspective of the Egyptians, together with the presumed Egyptian *influence* in the area in the reign of Thutmose III. Overall, Pieces V and VI of the Annals provide useful information for the changing dynamics of relations between Egypt and foreign lands, from war and “march-about” to the wide range of economic relationships reflected in the products that filtered into Egypt.

Stück VII

Stück VII of the Annals [18.06.04] has large lacunae, though a dozen more blocks were recently added to the two fragments originally published in the *Urkunden*.¹³² These additional

¹²⁹ Edward Bleiberg, “Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107-110.

¹³⁰ Bleiberg, “Commodity Exchange”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107-110.

¹³¹ Bleiberg, “Commodity Exchange”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107-110.

¹³² KIU 7208; PM II², 90 (246-247); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 735-738 (208); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 224-225 (208); Legrain, “Mémoire sur la porte située au sud de l’avant-sanctuaire à Karnak et sur son arche fortuite”, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 228-229; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 8517-8518; Nicholas Grimal, Emad Adly, and Alain Arnaudès, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 2004-2005”, *Orientalia NS* 75 (2006), 232; Nicholas Grimal, “Nouveaux fragments des Annales de Thoutmosis III à Karnak”, in U. Rössler-Köhler (ed.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, SDAIK 16 (2009), 105-120; Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 44-111; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 549 (KIU 7208).

blocks were found in 2004 to 2005 after a wall of Seti II (“l’arche fortuite”) was dismantled by CFEETK.¹³³ These were arranged around a large doorway in the south wall of the Vestibule and more than fifteen blocks contained sections of the Annals.¹³⁴ The texts on these blocks provide a synthesis of the monumental building achievements of Thutmose III at Karnak. The following translation is based upon Burkhardt et al. (1984) and the new, revised version by Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde (2015).¹³⁵ After a description of the creation of the statues, doors, pillars, altars, and columns, the text continues as below:

(...) (13) <i>sḥn(=i) n=f sb3 ʿ3 m [m3t rwd.t n.t 3bw]</i>	(...) (13) (I) causing to erect for him a great gate in [hard granite of Elephantine,]
<i>[n.ty ʿrr.wt ḥnʿ bnš.w ir.w b3k] m nbw</i>	[whose lintel, together with the doorposts are worked] in <i>nbw</i> -gold
<i>m b3k.wt n.wt Kš ḥs.t n mh 31</i>	as the work produce of feeble Kush, (from a height) of 31 cubits,
<i>ʿ3[.wy ʿ3.wy m ʿš m3ʿ.w n.t tp.yw n.y Ḥtyw</i>	[great double] doors in true cedar of the best (quality) of the <i>Ḥtyw</i> ,
<i>inl.n ḥm=i ds=i m ḥnty b3k m dʿm]</i>	which were brought back by my Majesty himself in the gardens, worked with <i>djam</i> -gold,]
<i>[ntr šw.t ḥr r=f m twt n.y] ḥm=i m nbw ḥm.t km.t (...)</i>	[the divine figure upon it as an image of] my Majesty in <i>nbw</i> -gold, black copper (...)
(17) (...) [<i>iw mḥd.n ḥm=i it=f Imn.w- Rʿ.w</i>	(17) (...) [My Majesty has carved for his father, Amun-Re,
<i>wi3 ʿ3 n.y tp itr Imn.w wsr ḥ3.t m ʿš m3ʿ n.y tp Ḥtyw</i>	the great sacred river bark (named) “Amun-great-at- the-bow” with cedar of the best (quality) of the <i>Ḥtyw</i> ,
<i>in] ḥm=i stp st ds=f ḥr dw k3 n.y Rmn¹³⁶ (18) m ḥ3.t-sp 36(?) (...)</i>	which] my Majesty picked/cut it himself upon the high mountain of Remenen (18) in Regnal Year 36 (?) (...)

Block B: *Urk.* IV, 737-738 (208B).

¹³³ Grimal, Adly, and Arnaudès, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 2004-2005”, *Orientalia NS* 75 (2006), 232.

¹³⁴ Grimal, “Nouveaux fragments des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, 105.

¹³⁵ Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 224-225 (208); Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 44-111.

¹³⁶ *Wb* II, 421.

- (22) (...) *iw s^ch^c.n n=f* (23) [*hm=i*] (22) (...) It is the case (23) [my Majesty] caused to
 [sn.wt m ^cš š^cd.n hm=i m] *Rmnn r* erect for him [the flag masts in cedar, which my
bhn.ty Majesty cut in] Remenen for the double pylon¹³⁷
 (24) [*tn iri.tn hm=i iw=sn b3k m hm.t* (24) [that which my Majesty made, they are worked
km.t dm=sn] *n hr.t tp.yw=sn m* in black copper, they pierce] the sky, their tips in
 (25) [*d^cm n.y tp.yw n.w h3s.wt*] (25) [*djam*-gold in the best of the *h3s.wt*,]
 [spt.w n.ty smn=sn] *im=sn m hsmn* [the remnants which are established (sockets)]
 (...) therein are in bronze (...)

Overall, these blocks provide a summary of the building works that Thutmose III undertook at the Temple of Amun at Karnak during his reign. The references to foreign lands integrated within this text (*Kš hs.t, Rmnn*) express the provenance of the materials acquired, from work produce (*b3k.wt*) consisting of *nbw*-gold to cedar cut from the mountains or terraces of the Levant for the construction of doors and flag-masts. The purpose of the inscription is not to detail Thutmose III's achievements in foreign lands, but how the products acquired were used at the temple.

In effect, the campaigns of Thutmose III can be seen to come to their completion. First, the king leads campaigns to foreign regions, and then after his army is victorious, they acquire plunder, and *in.w*- and *b3k.w*-relationships are established. Finally, these goods are then redistributed to be utilised in the embellishment of the temples. It links Egypt's motivation to engage in military activity with the acquisition of these desirable resources, which, in turn, are related to the king's desire to demonstrate his piety.¹³⁸ When the king is endorsed by the gods to lead campaigns abroad, he later returns the favour through presenting these exotic products to the god at the temple. Accordingly, foreign regions played a vital role in the king's manifestation of his personal piety towards the gods, an example of which was recorded for posterity in stone in the Annals.

Stück VIII

The final piece of the Annals, known as Piece VIII, details how Thutmose III thanks Amun for his victories [18.06.05].¹³⁹ The inscription is short compared to the other sections of the Annals,

¹³⁷ Namely, the flag masts for the Seventh Pylon. See Chapter 10.4 [18.06.64].

¹³⁸ O'Connor, "Egypt's Views of 'Others' ", "Never Had the Like Occurred", 166.

¹³⁹ KIU 3474, 3475; PM II², 90 (245); LD III, 1-33, pl. 30b; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 735-756 (209); Pritchard, *ANET*, 238; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225-232 (209); Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments* (Leipzig,

preserved to a length of thirty-three lines albeit with numerous lacunae. The text begins with the campaign in Year 23 (line 1-3), and what follows is a series of festivals of victory (line 3-6), and dedications to the temple as the direct results of the campaigns, including the construction of buildings (lines 6-33). The following translation is adapted from Burkhardt et al. (1984) and Goedicke (2000).¹⁴⁰ The beginning of the text reads:

Urk. IV, 738-56 (209).

(1) [*rn.p.t 23*] /// [*iyi.t ḥm(=i)*]

[*m wdy.t tp.(y)t n.t nḥt*] ///

[*iti.n=f 3bd 3*] /// *ḥr ḥ3s.t Rtn.w*

m mnn.w ḳd.n ḥm=i m nḥt.w=f

ḥry-ib n wr.w n.w Rmnn

n.ty rn=f r (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w)|

*w^cf.w šm3.w*¹⁴³

ist mni.n=f r W3s.t

iw it=i Imn.w (2) [m 3w.t-ib]

/// /// *Ip.t-s.wt iw w3ḥ.n n=f ḥm=i*

ḥb nḥt m m3.wt

ḥft iyi.t ḥm=i

m wdy.t tp.yt n.t nḥt

ḥr šhr Rtnw ḥs.t

ḥr swsh t3š.w Km.t m ḥ3.t-sp 23

(1) [Year 23] /// [my Majesty returning from]

[the first campaign of victory¹⁴¹] ///

a[fter he had seized three months] /// upon the *ḥ3s.t*¹⁴² of Retenu,

in the fortress which my Majesty built in his victories

in the midst of the officials of Remenen,

the name of which is “(Menkheperre)|,

subduing the wanderers”¹⁴⁴.

Now, he moored at Thebes,

my father, Amun, being (2) [in happiness]

/// /// Karnak. My Majesty having laid down for him

a festival of victory anew,

at the returning of my Majesty

from the first campaign of victory,

overthrowing the feeble Retenu,

widening the boundaries of Egypt, in Regnal Year 23,

1862), pl. XLIII-XLIV; Breasted, “The Length and Season of Thutmose III’s First Campaign”, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 123-4; Sethe, “Neue Spuren der Hyksos in Inschriften der 18. Dynastie”, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 74-84; Barguet, *Temple*, 119, no. 4; Hari, *Horemheb*, 391-392; Schaden, “Tutankhamon-Ay Shrine at Karnak and Western Valley of the Kings Project. Report on the 1985-1986 Season”, *NARCE* 138 (1987), 14; Brand, “Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period”, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 115-117; Bleiberg, “Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107-110; Bleiberg, “Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom”, *BES* 7 (1986), 5-14; Vernus, “Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire (Urk. VII, 36; Caire JE. 51911)”, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 176-177; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119-126; Redford, *Wars in Syria and Palestine*, 137-145; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 140; O’Connor, “An Enigmatic Pharaoh”, *Thutmose III*, 28-42; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 470 (KIU 3474, 3475).

¹⁴⁰ In fact, Goedicke’s translation is a revised English version of Burkhardt et al. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung zu den Heften 5-16* (1984), 225-232 (209); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119-126.
¹⁴¹ Strangely, Goedicke translates this as “the First belligerent Campaign” (p. 120), while Burkhardt et al. as “vom ersten siegreichen Feldzug” (p. 225). Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225 (209); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119.

¹⁴² Both Burkhardt et al. and Goedicke translate this as “Lande”/ “land” which obfuscates the meaning and connotations of the term *ḥ3s.t*. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225 (209); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119.

¹⁴³ *Wb* IV, 471.1-6.

¹⁴⁴ As discussed by Goedicke, this may be the name of a fortress. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 122.

m nht.w wd.n=f n=i (...)

with the victories he had commanded to me. (...)

This passage provides context for the onset of campaigns. Like other sections of the Annals, this passage also stipulates a justification for the military enterprise, namely to “widen the borders” of Egypt (*swh t3š.w*) and to “subdue the wanderers” (*wcf.w šm3.w*); in fact, the latter is a name that denotes the role of a *fortress*. Naturally, these principles align with the ideology of kingship, including widening the borders and dispelling chaotic forces. Moreover, the descriptions of the foreign peoples continue to reflect other passages of the Annals, namely, when they are labelled as “feeble” (*hs.t*) and easy to “subdue” (*wcf*) and be “overthrown” (*shr*). However, as a whole, it is the proactive deeds of the dominant, the Egyptian king, that are in the foreground.

After providing this contextual information, Thutmose III dedicates a feast to Amun with the following offerings:

(7) /// /// /// [*n it=I Imn.w šsm*] *wi*

r w3.t-nfr.t

rḥ.t ʿ3m ʿ3m.t

Nḥsy Nḥsy.t

rḏi.n ḥm=i n it=i Imn.w š3ʿ m ḥ3.t-sp 23

nfr.yt r smn.t wd pn

ḥr sh-ntr pn

*H3rw.w*¹⁴⁵ *ḥ3 1588*

(8) /// /// i[*w iri.n n=f ḥm=i*

iry.t k3 m k3.w n.y] Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w

ir.yt 2 m iw3.w n.y D3h.y ir.yt 1

m iw3.w n.y Kš

dmd ir.yt 4 (...)

(7) /// /// /// [for my father, Amun, (who) led] me to the beautiful way,

with a number of Asiatic men and Asiatic women,

Nubian men and Nubian women,

which my Majesty gave to my father Amun, beginning

in Year 23, at the bottom, to establish this inscription

upon this shrine,

Kharou in a number of 1588.

(8) /// /// /// [My Majesty made for him

one milk cow as the cattle] of Upper and Lower Egypt,

one milk cow as long-horned cattle of Djahy, two milk

cows as long-horned cattle of Kush,

total: four milk cows. (...)

These offerings that are presented to Amun were acquired from foreign lands on the military campaigns of Thutmose III, specifically from those to the Levant, though localities and people of the south are also mentioned. The offerings are varied and include captives, both men and women from Asia and Nubia, as well as cows qualified as originating from Djahy and Kush.

¹⁴⁵ A person of the northern Levant, often called “Syrian”. *Wb* III, 232.

Overall, the products designated as “foreign” are those relating to agriculture: cows, grain, and (presumably) the captives who were given to the temple to work on the temple estates. This section of the Annals marks yet another reiteration of the economic benefits of war for the temple through the king’s pious deeds, though, in this example, the effect is not just a physical improvement on the appearance of the temple through construction work, but also in the enhancement of the festivals and the *estates*.

7.3 Observations and Spatial Distribution of the Annals in the Reign of Thutmose III

The Annals provides a wealth of information regarding the military encounters of the reign of Thutmose III (*mimesis*). In the three genres of writing that characterise the Annals, namely, military reportage, lists of objects, and the *Königsnovelle*, three types of interactions between Egyptians and foreign lands can be discerned. These include the military achievements of the king with a focus on strategy and its implementation, transactions of foreign products within the socio-economic sphere, and finally, the use of foreign groups as a foil to emphasise the heroic qualities of Thutmose III. The latter style relates to the genre of the *Königsnovelle* and is crucial for the contrast that is evoked between the king and the foreign peoples. Often the actor, Thutmose III is identified as the one who destroys, sacks, plunders, and takes hostages. Through his actions, he brings despair to foreign peoples and happiness to his own.¹⁴⁶ The foreigners are passive characters, often given designations for the region and general titles (“Chiefs of Retenu”) rather than names (e.g. Chief + name). Stylistically, this is a device to enhance the positive interpretation of the deeds of Thutmose III, with the fear and submission of the foreigners being the antithesis to the bravery, power, and dominance of Thutmose III.

Frequently, the notion that the king can reflect the self-image of the group is evident, with terms such as “bravery” (*kni*) used to describe the aggregate identity of both the king *and his army*. One observation needs to be made in this context, however, namely that nowhere is there mention of Egyptians dying in these military conflicts. Instead, the focus is on the slaughter of the “other”. This demonstrates that the Annals has been carefully curated to reflect these essential values and the self-image of the group.¹⁴⁷ The dichotomies that exist between foreign peoples and the Egyptian king facilitate the creation and maintenance of the *pious* warrior king, and within this, the forging of the king’s identity. The vilification of the foreign peoples,

¹⁴⁶ For example, in line 9 of [18.06.03], the army is described as drunkards, anointed with moringa oil, like it was a festival.

¹⁴⁷ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 131.

together with their subsequent acquiesce, is integral to the image of the strong and mighty ruler that Thutmose III aimed to promote, while the economic wealth acquired through the campaigns provided material evidence for his divine selection as king and his piety towards the gods.

As the Annals occupy the Vestibule in Central Karnak (see Figs.7.3 and 7.4), the extensive text would have been prominent and eye-catching to those who had access to the area, as would its contents which contain a phenomenal amount of detail concerning Egypt's interactions with foreign lands. As an extremely long text inscribed within this area of the temple, the question must be asked who would indeed have had access to the content. The location of the text around the bark shrine indicates that the text is first and foremost for the benefit of the god, Amun. This is reinforced by the *medium*, which implies and requires a high level of literacy. In addition, any prospective viewer (namely, those that are not the deity) would also have had to be able to spend a considerable amount of time in this area of the temple. This raises the question of whether and how the Annals could be made known to any form of a wider audience and thus have some degree of influence on the shaping of the desired qualities in the formation of Egyptian identity. These issues of accessibility and audience, in light of these observations, are revisited in Chapter 12.3.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 7.3 Spatial distribution of the Annals at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III.

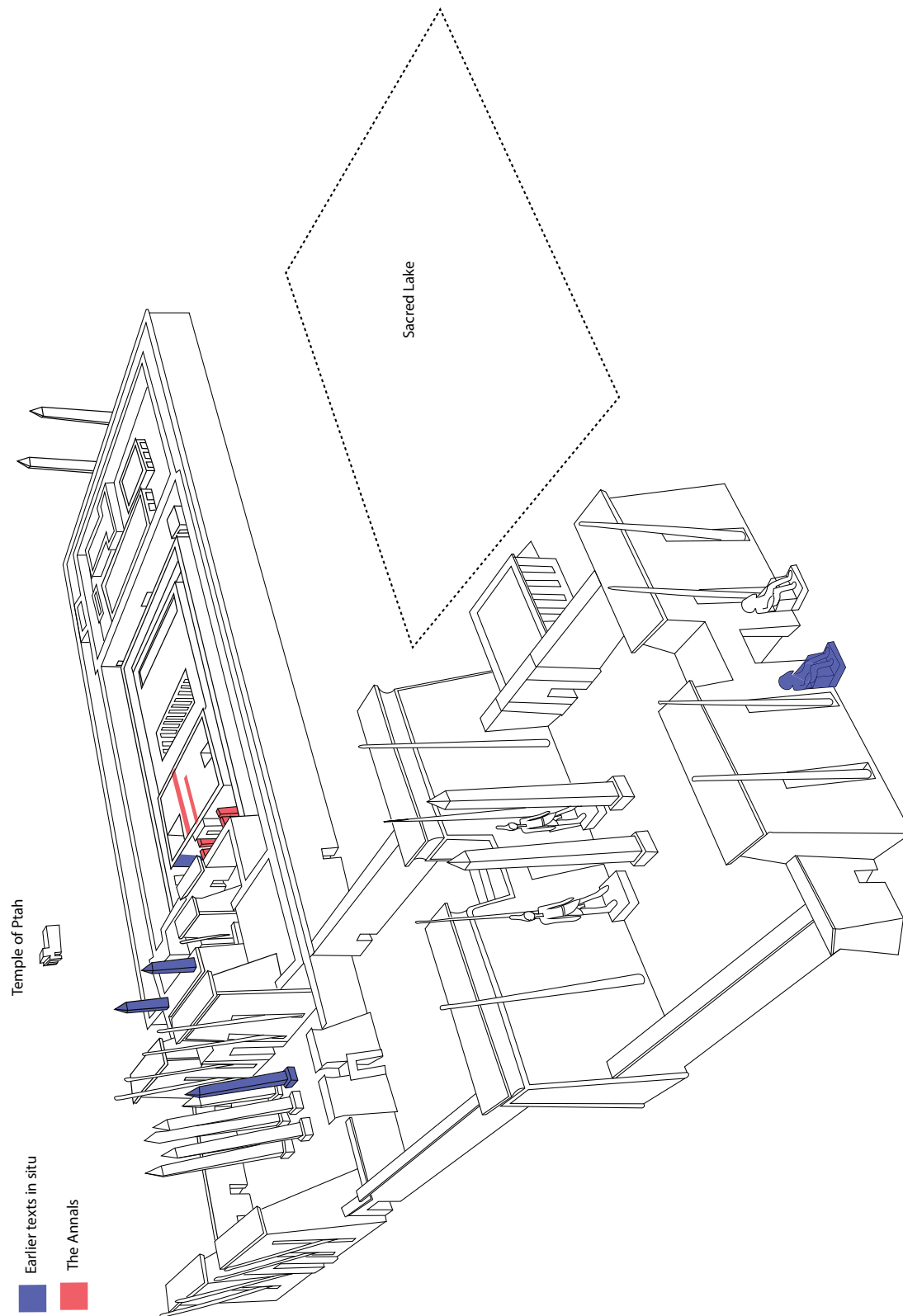


Figure 7.4 Spatial distribution of the Annals at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak.

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Content
18.06.01	Vestibule of Thutmose III	25 m x 12 m	in situ	Annals of Thutmose III, Stück I.
18.06.02	Vestibule of Thutmose III, Room Va	H 0.75 m W 1.04 m D 0.77 m	Cairo JE 29242	Annals of Thutmose III, Stück II.
18.06.03	Vestibule of Thutmose III	25 m x 12 m	in situ; Louvre C. 51	Annals of Thutmose III, Stück V-VI.
18.06.04	Vestibule of Thutmose III	H 0.65 m W 0.83 m	in situ	Annals of Thutmose III, blocks, Stück VII.
18.06.05	Vestibule of Thutmose III	unknown	unknown	Annals of Thutmose III, Stück VIII.

Table 7.5 Overview of sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 8

The Reign of Thutmose III

Stele and Monumental Inscriptions

“I came that I may cause you to trample Tjehenu,
the islands of Utjentiu belong to the strength of your powers.
I will let them see your Majesty as a hostile lion,
as you make them into corpses throughout their valley”.
Line 19, *Poetical Stela of Thutmose III*.¹

In addition to the Annals, a number of stele and lengthy monumental inscriptions are present across the site of Karnak. These inscriptions complement the representations of foreigners and Egyptians as exhibited in the Annals, but some shifts occur in the portrayal of Thutmose III's deeds. In the ten following texts [18.06.06]-[18.06.15], the specific *values* of Egyptian identity that Thutmose III desired to promote become increasingly evident in more generalised contexts (see Table 8.6 for a summary of these sources). This chapter has divided these texts by type, namely stele in Section 8.1 and longer inscriptions in Section 8.2. This is followed by observations in Section 8.3.

8.1 The Stele

The Two Poetical Stele

The Poetical Stela (Cairo CG 34010) [18.06.06] of Thutmose III is one of the most acclaimed texts of his reign due to its evocative and lyrical language.² The granite stela was discovered in the North Court and is 1.7 meters high and 1.03 meters wide. The narrative arc of the text on the stela is three-tiered and can be divided into an introduction, the Song of Victory, and the epilogue. Throughout the text, the domination of the king is highlighted through prospective statements that detail his victories over Egypt's neighbours, events that were prophesied by Amun:

¹ See [18.06.06].

² PM II², 94; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 610-619 (199); Lacau, *Steles*, 17-21, pl. vii; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 11; L. Reinisch, *Aegyptische Chrestomathie* (Oxford, 1875), pl. 8; G. C. Pier, *Inscriptions of the Nile Monuments: A Book of Reference for Tourists* (New York and London, 1908), fig. 1; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 127-128; Legrain, *Repertoire*, no. 149; K. Lange, and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years* (London and New York, 1968), pl. 145; Pritchard, *ANET*, 373-375; Vincent A. Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, Third Edition (London, 2003), 351-355; A. De Buck, *Egyptian Reading Book* (Leiden, 1948), 53-56; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 35-39; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes II*, 239-252.

(2) (...) <i>smn=i³</i> (3) <i>tw m iwnn=i</i> <i>bi3i.y=i n=k</i> <i>di=i n=k kn.t nht r h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i> <i>di=i b3.w=k snd.w=k⁴ m t3.w nb.w</i> <i>hry.t=k r-dr.w</i> (4) <i>shn.t 4 n.t p.t</i> <i>s^c3.y=i šfšf(.t)=k m h.(w)t nb.(w)t</i> <i>di=i hmhm.t hm=k ht psd.t pd.wt</i> <i>wr.w⁶ h3s.wt nb.(w)t dmd(.w) m hf^c=k</i>	(2) (...) I will establish (3) you in my sanctuary, I will delight in you in that I give to you valour and strength against all the <i>h3s.wt</i> , in that I place your power and fear of you in all the flat lands, (and) dread of you as far as (4) the four supports of heaven ⁵ , I will make great respect of you in every body, in that I place the war cry of your Majesty throughout the Nine Bows, (and) the princes of all the <i>h3s.wt</i> united in your grasp;
(5) <i>3wi.y=i ^c.wwy=i ds=i</i> <i>nwh=i n=k st</i> <i>dm3=i Iwn.tyw-St.tyw m db^c.w h3.w</i> <i>mh.tyw m hfn.w m skr.w-^cnh(.w) (...)</i>	(5) I will extend my own arms, I binding them for you, I tying up the Nubian nomads by tens of thousands, and the northerners by hundreds of thousands as living captives. (...)

The passage denotes the benevolences that Amun will bestow upon Thutmose III, and these revolve around physical strength and prowess against foreign lands. The characteristics are presented within the direct speech of Amun in the first-person, placing the agency upon the god and thus distancing Thutmose III from his role in the creation of the document. Further, the phrases can be read as future (prospective): “I will give to you...”. This provides the connotation of “prophecy” and forges the impression that there are even more successful events to anticipate throughout the reign of Thutmose III.

³ A series of future (prospective) phrases follows. Notably, the use of the future tense is not acknowledged in Lichtheim’s work, who translates them as present perfect tense “I placed you...” or “I let them see...”. This is unfortunate, as it does not impress on the reader the “prophecy” aspect of the inscription. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 35-39.

⁴ Tobin translates this as “awe” which obfuscates the other strong emotional but negative connotations of terror and fear that are likewise associated with this term. Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 352.

⁵ Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 52.

⁶ Tobin alternatively translates this as “nobles” and “rulers”, though it has the sense of a high office, whether they are a prince, official, or ruler of a foreign land. Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354-355.

The foreigners within this opening section of the text are background figures acting as the objects to the actor's, namely the king's, actions. Curiously, there is an increase in specificity regarding the foreign lands, from the four supports of heaven denoting the boundaries⁷, the general term *h3s.wt nb.(w)t*, the Nine Bows, before a shift to mentioning peoples: the *wr.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t* and the Nubian nomads (*Iwn.tyw-St.tyw*). In addition, the actions of these groups are noticeably reactive, which denies them agency in the narrative. They are passive, they "fear" the king (*snd, hry.t*), hear his "war cry" (*hmhm.t*), and are "bound" (*hf, nwh, dm3*). The inferior and "other" qualities of the foreigners are further reinforced by the description of the king in the text who is essentially rendered in an inverse manner. Thutmose III is proactive, "brave" (*kn.t*), "strong" (*nht*), "powerful" (*b3.w*), and "respected" (*šfšf.t*).

The Song/Poem of Victory, for which the stela is named, is ten lines long and commences in line 13. The lyrical content revolves around Thutmose III's exploits in the foreign lands and expands upon the characterisation of the "other" as evidenced in the introduction. This poem is spoken from the perspective of Amun who is discussing the *future* exploits of the king:

(13) *iyi.n=i⁸ di=i titi=k wr.w D3hy*
sš=i⁹ s.t hr rd.wy=k(y) ht h3s.wt=sn
di=i m3=sn¹⁰ hm=k m nb st.wt
shd=k m-hr(.w)=sn m snn=i

(13) That I have come is that may cause you to
trample the princes of Djahy,
I will place them under your feet throughout their
h3s.wt,
I will let them see your Majesty as the lord of
sunlight, when you shine before them as my
image.

(14) *iyi.n=i di=i titi=k im(y).w Stt*
skri=k tp.w 3m.w n.w Rtnw
di=i m3=sn hm=k 3pr(.w) hkr=k
šsp=k hf(.w) (n.w) 3h3 hr wrry.t

(14) That I have come is that I may cause you to
trample those who are in Asia,
and you will strike the heads of the Asiatics of
Retenu,
I will let them see your Majesty adorned in your
royal insignia,
when you take up the weapons on the chariot.

⁷ Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 52.

⁸ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

⁹ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹⁰ To "see" as in "to know". See Tobin, "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 353 (no. 6).

(15) *iyi.n=i di=i titi=k t3 i3b.ty*

hnd=k n.tyw m w.w n.w T3-ntr

di=i m3=sn hm=k mi sšd st(w)

bs=f m sd.t di=f i(3)d.t=f

(15) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the eastern land:

you will trample those in the districts of the God's Land.

I will cause them to see your Majesty as a thunderbolt,

it shedding when it darts its flame in fire and when it emits its destruction.

(16) *iyi.n=i di titi=k t3 imn.ty*

Kftyw Isy hr šfsf.t=k

di=i m3=sn hm=k m k3 rnpi

mn-ib spd b.wy n h3.ntw=f

(16) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the western land,

Keftiu and Isy will stand in awe of you.

I will let them see your Majesty as a young bull, stout-hearted, sharp of horns, whom none can hinder.

(17) *iyi.n=i di=i titi=k im(y).w*

nb.wt=sn¹¹

t3.w n.w Mtn sd3(.w) hr snd=k

di=i m3=sn hm=k m dpy

nb snd.w m mw n tkn.ntw=f

(17) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the islanders,

the flat lands of the Mitanni will tremble through fear of you.

I will let them see your Majesty as a crocodile, lord of fear in the water, whom none will dare approach.

(18) *iyi.n=i di=i titi=k im.(y)w iw.w*

hr.yw-ib

w3d-wr hr hmhm.t=k

di=i m3=sn hm=k m nd.ty

h^c.w hr psd.w n.y sm3=f

(18) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample those on the islands,

the Sea Peoples will be under your war-cry.

I will let them see your Majesty as the avenger, appearing on the back of his wild bull.

¹¹ Tobin translates this as "I have come to empower you to crush the heathen". However, on the stela the islands are very clear. It is uncertain where Tobin has derived "heathen". Lichtheim correctly translates this as "islands", while Dessoudeix goes so far as to translate it as "les habitants des îles égéens". Tobin, "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 37; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 250.

(19) *iṯi.n=i dī=i titi=k Thnw*

iw.w wnty.w n.y šhm b3.w=k

dī=i m3=sn ḥm=k m m3i-ḥs3

iri=k s.t m ḥ3.wt ḥt in.t=sn¹²

(19) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample Tjehenu,

the islands of Utjentiū belong to the strength of your powers.¹²

I will let them see your Majesty as a hostile lion, as you make them into corpses throughout their valley.

(20) *iṯi.n=i dī=i titi=k ph.wt t3.w*

šnn(w).t šn-wr ʕrf(.w) m ḥfʕ=k

dī=i m3=sn ḥm=k m nb dm3.t Hr.w

iṯi(.w) m dgg(.w)t=f r mrr=f

(20) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the boundaries of the land,

that which the ocean surrounds is enclosed within your grasp.

I will let them see your Majesty as lord of the wings of Horus, one who seizes with his look that which he desires.

(21) *iṯi.n=i dī=i titi=k im.(y)w ḥ3.t t3*

snḥ=k ḥr.(y)w-š m škr-ʕnh

dī=i m3=sn ḥm=k mi s3b šmʕ(.w) nb gs.t ḥp.wty ḥns(.w) t3.wy

(21) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the first inhabitants of the earth,

and you will fetter the Bedouins as living captives.

I will let them see your Majesty as an Upper Egyptian jackal, the swift runner, who traverses the Two Lands.

(22) *iṯi.n=i dī=i titi=k Twn(.tyw)-*

St(.tyw) r-mn-m Š3.t m 3mm.t=k

dī=i m3=sn ḥm=k mi sn.wy=k¹⁴ dmd.n=i ʕ.wy=sn n=k m nḥt

(22) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the Nubian tribesmen, as far as Shat is in your grasp.

I will let them see your Majesty as your two brothers, whose two hands I have united for you in victory.

¹² Lichtheim translates this as “the Utjentiū isles are in your power”, while the original clearly has two terms associated with power: *šhm* and *b3.w*. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 37.

¹³ Both Tobin and Lichtheim translates this in the plural “valleys” though singular is in the original. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 37; Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354.

¹⁴ Horus and Seth. Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 355, no. 15.

The poem is organised into ten stanzas of four-lines (a quatrain), which is reflective of how the inscription is present on the stela itself. The stanza begins with “That I have come is that I may cause...” (*iyi.n=i di=i*). The first two lines of each stanza describes an action against a foreign region or people (generally in the perfective tense), whilst the following two lines begin with the future prospective “I will let them see your Majesty”, followed by a unique phrase, typically a simile introduced by *mi*, alternating with the *m* of predication. This strict repetition of the form ties the quatrains together, creating the cadence of a poem or song.

The depiction of the foreigners in the poem is characterised by *inaction*. The text is effective at reiterating, again and again, the passive nature of all foreign peoples by presenting a variety of scenarios in which they are the objects of the actions of the king. Like many other texts at Karnak, the foreigners are described as general groups and regions, which not only diminishes their hierarchical importance, but it also negates their agency. There is not a single example in the entire text in which the foreigners are proactive; instead, each scenario or event deliberately details the aftermath in which Thutmose III has been successful. The foreigners are so weak that they easily succumb to the Egyptians, becoming captives (*sḳr-nḥ*) or corpses (*h3.wt*). The overall and pervasive impression left upon the reader is that the foreigners are subordinate, literally “under the feet” of the king (*hr rd.wy*), being “trampled” (*titi*), and “fettered” (*snḥ*). In addition, the text goes further in the representations of the foreigners. This focuses on the use of emotions as controlling mechanisms; for example, three synonyms for “fear” are encountered: *snd*, *hry.t*, and *nrw* (see Table 8.1). Not only do these terms for fear have a connotation of “respect”, but the word for respect is itself encountered (*ššf.t*).¹⁵ As a whole, the poem encapsulates the subordination of foreigners, whilst emphasising the awe and respect that they experienced towards the Egyptian king.

The text also provides firm evidence for the deliberate characterisation of the Egyptian king in direct contrast to the foreigners. As the poem is dictated from the first-person perspective of the state god, Amun, the terminology and actions of the king appear to be politically and theologically charged. Through adopting this viewpoint, Amun is clearly presented as the orchestrator of Thutmose III’s actions. This implies that the state-god is the one who has manufactured the *ideal* Egyptian, namely, Thutmose III, and reveals the dependence of the king on the god as part of the political ethos of the period.¹⁶ As a whole, Amun utilises

¹⁵ In fact, out of the 47 terms for fear and related terms in Hannig and Vomberg, these 3 are the only words that can have the additional meaning of respect. Rainer Hannig and Petra Vomberg, *Kulturhandbuch Ägyptens: Wortschatz Der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen* (Mainz, 1999), 326-328.

¹⁶ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 75.

descriptive language in the poem, from the chronicling of Thutmose III's divine and kingly appearance to the use of metaphorical language to highlight specific qualities. These qualities present the characterisation in an unusually nuanced and evocative manner, presenting the king as a weapon of war ("as a thunderbolt": *sšd*), a "young bull" (*k3 rnp.t*), a "crocodile" (*dpy*), an "avenger/protector" (*nd.ty*), a "lion" (*m3i-ḥs3*), as "Horus" (*Hr.w*), a "jackal" (*s3b*), and the "two brothers" (namely, an allusion to Horus and Seth: *sn.wy*). The animals which Thutmose III is compared with are predators both on land and on water and conjure up various qualities, the most obvious being fast, strong, and fierce, while comparisons with the various deities and mythological characters reiterate the divine aspect of the king's identity.

Type	Term	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	<i>d3i</i>	to cross	= <i>k</i>	<i>mw phr-wr</i>	7	1
Abstract	<i>smn</i>	to establish	= <i>i</i> (Amun)	<i>tw</i>	2-3	1
	<i>bi3i.y</i>	wonders	= <i>i</i> (Amun)	<i>n=k</i>	3	1
	<i>knt</i>	valour	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	<i>n=k</i>	3	1
	<i>b3</i>	power	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	= <i>k</i>	3	1
	<i>hmhm.t</i>	war cry	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	<i>hm=k</i>	4	1
	<i>dmd</i>	to unite	<i>hf=k</i>	<i>wr.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	4	1
	<i>nwh</i>	to bind	= <i>i</i> (Amun)	<i>n=k</i>	5	1
	<i>dm3</i>	to tie up	= <i>i</i> (Amun)	<i>Twn.tyw-St.tyw</i>	5	1
Emotion	<i>snd</i>	fear	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	= <i>k</i>	3	1
	<i>hry.t</i>	dread	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	= <i>k</i>	3	1
	<i>šfšf.(t)</i>	respect	= <i>i</i> (Amun)	= <i>k</i>	4	1
	<i>nrw</i>	fear	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	<i>hm=k</i>	9	1
	<i>snd</i>	fear	= <i>k</i>	<i>t3.w n.w Mtn</i>	17	1
Physical	<i>nht</i>	strength/victory	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	<i>n=k</i>	3	1
	<i>titi</i>	to trample	= <i>k</i>	<i>šn.tyw ḥ3k.w-ib</i>	6	1
	<i>hnd</i>	to tread down	= <i>k</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	7	1
	<i>dn</i>	to cut	= <i>s</i> (Uraeus)	<i>tp.w 3m.w</i>	10	1
	<i>titi</i>	to trample	<i>dī=i</i> (Amun)	= <i>k</i>	13-22	10
	<i>skri</i>	to strike	= <i>k</i>	<i>tp.w 3m.w</i>	14	1

Table 8.1 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, Thutmose III in [18.06.06].

This image of the king is echoed across the fragmentary copy of the Poetical Stela known as Cairo CG 34011 [18.06.07].¹⁷ Discovered south of the Seventh Pylon, the inscription on the stela begins with a prologue, followed by what could be a hymn and an epilogue. The prologue is almost identical to that on [18.06.06]:

¹⁷ PM II², 171; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 619-24 (200); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 176-179; (200); Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 128 (421); Legrain, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak", *ASAE* 5 (1904), 17-20; Lacau, *Stèles*, 21-4; Barguet, *Temple*, 270 (no. 1).

(2) (...) <i>wḏ.n=i hmhm.t</i>	(2) (...) that I commanded a war cry
(3) <i>ḥm=k r ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt)</i>	(3) of your Majesty against all the <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> ,
<i>ḏi=i b3.w=k snd.w=k m t3.w nb.w</i>	was in that I placed your power and fear of you in all the flat lands,
<i>ḥry.t=k r ḏr.w šḥn.wt <4> {3}¹⁸ n.t p.t</i>	and dread of you as far as the <four> supports of heaven,
<i>sʕ3=i ššf.w(t)=k m ḥ.t nb(.t)</i>	in that I made great the respect of you in every body,
<i>psḏ.t pḏ.wt m (4) ksw(.w) r bw ḥr.y=k</i>	the Nine Bows (4) bowing at the place under you,
<i>wr.w¹⁹ ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) dmd(.w) m ḥfʕ=k</i>	the princes of all the <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> are united in your grasp,
<i>iwi(.w)=sn m hims n wr nrw.w=k</i>	they coming humbly because of the greatness of your terror,
<i>ini.n=k Twn.tyw-St.tyw (5) m ḏbʕ.w</i>	you having brought the tribesmen of Nubia (5) by the tens of thousands,
<i>ḥ3.w</i>	
<i>Stt m ḥfn.w m škr(.w)-ʕnh(.w)</i>	and Asiatics by hundreds of thousands as living captives,
<i>m pḥ.ty Imn.w it=k špss (...)</i>	with the strength of Amun, your august father (...)

For the most part, this inscription is indistinguishable from [18.06.06], and in turn, the analysis is the same as detailed above, in which the image of the divine and strong king is repeated in direct contrast to the foreigners. There are some minor differences, however, such as the list of peoples captured from the north which are designated explicitly as Asiatics (*Stt*) and not as “northerners”. Unfortunately, the rest of the inscription is fragmented, but as it focuses on the building projects and dedications of Thutmose III at Karnak, it appears to be an extended version of the epilogue of [18.06.06].

As a whole, the two Poetical Stele are significant, as thematically, they both place the king in relation to the outside world and present a very deliberate characterisation of the king in direct opposition to the foreigners. Thutmose III is the divine protégé of Amun, who was

¹⁸ This is probably a scribal error, as the pillars of heaven are traditionally four in number as a reflection of the boundaries. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 52. It has been corrected to “four” in the translation of Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 177 (200).

¹⁹ Tobin alternatively translates this as “nobles” and “rulers”, though it has the sense of a high office, whether they are a prince, official, or ruler of a foreign land. Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354-55.

manufactured and preordained to defeat all foreign lands. Accordingly, this text is explicit regarding the expectations and roles of the king to maintain *maat* through the defeat of the “other”. Furthermore, the form of the two Poetical Stele is also hugely important for the transmission of text to speech and thus the ability of the content to be disseminated. The highly structured language of poetry and its reliance upon repetition lends itself to memorisation. Might one go so far as to propose that this form of the inscription on the stele is evidence for the intention of the content to be recited, and further, to be *circulated*? In turn, is it possible that the poems or hymns on both stele were able to transcend the limitations of written texts to ensure their continuity for an extended period of time?²⁰ As with hymns and prayers, these poems may even have been habitually taught to promote the achievements of Thutmose III, together with principles of Egyptian tradition and identity.²¹ Consequently, the composer(s) of this type of text can play a meaningful role in shaping how the world outside Egypt was to be perceived, and as the text is written in stone, this image and characterisation of the “other” is preserved and communicated beyond the generation that developed it.²²

The Stela from the Temple of Ptah

A third stela was discovered near the Fourth Gate of the Temple of Ptah and describes Thutmose III’s restoration of the temple [18.06.08] (Cairo CG 34013).²³ This granite stela features a depiction of Thutmose III with Neferure in the lunette, though the figure of the latter was later re-assigned to Thutmose III’s wife, Satiah, and restored by Seti I. After the titulary of the king, Thutmose III claims he found the Temple of Ptah in ruins:

(4) (...) <i>iw</i> (5) <i>sḥ n=sn ḥm=i</i>	(4) (...) It is the case (5) my Majesty caused to erect for them
ḥ3.w m ḥs m3ḥ n.y tp(.yw) Ḥtyw	doors in true cedar of the best (quality) of the Ḥtyw,

²⁰ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 74, 198.

²¹ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 75.

²² Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 72.

²³ PM II², 198 (6); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 763-772 (211); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 234-238 (211); Maspero, “La consécration du nouvel temple de Ptah thébain par Thoutmôsis III”, *CRAIBL* 1 (1900), 113-123; Lacau, *Stèles*, 27-30, pl. IX; Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 107-111; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 119, Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 135-136 (458); Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 93-94; Barguet, *Temple*, 14; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis*, 219-223; Piccione, “The Women of Thutmose III in the Stelae of the Egyptian Museum”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 91-94; Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 84-85, fig. 51; Thiers and Zignani, “The Temple of Ptah at Karnak”, *EA* 38 (2011), 20; Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King*, 265-266 (no. 33); Azim, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I. 349 (4-11/17), II. 326 (4-11/17).

<i>ndb.w m hm.t Stt</i>	banded with Asiatic copper ²⁴
<i>hft hwt n.y Pth m m3.wt</i>	in front of the Temple of Ptah anew,
<i>hr rn=i n.y hm=i</i>	upon my name of my Majesty.
(6) <i>n sp ir.t n=f mi.tt</i>	(6) The like was never done for him
<i>hr h3.t hm=i</i>	before my Majesty.
<i>in hm=i rdi wsr=f</i>	It is my Majesty who caused that he might be strong.
<i>s3.n=i sw r im.t h3.t</i>	I having made him greater than the ancestors
<i>swb=i n=f s.t=f wr.t</i>	I consecrated for him his great place
<i>m d3m n.y tp(.yw) h3s.wt (...)</i>	in <i>djam</i> -gold of the best (quality) of the <i>h3s.wt</i> (...)

The inscription chronicles restorations to the Temple of Ptah, which provides evidence for it having existed before the reign of Thutmose III.²⁵ The improvements are articulated through the use of materials, such as new doors formed of cedar of the terraces (*Htyw*) and banded with Asiatic copper. These foreign materials, like those listed in the Annals, are not only proof of the king's success in his dealings with the foreign lands, but their use to restore a temple can be seen as an expression of Thutmose III's piety towards the god Ptah.

Later, the text specifically refers to the first campaign in Retenu of Year 23, providing a *terminus post quem* for the stela:

(8) (...) <i>iw mh.n(=i) r3-pr.w=f</i>	(8) (...) (I) filled his (Ptah's) temple
<i>m (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t</i>	with every good thing,
<i>m k3.w 3pd.w sntr irp</i>	namely, bulls, fowl, incense, wine,
(9) <i>rnp.t nb.t</i>	(9) and every vegetable,
<i>hft iyi.t hm=i</i>	at the coming of my Majesty
<i>hr h3s.t Rtnw</i>	from the <i>h3s.t</i> of Retenu,
<i>m sp tp n.w nht.w</i>	on the first occasion of the victories
<i>rdi.n n=i it=i Imn.w</i>	which my father, Amun, gave to me,
<i>m rdi.t=f n=i</i>	in his giving to me
<i>h3s.wt nb(.wt) n.(w)t D3hy</i>	all the <i>h3s.wt</i> of Djahy.
(10) <i>shw.w ddhw.w m dmi w3</i>	(10) who were drawn together and who were imprisoned
	in one town,

²⁴ This description is very similar to that of the bark shrine of Amenhotep I [18.02.02] and reflects the continuation of utilising Asiatic copper, *djam*-gold, and cedar of the terraces to embellish the temple.

²⁵ Thiers and Zignani, "The Temple of Ptah at Karnak", *EA* 38 (2011), 20.

snd.t hm=i ht ib.w=sn the fear of my Majesty being throughout their hearts,
*hr bdš.w*²⁶ overthrowing the weak,
spr=i r=sn nn nhw (11) wth (...) I reached them without loss (11) (or) fleeing therein. (...)

This passage details the offerings that were given to the temple after this first campaign, thanking the god for his victory. These products are listed with the traditional formulaic enumeration as bulls, fowl, incense, wine, and vegetables. The focus is placed not on the products, but on the event for which these offerings are being given.

Though the foreigners are given a secondary role within the inscription, it is transparent that the language chosen to describe the foreigners seeks to express their inferiority. Through the use of the anonymous phrase “all the *h3s.wt* of Djahy”, the enemy is characterised as both “other” with lower hierarchical importance, and as one cohesive and aggregate identity: the people of the Levant. Furthermore, their inferiority is expressed through the general and sweeping statements that describe *all* of these peoples, namely, they all “fear His Majesty throughout their hearts”, are “imprisoned” (*ddhw*), and are “weak” (*bdš*). In turn, the foreigners are both weak in *mind* and *body*.

By contrast, Thutmose III is the protagonist and dominant actor of the inscription. This is indicated by the use of titulary at the beginning of the stela, which evokes his hierarchical importance, together with the application of the first-person perspective. The inscription reveals that the king “collected” the foreign peoples (*shw*) and “overthrew” (*hr*) the weak. While the foreigners were captured and overthrown, the king claims that he and his army were “without loss (or) fleeing therein”; namely, the king is declaring that none of his soldiers died or fled from the battle on his first campaign. This same pattern is found in the Annals in the context of the siege of Megiddo (see [18.06.01], lines 90-95), and it is thus possible that it is an example of intertextuality. As a whole, like the Annals and the Poetical Stele, it is transparent that stark contrasts between foreigners and Egyptians are particularly manifested in the context of military conflict. On an additional note, however, foreign products and their dedication to the gods relate to the obligations of kingship and demonstrate the symbiotic relationship that existed between Amun and the Egyptian ruler.²⁷

²⁶ This is a restoration by Seti I. This implies that the same values had relevance in the reign of Seti I. See Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 767.

²⁷ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 75.

The Stela from the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished

A fourth stela which has been attributed to the reign of Thutmose III was discovered in a secondary location around the north-eastern area of the temple, in the vicinity of the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished (Temple J), built by Osorkon II [18.06.09].²⁸ The inscription on the stela lacks any titulary to assist in dating the inscription which has resulted in conflicting dates for the document. Redford has attributed the stela to the reign of Seti I in the Nineteenth Dynasty, though recently Gabolde and Goyon revisited the inscription and ascribed to it a Thutmose III date.²⁹ This attribution is based upon the enumeration of the architectural achievements listed on this stela which do not agree with the known building program of Seti I.³⁰ Together with other clues, Gabolde and Goyon have produced a convincing argument that this stela dates from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, most probably to the reign of Thutmose III.

The sections pertinent to the current study include the royal eulogy, the statement of the borders, and to an extent, the building projects of the king:

(x+2) (...) <i>sm3(.w) rs.yw ptpt mḥ.tyw</i> ///	(x+2) (...) who kills the southerners and tramples
/// <i>ḥ3s.wt bšt.yw</i> /// /// ///	the northerners /// /// the rebellious <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> /// /// ///
(x+3) /// ʕ <i>nsr.t wr b3.w ʕ3</i>	(x+3) /// great, great of flame, great of powers,
<i>hmhm.t m t3.w Fnḥw</i> ³¹	(whose) war cry is in the flat lands of the Fenhkhou
/// /// <i>t3.w ḥ3s.wt nb.w(t)</i>	/// /// all flat lands and <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> .
<i>t3š=f rs.y r wp t3</i> /// /// ///	His southern border is at the Horns of the Earth ///
	/// ///
(x+4) /// =i <i>mḥ.ty=f r pḥ.w-t3 r mw-</i>	(x+4) /// my /// his northern (border) reaches to the
<i>kbḥ.w</i> /// <i>ḥ3s.wt (?)</i>	ends of the earth, to the (place) of cold water ///
	[section missing, mountain determinative],

²⁸ PM II², 204; Henri Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak”, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 555; Jean Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1950-1951. 1”, *Orientalia NS* 20:4 (1951), 464; Donald B. Redford, “New Light on Temple J at Karnak”, *Orientalia NS* 55:1 (1986), 1-15; Luc Gabolde and Jean-Claude Goyon, “Une stèle en granit noir remployée sur le parvis de la chapelle d’«Osiris-qui-inaugure-l’arbre-iched»”, *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 5-23.

²⁹ Redford, “New Light on Temple J at Karnak”, *Orientalia NS* 55:1 (1986), 1-15; Gabolde and Goyon, “Une stèle en granit noir”, *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 5-23.

³⁰ Gabolde and Goyon, “Une stèle en granit noir”, *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 14-15.

³¹ This same phrase is encountered in [18.01.01], line 13; Gabolde and Goyon, “Une stèle en granit noir”, *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 10.

<i>i3b.ty=f r šn-wr Fnḥw b[3ḥ.w]=f Imn.ty</i>	his eastern (border) to the ocean of the Fenkhrou ³²
<i>r iw /// /// pw /// ḥ3s.t(?) /// /// ///</i>	in the East; the western (border) is at /// /// /// it is
<i>(x+5) /// =f b3k(.w)=sn n=f</i>	(x+5) /// his /// their work products are for him.
<i>dmd sm3 Km.t Dšr.t mi ḥ.t w</i>	If the Black Land and the Red Land are united
	together as one body,
<i>psd.t pd.wt ḥb3 (...)</i>	the Nine Bows are diminished (...)
<i>(x+10) /// /// ʕ3.w m ʕš ndbw m ḥm.t</i>	(x+10) /// /// doors in cedar of the area in copper.
<i>sʕḥ.n n=f ḥm=i sn.wt ḥ.t m m3w m ʕš</i>	My Majesty caused to erect for him double-masts
<i>m3ʕ tp(.yw) Htyw /// /// ///</i>	anew in true cedar of the best (quality) of Htyw ///
	///

The themes of domination or ownership of foreign lands can be seen as being present in all three sections of the inscription and are key to the image of the king that is presented. The foreigners are the ones who are “killed” (*sm3*), “trampled” (*ptpt*), and “diminished” (*ḥb3*). As “rebellious” (*bšt.yw*) figures, foreigners are both a threat to the Egyptian ruler as chaotic forces, and yet, also groups who are easily controlled or “united” (*dmd*) by the king.

For the most part, the foreign lands encountered are toponyms and phrases that can have variable meanings. This includes southerners, northerners, the *ḥ3s.wt*, the Fenkhrou, the Horns of the Earth, the Nine Bows, and the terraces (*Htyw*) (see Table 8.2). These regions are known for their fluctuating meanings depending upon the historical context. Strangely, Fenkhrou is qualified by both “flat lands” and the “ocean” (*šn-wr*); the former is attested at Karnak from the reign of Ahmose, and the latter appears to have *no parallels* surviving at Karnak during the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is a note-worthy qualification, as argued in Chapters 5.3 and 6.3.1 above, the Fenkhrou appears to have been the furthest northern border or extremes of the known world *inland* while the Hanebu was the furthest northern region *along the coast*. This qualification on the stela may reflect a changing meaning to the term “Fenkhrou” more in line with the development of Phoenicia (and thus suggesting a later date for the inscription) or it is an understanding that the Fenkhrou, which is generally understood as being a region twenty kilometres from the sea, is in fact delimited between the coast and banded by the Lebanon

³² This qualification of Fenkhrou is not seen elsewhere at Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III, or even until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This lack of parallels does cause some doubt as to the attribution to the reign of Thutmose III by Gabolde and Goyon, though the other evidence on the stela still provides justification to this date. The author has not been able to find other parallels for this reference.

mountain chain.³³ Despite the unusual qualification of Fenkhau, as stated by Liverani, the vagueness of the terms of Fenkhau and Horns of the Earth ensures that the borders remain “anchored” by the inscription “without losing the achieved results”.³⁴ Such an approach safeguards the relevancy of the inscription and the achievements of the king over time.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Southerners	<i>rs.yw</i>	<i>sm3(.w)</i>	x+2	1
Northerners	<i>mḥ.tyw</i>	<i>ptpt</i>	x+2	1
<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>bš.t.yw</i>	x+2	1
Fenkhau	<i>Fnhw</i>	<i>t3.w</i>	x+3	1
<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>ḥ3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.w(t)</i>	x+3	1
Horns of the Earth	<i>Wp-t3</i>	<i>t3š=f rs.y r</i>	x+3	1
Ends of the Earth	<i>ph.w-t3</i>	<i>mḥ.ty=f r</i>	x+4	1
Fenkhau	<i>Fnhw</i>	<i>i3b.ty=f r šn-wr</i>	x+4	1
Nine Bows	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	<i>ḥb3</i>	x+5	1
Cedar	<i>ʕš</i>	<i>m3ʕ tp(.yw) Htyw</i>	x+10	1

Table 8.2 A comparison between the groups and products in [18.06.09].

Type	Term	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Movement (proactive)	<i>sm3(.w)</i>	to kill	[the king]	<i>rs.yw</i>	x+3	1
	<i>ptpt</i>	to trample	[the king]	<i>mḥ.tyw</i>	x+3	1
Abstract	-	-	-	-	-	-
Emotion	-	-	-	-	-	-
Physical	<i>hmhm.t</i>	war cry	[the king]	<i>m t3.w Fnhw</i>	x+3	1
	<i>kd</i>	to build	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>n=f (Amun)</i>	x+9	1
	<i>sʕhʕ.n</i>	to (cause) to erect	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>n=f (Amun)</i>	x+9	1
	<i>swʕb.n</i>	to consecrate	<i>=i</i>	<i>n=f (Amun)</i>	x+11	1
	<i>šʕd</i>	to cut	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>sw</i>	x+12	1
	<i>km3(.w)</i>	to create	[the king]	<i>sw</i>	x+16	1

Table 8.3 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor in [18.06.09].

The hierarchical importance of the king in the text is cemented through the use of the phrase “My Majesty” (*hm=i*), while the use of the third-person perspective in the narration implies a narrator is mediating the information and has a distancing effect. This provides a more objective and seemingly neutral depiction of the king. He is described as a ruler of violent action whose perception of success is based on his ability to dominate and control foreign lands (see Table 8.3).³⁵ Here, the king is also given additional attributes, including “great of flame” (*ʕ3 nsr.t*) and “great of powers” (*wr b3.w*). The second facet of kingship, personal piety, is

³³ Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis*, 119.

³⁴ Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 59-60.

³⁵ Donald B. Redford, “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden and New York, 1995), 161.

featured in the building works of the king, of which, once again, foreign products are utilised: cedar of *Htyw*.³⁶

In sum, though this stela from Temple J lacks an absolute date, it is still of interest in the current study. It is of great import specifically because the characterisation of the king adheres to the same fundamental principles expressed in other documents from the reign of Thutmose III. In relation to the “other”, almost identical deeds are encountered, including violent actions, displays of strength, and demonstrations of piety. However, it is curious that this stela does not contain any specific events as the texts discussed so far from the reign of Thutmose III show a distinct preoccupation with the Battle of Megiddo. On the other hand, by choosing not to detail the historical past, the inscription on the stela can encapsulate *general concepts* of Egyptian history and traditions (canon). This generality and corresponding vagueness ensure that the content of the inscription can be applied to various eras of Egyptian history and still have the same meaning. This technique ensures that the message of the inscription has a continued relevance and *applicability* for generations to come.³⁷

8.2 The Monumental Inscriptions

Thutmose III thanking Amun on Exterior Wall of the Akhmenu

The southern exterior wall of the Akhmenu contains a lengthy inscription of Thutmose III thanking Amun for his victory at Megiddo [18.06.10].³⁸ Of the 103 lines that are preserved, the inscription is religious in nature through highlighting the piety of Thutmose III to his god, Amun. This is achieved through the dedication of the numerous goods that the king acquired on his campaigns in Retenu to the temple, together with the creation of a new Festival Calendar with lists of offerings. The inscription begins with the titulary of the king, a visit to Karnak, followed by the opening of the festivals. After this prologue, the text appears to be summarising the Battle of Megiddo:

(...) (7) *r im.tw dw.w D3hy* /// /// /// (...) (7) between the mountains of Djahy /// /// ///

³⁶ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 148-149.

³⁷ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 152.

³⁸ PM II², 126 (462); Helck, *Urk. IV*, 1251-1275 (371); Helck, *Übersetzung*, 16-24 (371); Alan Gardiner, “Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun”, *JEA* 38 (1952), 6-23, pls. ii-ix; Barbara Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, vol. I (Warminster, 1982), 11-17 (371); S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten: Gesammelt und bearbeitet* (Wiesbaden, 1950), 947, Tab. 16.

- [*ḥḥ.n dd.n ḥm=i*] (8) *n smr.w imy-ḥt=i* [stood up in order for His Majesty to say] (8) to
 /// /// /// the companions who were in my following /// ///
 ///
- (9) *iyi.n r ḥ3s.t=tn ḥr p3 [wr m-ḥ(.w)]=k* (9) came to your land. Now this [prince, be]hold,
sw m k3pw ḥḥ[.n] /// /// /// he was in hiding. Then /// /// ///
- (10) *ḥr=s wr.t dd ḥm=i ḥr=s[n] ḥḥ mri.y* (10) upon it greatly. My Majesty said to the[m],
n]=i Rḥ.w ḥs.w=i it=i [Imn.w] /// /// /// as Re [lives and loves for] me, as my father,
 [Amun] praises me /// /// ///
- (11) *wrry.t šsp.n=i* /// *ḥni.kwi ḥr* /// /// /// (11) chariot. I took /// alighting in /// /// /// (...)
- (12) *m skw mḥ.n(=i) [3ḥ.t m st.wt] wbn=i* (12) with troops. I filled [arable land with rays]
wth.n=sn /// /// /// (...) of my rising. They fled /// /// /// (...)
- (17) (...) *wn.in ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t n.t phw.w* (17) (...) Then came all *ḥ3s.wt* of the ends of the
t3 ḥr iyi.t m ks.w [n b3.w n.y ḥm=i earth, bowing down [because of the powers of my
 Majesty,]
- [*r*] *dbḥ [t3w n.y ḥḥ]*³⁹ /// /// /// [in order] to beg for the [breath of life] /// /// ///
- (18) *ḥm=i ḥr phr(.n) n=sn* (18) My Majesty turned to them
m-ḥt sḏm=i sp ḥ3 m s3 [n ḥm=i] ḥft /// after I had heard many occasions of praying [for
 /// /// my Majesty] /// /// ///
- (19) *ḥrp=n n=f b3k=n nb [mi] <n>d.t* (19) “We offer to him all our work produce [like]
nb.t n.t ḥm=f(...) all servants of His Majesty.” (...)

Though the text has been damaged in places, the context of the battle is implied through the references to Djahy, the chariot (*wrry.t*), and troops (*skw*). The aftermath is also touched upon, in which the *ḥ3s.wt* are described as offering *b3k* to His Majesty. As a whole, it would appear that Thutmose III is detailing a condensed version of the Battle of Megiddo to achieve a special effect, namely, to place greater emphasis and value associated with the products that he later bestows upon his god, Amun. Although the text is fragmentary, it is notable that the characterisation of the foreigners adheres to their depiction in other texts, namely, they are weak through “begging” (*dbḥ*) and “fleeing” (*wth*), and they are also represented undertaking physical demonstrations of respect, namely, “bowing” from the waist (*ksw*) and offering products to the Egyptian king.

³⁹ Similar statements regarding the aftermath of the Battle of Megiddo can be found in the Annals [18.06.01], lines 94-95, and is yet another suggestion of intertextuality between the texts at Karnak.

The inscription subsequently lists precious goods and materials that were brought to Egypt as a result of the Battle of Megiddo. In fact, the text implies that a statue, perhaps even the cult statue, was embellished with raw materials sourced from the *ḥ3s.wt*:

(...) (83)⁴⁰ *Imn.w* /// /// [*m ʕš*] *m3ʕ n.y tp-* (...) (83) Amun /// /// [in] real [cedar] from the
Ḥtyw b3k m /// /// /// [*b3k m*] *nbw n ḥ3s.[wt* best of the terraces, worked in /// /// /// [worked
nb.(w)t r iri.t (84) *hn[.ty=f im=f ḥb.w=f* in] *nbw-gold* from [all] *ḥ3s.[wt]* for the making
nb.w] [*kd].n=i pr.w n nb=f m inr* /// /// /// (84) his stat[ue therein for all his festivals]. I
(...) [built] a house for his lord in stone /// /// /// (...)

Overall, it is evident that foreign materials could embellish and be used across all facets of the temple, from flag-masts, doors, and even statues. It was a tangible declaration of Egypt's domination over the known-world, uniting *isfet* with *maat*, and the king's piety to his god. Accordingly, the depiction of foreigners of this victory inscription from the Akhmenu reiterates numerous themes found in the Annals. However, as it is a text praising the god (encomium) and thanking Amun for the victories, the focus naturally lies more on the application of these materials at Karnak rather than Thutmose III's military achievements.

The Obelisks before the Seventh Pylon

The two obelisks originally erected before the south face of the Seventh Pylon reflect upon Thutmose III's military successes abroad. The western obelisk is now located at Istanbul's Hippodrome and is known by the appellation of "the Obelisk of Theodosius", the Roman emperor who relocated the monument from Alexandria to Constantinople [18.06.11].⁴¹ It is currently preserved to a height of 20 metres, though a section of unknown dimensions is missing.⁴² The inscription, through the use of titulary, commemorates the crossing of the Euphrates in Naharin, and accordingly, the obelisk is believed to have been erected in Year 33, after Thutmose III's eighth campaign to the northern Levant.⁴³

⁴⁰ Helck accidentally repeats the line 82, so the remainder of the lines have been fixed accordingly. As such, what is line 83 in Helck is line 82, and so forth. Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1268 (371).

⁴¹ PM VII, 400; LD III, pl. 60; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 586-9 (187); Laskowski, "Monumental Architecture", *Thutmose III*, 183-237; Breasted, "Obelisks of Thutmosis III", *AZ* 39 (1901), 56-7, pl. iii (1); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 253; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 145-151; Anthony J. Spalinger, "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia", *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37-38.

⁴² Habachi, *The Obelisks of Ancient Egypt*, 145.

⁴³ Habachi, *The Obelisks of Ancient Egypt*, 145-147.

East Side:

(...) (*Mn-hpr-R^c.w-tit-R^c.w*)| *nb* (...) (Menkheperre, the-image-of-Re)|, Lord of
*nht w^cf(.w) t3 nb*⁴⁴ Victory, who subdues every flat land,
iri(.w) t3š=f r wp.t t3 hnm.wt r who makes his boundary as far as the Horns of the
Nhrn /// /// /// Earth, and the marshes as far as Naharin /// /// ///

West Side:

(...) (*Mn-hpr-R^c.w-iri.n-R^c.w*)| (...) (Menkheperre, made-by-Re)|,
*d3i(.w) phr-wr*⁴⁵ *Nhrn* who crossed the Euphrates River of Naharin, with
m kn.t m nht r h3.t [mš^c.]w=f valour and victory at the head of his [army],
iri(.w) h3y.t ʕ3.t /// /// /// who makes a great slaughter (among them) /// /// ///

This titulary of Thutmose III alludes to the king's activities in foreign lands, particularly in connection with his prenomen. The verbs utilised in the sequences denote proactive deeds through perfective participles that express physical action and imply warfare. The first epithet on the eastern face refers to the “subduing” (*w^cf*) of the flat lands. This is directly followed by another phrase that states the king has established his new frontiers at the “Horns of the Earth” and the “marshes” (*hnm.wt*) of Naharin.⁴⁶ The geographical expressions used here are yet another example of using phrases with variable or fluid meaning, thus ensuring that the text remains relevant for generations *despite* the essential understanding of the borders changing.⁴⁷ As a whole, the titulary on the east face has connotations of the physical superiority of the Egyptian king together with a statement of his imperialistic focus on the expansion of borders.

The second reference is found on the western face of the obelisk. However, instead of the vague phrases denoting boundaries, the king is more specific: he crossed the Euphrates of Naharin (*d3i(.w) phr-wr Nhrn*). As water presents a natural border between the northern Levant and Naharin, Thutmose III is expressing the unprecedented: he travelled so far north that he was able to cross the great river and move into uncharted territory for the Egyptians.⁴⁸ The military context is established through the use of the phrase *m kn.t m nht* (“in bravery and in strength”) together with the making of a “great slaughter” (*h3y.t ʕ3.t*), presumably amongst the

⁴⁴ This is very similar to the titulary of Thutmose I on his obelisk of the Wadjet Hall, where the king “*iti(.w) ʔ3.w nb(.w)*”. See [18.03.01].

⁴⁵ This term is unique to the reign of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Spalinger, “A New Reference”, *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37.

⁴⁶ The “Horns of the Earth” is known to have designated a southern boundary from the reign of Thutmose I. Spalinger, “A New Reference”, *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37.

⁴⁷ Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 59-60.

⁴⁸ Spalinger, “A New Reference”, *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37.

foreign peoples who resided in that region. Accordingly, the king is embodying traditional values of bravery, might, and victory against foreign peoples. It is important to note, however, that there is a change in the context; it is not a depiction of a king *protecting* Egypt, but of a king who is proactive by expanding his reach and by implication his empire, namely, being *imperialistic*. As a consequence, in regard to Thutmose III's presentation of his own identity, it is transparent that he presented himself, and wished to be perceived as, a warrior king.

Another obelisk fragment that was discovered before the south-face of the Seventh Pylon and appears to be the remains of the western obelisk today in Istanbul, also mentions foreign regions [18.06.12].⁴⁹ It refers to another northern land, namely, Mitanni:

<p><i>iri ḥ3y.t ʕ3.t m t3.w dī Mtn ʕš3.w r</i> <i>šʕy nn dr=ʕ=s s3 Rʕ.w (Dḥwty-</i> <i>msiw-ḥk3-M3ʕ.t) (...)</i></p>	<p>... [the one who] made a great heap of corpses in the flat lands of the Mitanni, (they being) more numerous than the sand, without its (the heap's) end, the Son of Re, (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Maat) (...)</p>
---	--

The inscription mentions “making” in a summarising manner, detailing a “great heap of corpses” followed by a comparative metaphor, “(they i.e. the corpses being) more numerous than the sand”. For a country known for its deserts beyond the fertile Nile, this metaphor is effective in expressing the large quantity of slaughtered enemies. Though the rest of this obelisk inscription remains elusive, this fragment would suggest that the entire text in its original form would have contained significant references to foreign lands and may have evoked an image of Thutmose III's identity through his deeds against foreign peoples and their subsequent acquiesce to his rule.

Le Texte de la Jeunesse

An additional monumental inscription is known as *le Texte de la Jeunesse* [18.06.13].⁵⁰ This text contains about 48 lines and is located on the meridional walls south of the bark shrine,

⁴⁹ Personal communication from Luc Gabolde, who will be publishing an article on this discovery. PM II², 171 (L); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 589 (188); Burkhardt et al., *Übersetzung*, 154 (188).

⁵⁰ KIU 944; PM II², 106 (328); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 155-76 (no. 64); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 75-83; Mariette, *Karnak*, 48-49, pl. 14-16; Legrain, “Mémoire sur la porte située au sud de l'avant-sanctuaire à Karnak et sur son arche fortuite”, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 227; Labib Habachi, “Devotion of Tuthmosis III to his predecessors: a propos a meeting of Sesotris I with his Courtiers”, in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar I* (Cairo, 1985), 349-359; Blyth, *Karnak*, 82 (fig. 6.2); Schwaller de Lubiez, *Karnak*, 168-170; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 55-68; Barguet, *Temple*, 128-9, no. 3; Lacau, “L'or dans l'architecture égyptienne”, *ASAE* 53 (1956), 227-9; Larché, “Nouvelles observations”, *Karnak* 12 (2007),

facing south. The text has been dated towards the end of the reign of Thutmose III after Year 42 and is retrospective in nature, beginning with an episode of Thutmose as a child in the Temple of Karnak.⁵¹ In this story, Thutmose recounts his selection to be king through a divine oracle, namely, he encounters the bark of Amun while it is on procession in the temple, which stops before the young Thutmose and “bows”. Following this, Thutmose is led to the “Station of the King” and is effectively pronounced as the next legitimate ruler of Egypt. The latter half of the text lists the deeds of Thutmose III, including his various victories, the gifts that he bestowed, and the changes he brought to the temple.

(...) (15) /// /// /// <i>di.n=f[iwi.t] [h3s].wt</i>	(...) (15) /// /// /// he caused that all [<i>h3s</i>].wt
<i>nb.(w)t</i>	[should come],
<i>m ksw n b3.w hm=i</i>	bowing because of my Majesty’s power.
<i>hry.t=i m ib.w psd.t pd.wt</i>	My terror is in the hearts of the Nine Bows,
<i>t3.w nb.w hr.(y)w tb.ty(=i)</i>	all flat lands were under (my) sandals,
<i>di.n=f nht m r(3)-.wy=i</i>	he having given victory to my two arms,
<i>r swsh (16) [t3š.w Km.t]</i>	in order to widen (16) [the borders of Egypt]
/// /// /// (...)	/// /// /// (...)

This extract has combined the campaigns and deeds of Thutmose III into generalised statements through the combination of “all” and the metaphoric expression of the Nine Bows (see Table 8.4). Three modes of encounters with foreign peoples are thus denoted: respect and acknowledgement of Egyptian authority (“bowing”: *ksw*), “fear” (*hry.t*) as a control mechanism, and physical demonstrations of control through warfare or conflict through the metaphor *hr.(y)w tb.ty(=i)*. Furthermore, these modes of encounter vary depending upon the group: the *h3s.wt* bow, the Nine Bows fear, and the Egyptian king controls the flat lands. This indicates that the Egyptians utilised specific terms in a nuanced manner to demonstrate the types of contact that they had with foreign lands. The texts can thus provide a spectrum of expected behaviours towards the Egyptian king and the values that were prized: respect, to be feared, and physical strength.

In line 38 and following, the text explores another by-product of contact with foreign lands:

pl. III; Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde, “Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès de la «Cour du Moyen Empire»”, *Karnak 13* (2010), 151, no. 160; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 159-180; Biston-Moulin, “Remarques sur la transformation des épithètes nfr hpr.(w) dans les cartouches du nom de naissance de Thoutmosis III”, *ZÄS* 139:1 (2012), 20, 26; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 395 (KIU 944).

⁵¹ Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 159.

(38) (...) <i>iw grt rdi.n hm=i 3h.t</i> (39) [<i>s</i>]t3.t	(38) (...) My Majesty furthermore gave land
1800 <i>h.wt n.t htp(.w)-ntr w.w s3 m sm</i>	1800 stat to be farm land of divine
<i>mh.w /// /// /// grg(.w) m mr.wt</i>	offerings, many regions in the south and north
	/// /// /// supplied with servants.
<i>mh.n=i sw m h[3k.t]=i m h3s.wt rs(y.w)t</i>	I filled it with my ca[ptives] from the southern
<i>mht(y.w)t</i>	and northern <i>h3s.wt</i> ,
<i>m ms(w.w) (40) wr.w n.w Rtnw</i>	being child(ren) (40) of the chiefs of Retenu,
<i>ms(w.w) [wr.w] n.w Hn.t-hn-nfr</i>	and child(ren) of [the chiefs] of
	Khenthennefer,
<i>mi wd(w).tn it=i [Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy] (...)</i>	as commanded by my father, [Amun, Lord of
	Thrones of the Two Lands] (...)

This extract is explicit regarding how captives taken in war as “plunder” (*h3k*) were used, namely, as workers in the temple estates of Amun. Not only are these captives from both the north (Retenu) and the south (Khenthennefer), but they are designated as the children of the chiefs (*ms(w.w) wr.w*) of the aforementioned regions. This is another control mechanism, separate and distinctly different from “fear”, a technique of which is also found in the Annals (see [18.06.03], line 10). It appears to be an effective strategy that would ensure these other lands would not rebel against Egyptian control in order to protect their children. It also indicates that it was a strategy with universal applications, as there is no differentiation between Retenu and Khenthennefer (see Table 8.4). This infers that both of these regions were on the same hierarchical level from an Egyptian perspective, despite examples distinguishing between the Egyptian’s actions towards foreign lands in other texts.

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>h3s.wt</i>	[<i>h3s</i>].wt	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	15, 17, 24, C	4
Nine Bows	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	<i>hr.yt=i m ib.w</i>	15	1
Cedar	[<i>s</i>]	<i>n.y Hnty-s</i>	34	1
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>rs(y.w)t mht(y.w)t</i>	39	1
Chiefs of Retenu	<i>wr.w</i>	<i>n.w Rtnw</i>	40	1
Children of the Chiefs of Khenthennefer	<i>ms(w.w) [wr.w]</i>	<i>n.w Hn.t-hn-nfr</i>	40	1

Table 8.4 A comparison between the groups and products in [18.06.13].

In sum, the *le Texte de la Jeunesse* details Thutmose III’s divine selection to be king together with the deeds of his reign. The references to *h3s.wt* are well-integrated into the inscription, and thus the outside world is shown as being fundamental to Thutmose III’s kingship from the

very beginning. It further features stereotypical references to foreigners (*topos*), in which they are seen to be included within the inherited domain of Egyptian kingship. On a *mimesis*, though perhaps more general, level the text also touches on the benefits on interactions with foreign lands through the use of foreign products and foreign peoples within the temple domain.

The Doorway of the Seventh Pylon

On the eastern side of the doorway of the Seventh Pylon, a long inscription is preserved which contains a range of stereotypical and mimetic references to foreign peoples [18.06.14].⁵² Within this text, Thutmose III reiterates his desire to establish splendid monuments for his father, Amun, together with a list of the deeds of the king in various foreign lands:

- (6) (...) [*d3.w hm=f r*] *Rtnw r dr h3s.wt* (6) (...) [His Majesty moved to] Retenu, in order
mh.ty m wd.yt=f tp.(y)t n.t nht to subdue the northern *h3s.wt* on his first
campaign of victory,
hft wd.n (it)=f Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt as commanded by his (father), Amun-Re, Lord of
t3.wy Thrones of the Two Lands.
sšm=f mnḥ rd[i.n=f n]t-^c m nb h3s.wt He led excellently, [he execu]ted the [ta]sk in all
nb.(w)t psd.t pd.wt dm3(.w) hr [tb.ty=f] *h3s.wt*. The Nine Bows were bound under [his
sandals]
(7) */// /// /// nb.t n /// /// /// [h]trw.w=sn* (7) */// /// /// all in /// /// /// their [ho]rses /// /// /// I*
m /// /// /// iri.n=i h3y.t [^c3.t im=sn] /// made a [great] slaughter [among them] */// /// ///*
/// /// rdī.w m hnt n.t kd.t=sn šnw hr=s made in a prison of their construction, a ring lay
around it as a solid wall.
hm=i hmsi hr=s mi m3i hr rs.kwi hr=s My Majesty sat upon it like a lion making ready.
grḥ [mi r^c.w] I watched them at night [like by day]
(8) */// /// /// [is]t wr.w nb.w n.w* (8) */// /// /// all the chiefs of your h3s.wt come to*
h3s.wt=tn iwi.w r ^ch3 n [hm=f] /// /// /// fight for [His Majesty] */// /// ///*
ist ini.n hm=i hm.wt n.t hr.w pf hn^c My Majesty brought the women of that enemy
ms.w hn^c hm.wt n.t wr.w wn.nw [hn^c=f] with the children and with the women of the
[hn]^c ms.w [nb.w]

⁵² PM II², 169-170 (498c); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 178-191 (66); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 85-89; Legrain, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 25 septembre au 31 octobre 1901", *ASAE* 2 (1901), 274-9; Legrain, "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", *ASAE* 4 (1903), 9, pl. 3; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 6008, 10160; Barguet, *Temple*, 271; Nims, "Places About Thebes", *JNES* 14 (1955), 122 (fig. 1).

	chiefs who had been [with him], [wi]th all the children.
ḥ[ḥ].n rḏi.n ḥm=i n3 n.y ḥm[.wt ḥnḥ] (9)	Then my Majesty placed these women [with] (9)
[n3 n.y ms.w r šnḥ it=f'Imn.w r mr.wt]	[these children to the labour establishment of his
/// /// ///	father Amun to be servants] /// /// ///
[hrp.tw] b3k.w=sn r ḥw.t-ntr n.t Imn.w	Their works [are presented] to the temple of
iw grt wḏ.n ḥm=i /// /// ///	Amun. My Majesty further commanded /// /// ///
[iw grt rḏi.n ḥm=i dmi.w n it=i Imn.w	[My Majesty further gave the towns to my father,
iniw Ngs rn n.y wḥ Ynḥm ʿ3 rn n.y ky	Amun, Neges is the name of one, Yanamu is the
Ḥrnkr] rn n.y ky	name of another, Hulkur] is the name of (yet)
	another.
hrp.tw b3k.w=sn r ḥw.t-ntr n.t it=i	Their works are presented to the temple of my
Imn.w m ḥtr r tnw rnp.t	father, Amun, every year as a tax.
ist ḥ3k.n ḥm=i n3 n.y ḥm.wt n.t ḥrw n.y	My Majesty captured these women of the enemy
Ḳdšw /// ///	of Kadesh /// ///
(10) /// /// i[t]=f'Imn.w ḥtr(.w) m b3k	(10) /// /// my fat[her], Amun, was provided
n.y hr.t rnp.t (...)	with annual work produce (...)
(11) (...) ist iri.n ḥm=i sp n.y nḥt m	(11) (...) My Majesty made a deed of victory with
ḥpš=i ḏs=i m -3b [nn ḥ3s.tyw] /// ///	my own strong arm, in the midst of [these ḥ3s.tyw]
pri.n=i ḥr t3 ḥr.kwi r=s ib=i wsr	/// /// I went forth upon the land, I set down
	against it, my heart being strong.
wn.in=sn ḥr /// /// ḥr ḥ3.t [ḥm=i	Then they /// /// before [my Majesty. The]n
wn.i]n niw.wt=sn ḥ3k[.w] (...)	their cities were plundered (...)
(...) (12) m in.w nb n(.wt) ḥ3s.wt	(...) (12) with all the gifts of the northern ḥ3s.wt
mḥ.y(w)t ḥft iyi.t ḥm=i ḥr ḥ3s.t=tn (...)	when my Majesty came back from your ḥ3s.t. (...)

This excerpt details the aftermath of Thutmose III's victory in Retenu, namely, the same events of the Battle of Megiddo discussed in [18.06.01]. There is a shift in direct speech within the text, from second-person for general statements to third-person for the discussion of events, thus effecting distancing as the text itself progresses into the battle with a narrator. Within a few short lines, the text summarises the premise for the fight, the battle and siege itself, the taking of prisoners of war, and the dedication of the plunder acquired in the Temple of Amun.

The ḥ3s.wt of the north are presented as the object of Thutmose III's actions, being “subdued” (*dr*), “slaughtered” (*ḥ3yt*), and “imprisoned” within their town (*rḏi.w m ḥnt n.t ḳd.t=sn*). A

section of the text is missing, during which the end of the siege must be recounted, and the inscription resumes during the collection of women and children of the enemy as servants to work on the temple estates. The foreigners are thus defeated, ineffective, and the people emotionally closest to the leaders of the enemy (their women and children) have become the property of the Egyptian king.

Type	Term	Translation	Subject	Object	Line	No.
Movement (reactive)	<i>dr</i>	to subdue	[king]	<i>h3s.wt</i>	6	1
Movement (proactive)	<i>sšm</i>	to lead	= <i>f</i>	<i>mnh</i>	6	1
	<i>ini</i>	to bring	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>hm.wt n.t hr.w pf</i>	8	1
	<i>h3k</i>	to capture	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>hm.wt n.t hrw n.y Kdšw</i>	9	1
	<i>swsh</i>	to (cause) to widen	[king]	<i>t3š=sn</i>	10	1
	<i>pri</i>	to go forth	= <i>f</i>	<i>hr t3</i>	11	1
	<i>h3k</i>	to plunder	[king]	<i>niw.wt=sn</i>	11	1
Abstract	[<i>°k</i>]	to enter	<i>hm=f</i>	<i>w n.y Kdn</i>	15	1
	<i>rđi</i>	to place	= <i>f</i>	<i>nt-°</i>	6	1
	<i>dm3</i>	to bind	[king]	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	6	1
	<i>šnw</i>	to enclose	[king]	<i>hr=s</i>	7	1
	<i>rđi</i>	to place	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>hm[.wt]</i>	8	1
	<i>wđ</i>	to command	<i>hm=i</i>	[lost]	9	1
Physical	<i>iri</i>	to make	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>sp n.y nht</i>	11	1
	<i>h3yt</i>	to slaughter	= <i>i</i>	<i>im=sn</i>	7	1
	<i>hmsi</i>	to sit	<i>hm=i</i>	<i>hr=s</i>	7	1

Table 8.5 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor, Thutmose III in [18.06.14].

Throughout the inscription, the king is the actor and protagonist. His agency and deeds ensure the defeat of the foreigners, and he is the one who controls all forces considered a threat, as expressed by the metaphor: “the Nine Bows were bound under [his sandals]”. Grammatically, the king’s deeds are presented in the active voice, and he is the one who “captures” and “plunders” (*h3k*), who is “victorious” (*nht*), “strong of arm” (*hps*), who “commands” (*wđ*), and is “strong” (*ph.ty*) (see Table 8.5). Thutmose III is further described as predator through the literary device of simile: “My Majesty sitting upon it like a lion making ready”. This manages to intimate the extreme patience of a lion when it is hunting, as they are famously ambush predators who surprise their prey rather than chasing them.⁵³ This reinforces the perception of the tactical prowess of Thutmose III and assists in explaining the success of his numerous campaigns.

⁵³ Fred D. Singer, *Ecology in Action* (Cambridge, 2016), 362.

The North Wing of the Sixth Pylon

Finally, a lengthy inscription is found on the western side of the north wing of the Sixth Pylon depicting Thutmose III before Amun [18.06.15].⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the inscription does have significant lacunae and the better-preserved section is recorded below:

B. Speech of the King

- (...) (2) [*hft iyi.t hm=i m wdy.t tp.t n.t nht*] (...) (2) [My Majesty came afterwards from the
/// /// /// first campaign of victory] /// /// ///
[*hr dr bš.tw hr=i m*] *t3.w Fnḥw wn.w w3 r* [upon subduing the rebellion against me in] the
tkk tš.w=i flat lands of the Fenhkhou, far from my borders
that were violated.
- (3) /// /// /// [*tsw*].*n=f sk.w r msdyt hm=i* (3) /// /// /// he [commanded] the troops for that
hr.in=sn hr hr.w=sn which is hateful for my Majesty. Then they fell
upon their faces.
- (4) /// /// /// [*dmi*] *n.y Mkti ḥḥ.n inh.w.n st* (4) /// /// /// the [town] of Megiddo. Then, my
hm=i m sb.ty swmt.w Majesty enclosed it in the thick walls
- (5) /// /// /// *n tpr.n=sn t3w n.y ḥḥ šn.wtw* (5) /// /// /// they did not breathe the breath of
m hn.t n.w kd.w=sn life, encircling the prison which was their
fortress.
- (6) /// /// /// [*wn.in ḥ3m*].*w n.w ḥ3s.wt* (6) /// /// /// [then the Asiat]ics of all the *ḥ3s.wt*
nb.(w)t iyi.y m w3ḥ-tp m ksw.w n b3.w came in with heads bowed, bowing because of
hm=i the powers of my Majesty.
- (7) /// /// /// *wn.in nn n.y ḥ3s.tyw n3.w m* (7) /// /// /// then these *ḥ3s.tyw* in feeble Megiddo
Mkti ḥs.(y)t
- (8) [*iyi.y*] /// /// /// [*r dbḥ ḥtp.w hr hm=i dd*] (8) [were coming] /// /// /// [in order to beg for
hr=sn] peace from my Majesty. They saying:]
[*ind-ḥr=k nsu ity*] *wr b3.w (Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ.w)* [“Hail to you, king and sovereign], great of
[*s3 Imn.w*] powers, (Menkheperre)] [the son of Amun],

⁵⁴ KIU 4912; PM II², 88 (234); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 757-763 (210 A and B); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5386-7, 8415-16, 8421, 8589; Dümichen, *Altaegyptische Kalenderinschriften*, pl. xl; Johannes Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler: in den Jahren 1863-1865 an Ort und Stelle gesammelt und mit erläuterndem Text*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1869), 38a; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408 (KIU 4912).

im sp=n hrp=n n hm=k b3k.w=n (9) [*r* give us deeds, we making offerings for your
pr.w-hd=k] /// /// /// (...) Majesty our work produce (9) [for your
treasury] /// /// /// (...)

The text is similar to the Annals [18.06.01-18.06.05] and the inscription on the Seventh Pylon [18.06.14], in that it lists various victories, specifically the Battle of Megiddo. The text is structured in order to justify the conflict, like the Annals. For example, in line 2, the reconstructed text mentions that a rebellion occurred, and the preserved text supplements this with a statement about the “violation” of the borders (*tkk*). Just as the maintaining or expansion of the borders was integral to the duties of kingship, the *violation* of the borders by foreign lands was perceived as a negative occurrence and on par with the influx of *isfet*.

The passage then details conflict in other regions, with a particular focus on Megiddo and the subsequent Egyptian victory. Notably, the Asiatics “bow their heads” (*w3h-tp*) after they are defeated. This reveals that this phrase expressing the demonstration of respect to the Egyptians can occur in the context of a military encounter: it is not limited to diplomatic exchanges in amicable meetings. Also, it appears to be a *reactive* gesture: they bow their heads “because of the powers of my Majesty”. A more nuanced understanding of the term would suggest that it can be used in varying contexts not only as a sign of respect but as an acknowledgement of the authority of the addressee. The inscription then focuses on the positive outcomes of the conflict: offerings and work products are brought to the temple back in Karnak. Overall, this inscription reiterates the image of the warrior king suppressing those who violate his borders, and in other words, the rise of chaotic forces, and the safeguarding of peace through the establishment of *in.w*- and *b3k.w*-relationships.

8.3 Observations and Spatial Distribution of the Stele and Monumental Inscriptions in the Reign of Thutmose III

These ten inscriptions from the reign of Thutmose III are varied regarding the medium on which they are written, from stele, obelisks, and large wall inscriptions (see Table 8.6 for an overview). For the most part, these longer inscriptions can be characterised as *encomia*, namely, monumental texts panegyrising the king and justifying military conflict with Egypt’s neighbours. Separate from the Annals, they are no longer solely *mimetic* documents, but *topos*-references can be seen to filter in as events are summarised into more general deeds and values. One thematic focus is on the types of relationships that the Egyptians had with foreign lands,

namely, conflict, socio-economic transactions, and to an extent, diplomacy. The descriptions of the foreign peoples often focus on their passive nature, succumbing easily to the prowess of the Egyptian king.

Prevalent across all these documents is the deliberate characterisation of the Egyptian king in direct opposition to the ethnic “other”. It is transparent in a number of texts that interactions between the foreigners and the Egyptians were particularly essential to the forging of Thutmose III’s warrior image. The foreigners are not just an anecdote or a literary device to emphasise the qualities of the Egyptians, but here they appear to play an *indispensable role* in the presentation of Thutmose III’s identity. Through adopting the perspective of Amun in many of these texts, Thutmose III has effectively preordained his rule whilst also intimating that the gods themselves are responsible for the political and warrior ethos of the period, thus lending legitimacy to his actions and the new interpretation of the roles associated with Egyptian kingship.

In regard to the spatial distribution of these texts, they were generally placed in the more open areas of the temple (see Figs. 8.1 and 8.2). They were found on the Sixth Pylon, the Seventh Pylon, and the exterior walls of the Palace of Maat/Bark Sanctuary, and the Akhmenu. The stele were found before the Temple of Ptah, the Seventh Pylon, near Temple J, and the North Court. This pattern of placement for these texts reveals a concentration along the processional ways, and specifically, in the areas around the Annals and the Seventh Pylon. Putting aside problems of who had access to the temple,⁵⁵ the location of the inscriptions adheres to the natural flow of the movement of people throughout the sacred space. By locating the inscriptions in such a manner, the spatial distribution implies that Thutmose III wished the themes and values embodied in these texts to be disseminated beyond that of the god. However, as with the Annals, the extreme length of some of these inscriptions does preclude the ability for the content to be disseminated to those who are not deities, as once again, time and access are required to understand and communicate the content. However, in some cases such as the Poetical Stele, the “Song of Victory” does have merit to be spoken or sung via the oral tradition, so the medium and placement of the inscriptions do not necessarily occlude their ability to disseminate their content amongst the wider, human, Egyptian population.

⁵⁵ For a discussion on accessibility, see Chapter 12.3.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

◦ ◦ ◦ ◦

Figure 8.1 Spatial distribution of the stele and monumental inscriptions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III.

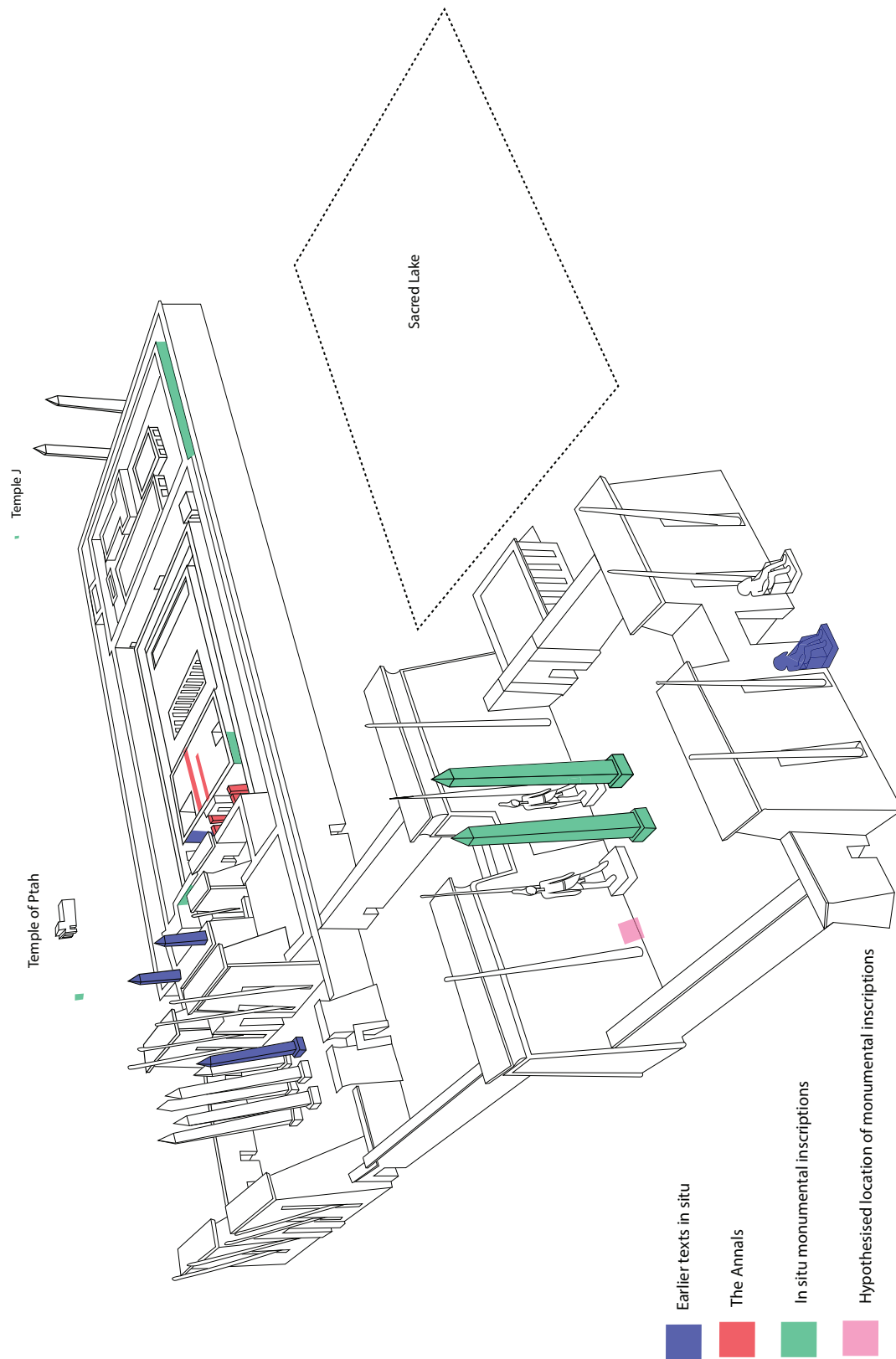


Figure 8.2 Spatial distribution of the stela and monumental inscriptions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak in the reign of Thutmose III.. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak.

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Content
18.06.06	North Court	H. 170 cm W 103 cm	Cairo 34010	Thutmose III Poetical Stele with hymn of victory.
18.06.07	Seventh Pylon, S. Face.	H 142 cm W 098 cm	Cairo 34011 (JE 36330)	Stele fragments, Thutmose III, with hymn of victory.
18.06.08	Temple of Ptah	H 144 cm W 75 cm	Cairo CG 34013	Stela referring to Asiatic Copper and other materials.
18.06.09	Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished	H 156 cm W 140 cm	in situ (?)	The remains of a stela referring <i>h3s.wt</i> and the Nine Bows.
18.06.10	Akhmenu, Exterior, S. Side	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III thanking Amun for his victory at Megiddo.
18.06.11	S. of the Seventh Pylon	H 20 m	Hippodrome, Istanbul	Obelisk of Theodosius, reference to campaigns in Naharin.
18.06.12	S. of the Seventh Pylon	unknown	in situ(?)	Obelisk fragment referring to Mitanni.
18.06.13	Central Bark Shrine	W 6.37 m D 14.08 m	in situ	Reference to the Nine Bows and the <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.14	Seventh Pylon, Doorway, E. Side	unknown	in situ	Reference to Retenu, the Nine Bows and the <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.15	Sixth Pylon, W. Side of N. Wing	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III dedicating offerings to Amun with references to the N. Levant.

Table 8.6 Overview of sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 9

The Reign of Thutmose III

Iconography

“His Majesty destroyed them
through slaughter therein,
without knowing the number”.

Line A, South-West Face of the Sixth Pylon.¹

As established in the past two chapters, the concept of the mighty and robust ruler was crucial to Thutmose III’s presentation of his own unique identity. This image was solidified through *pictorial* representations of the king smiting foreign peoples. These images dominate the pylons, and as they are in a medium (and location) arguably more accessible than monumental inscriptions such as the Annals (see Chapter 7.3), they are central to the study of Egyptian identity as contrasted with foreigners at Karnak. Accordingly, this chapter examines the depiction of foreign peoples in artistic tableaux or through symbolic motifs in twenty-five texts [18.06.16]-[18.06.41]. These include smiting scenes and the associated topographical lists (Section 9.1), statues with the nine-bow motif (Section 9.2), and smaller scenes (Section 9.3), which is coalesced into general observations at the end of the chapter (Section 9.4).

9.1 Smiting Scenes and Topographical Lists

Following the unpublished smiting scene of Amenhotep I [18.02.03], the next surviving smiting scenes at Karnak date to the reign of Thutmose III. As stated previously (Chapter 5.3), smiting scenes are a manifestation of cultural memory, preserving the continual need of the Egyptian king to present himself in the role of controlling and defeating chaotic forces.² The smiting is “re-remembered” and altered by each king to ensure the continued relevance of the motif.³ Though at this time it is unclear what the full tableau of Amenhotep I’s smiting scene looked like (namely, associated deities and inscriptions), the Thutmose III examples are combined with topographical lists formed of name rings detailing various regions and cities.

¹ See [18.06.17].

² Luiselli, “The Ancient Egyptian scene of ‘Pharaoh smiting his enemies’”, *Cultural Memory and Identity*, 10-25.

³ McCarthy, “The Function of ‘Emblematic’ Scenes”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 66.

(Place)-name rings are crenellated ovals that enclose the name of a foreign town or region, usually with the head and torso of a bound foreigner, with the arms tied behind their back.⁴ The human figures are adjoined to the oval from the torso, though the length of the exposed body varies from the waist to the clavicle upwards, and the foreigners can be joined together by a rope around their necks while the king or a deity holds the bonds.⁵ The representation of the foreigner is commonly in the form of a stereotype, with southern Levantine features for northern name rings and Nubians characteristics for southern name rings.⁶ Though it is commonly asserted that topographical lists are a record of the places visited by a ruler on campaign, these lists may also have maintained the universal cosmic order by visually depicting the suppression of the foreign regions.⁷

The following section details the smiting scenes on the Sixth and Seventh Pylons, as well as additional examples of topographical lists found throughout the temple. It should be noted that the Fifth Pylon name rings, which in the past have been attributed to the reign of Thutmose III, have been excluded on account of their iconographical features which suggests that they date to the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁸

⁴ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 38-39; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists: An Historical Resource with 'Literary' Histories", in P. J. Brand and L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden, 2009), 129-135; Laura Peirce, "Some Commentary on Name Rings: Towards a Typography", *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 105-106.

⁵ Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 38-39; Kitchen, "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists", *Causing His Name to Live*, 129-135; Peirce, "Some Commentary on Name Rings", *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 106.

⁶ Philippe Martinez, "Les listes topographiques égyptiennes: essai d'interprétation", *BSEG* 17 (1993), 78; Peirce, "Some Commentary on Name Rings", *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 105.

⁷ As argued by Simons, these lists appear to reflect a well-established tradition by the reign of Thutmose III. There is also evidence of their earlier usage with the toponyms of southern localities at the Treasury of Thutmose I at North Karnak near the precinct of Montu as well as on a stela from the reign of Senwosret I in the Middle Kingdom. There are also examples at Deir el-Bahari dating to the reign of Hatshepsut. J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), 7; Helen Jacquet-Gordon, "Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I", *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 41-46; PM II², 341 (4); Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri* VI, pl. CLII; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 315-316 (106), A 1, 2; Anne Minault-Gout, "À propos des listes des pays du sud au Nouvel Empire", in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant 2* (Cairo, 1994), 182. For the Senwosret I stela dating to Year 18, it is now in the Florence Museum 2540; PM VII, 130-131 (9); Ippolito Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e Della Nubia (Band 4, I, Atlas): Monumenti Storici* (Pisa, 1832), pl. XXV (no. 4); Martinez, "Les listes topographiques égyptiennes", *BSEG* 17 (1993), 82; Barry 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), 7-9.

⁸ Namely, those on the West Face of the Fifth Pylon. This is based on the presence of the "plant of the north detail" which is not used in representations of name rings until the reign of Amenhotep III. See Peirce, "Some Commentary on Name Rings", *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 130; For the name rings on the Fifth Pylon: PM II², 85 (217) and (219); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 27 (b-c); Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 40-41 (iv), 46 (vii), 126, 130; Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1336-1337 (386).

Sixth Pylon

On the north-west face of the Sixth Pylon, there are the remains of a smiting scene with five rows of northern name rings below [18.06.16] (Figs. 9.1-9.3).⁹ Though only a small portion of the smiting scene is preserved, large feet of a standing figure facing left is evident, together with at least five kneeling figures facing right, presumably captives (Fig. 9.1). The associated topographical list is in a much better state of preservation, detailing some 115 name rings from the Levant (Figs. 9.2 and 9.3).¹⁰ The line of text above the name rings reads:

(a) <i>shwy h3s.wt Rtnw hr.t</i> <i>ddh.n hm=f m dmi n.y Mkty hs.t</i>	(a) Summary of the <i>h3s.wt</i> of Upper Retenu. His Majesty having imprisoned in the town of the feeble Megiddo,
<i>ini.n hm=f ms.w=sn m skr(.w)-nh.w r dmi</i> [<i>n.y W3s.t</i>]	His Majesty having brought their children as living captives to the town [of Thebes]
(b) <i>swhn</i> ¹¹ <i>m Ip.t-Sw.t m wdy.t=f tp.yt n.t</i> <i>nh.t</i>	(b) the <i>swhn</i> at Karnak, on his campaign of victory,
<i>mi wd.n it(=f) Imn.w ssm(.w) sw r w3.wt</i> <i>nfr.wt</i>	according to what his father, Amun, had commanded, who guided him to the perfect roads.

This summary statement provides the relevant context for the entire tableau. Though the iconography and layout of the scene itself may be a cultural memory in terms of a canonised (or *topos*) “type” of representation that encapsulates Egyptian domination over the “other”, the associated *inscription* details a historical event (*mimesis*). The historical essence is communicated through the reference to Megiddo and the imprisonment of the peoples (see

⁹ KIU 3482; PM II², 88 (235); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 779-786 (216 A); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 242-246 (216 A); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 17 (a, b); Gaston Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 96 (2); Gaston Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples d’Orient classique. II: Les premières mêlées des peuples* (Paris, 1897), 261 (fig.); J. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906), 301, Abb. 103; J. Baikie, *The Story of the Pharaohs* (London, 1908), pl. xi (2); Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 28-9 (i, a), 109, 111-13; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 471 (KIU 3482).

¹⁰ Though the exact order of the building program of Thutmose III is still debated, the Sixth Pylon was erected early in the reign of the king, and as such it is possible it was decorated prior to the Seventh Pylon. Regarding the number of name rings, though listed as 116 in Sethe, there are actually only 115 as number 6 was mislabeled as 7. Blyth, *Karnak*, 77; Emmanuelle Arnaudès-Montélimard, “L’arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l’avant-porte du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 110-113; Smith, *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six at Karnak Temple*, 90-92; Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 7-13.

¹¹ This appears to be the name of an unused fortress in Thebes. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 242 (no. 2).

[18.06.01], lines 90-95). The toponyms themselves provide evidence, in the most visual way possible, for the continued pressure and expectation of the Egyptian king to expand borders.¹²

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.1 The remains of the smiting scene in [18.06.16].



Figure 9.2 The five rows of name rings below the smiting scene. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

The individuals attached to the name rings are stereotypical representations of southern Levantines. In profile, they all have a pointed full beard and hair brushed over the shoulders that is tied back with a headband.¹³ They have been represented with short torsos, from the clavicle upwards, and exposed ears. This type of representation is archaic and similar to the offering bearers in the supposed gate of Amenhotep I [18.02.01]. This “archaism” together with the repeated characteristics associated with each foreigner attached to the name ring, would have ensured instant recognition that these peoples are “other” and “un-Egyptian”.

¹² Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 79.

¹³ See Chapter 3.2.4.1.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.3 A close up of the name rings in [18.06.16].

On the south-west face of the Sixth Pylon is a list of 115 southern name rings referring to various southern localities with an associated smiting scene [18.06.17] (Figs. 9.4-9.6).¹⁴ The smiting scene is slightly better preserved than that on the northern wing [18.06.16] (Fig. 9.4). The king can be seen as the larger figure on the left and facing right, with the remains of the *shendyt*-kilt, bull's tail, and pronounced lateral peroneal muscles.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.4 The remains of the smiting scene in [18.06.17].

There are ten crouching figures on the right, with one grasping an ostrich feather, the remains of one curl presumably associated with the coiffure of a captive, a floral and angular design around the hips of another figure, and a semi-circular motif on the hem of the kilt. These

¹⁴ The number of name rings was mislabelled by Sethe, with number 6 mislabelled as number 7. KIU 3481; PM II², 88 (238); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 794-800 (218); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 22; Mariette, *Monuments*, 200-204; Maspero, "Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III", *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 99 (5); Golenishchev, "Offener Brief an Herrn Professor H. Brugsch", *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 145-148 (pl. vi); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 134, pl. 42 (upper); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 471 (KIU 3481).

features are known from representations of southerners from the Old Kingdom and may thus be classified as an archaic form of representation.¹⁵

The associated inscription further identifies the crouching figures as the “Tribesmen of Khenthennefer”:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) <i>shwy nn h3s.wt rs.ywt Twn.tyw-St.tyw</i>
 <i>n.w Hnty-hn-nfr</i>
 <i>sm3.n hm=f ir h3.yt im=sn n rh tnw</i></p> <p><i>ini hryw=sn nb.w m skr(.w)-nh.w r W3s.t</i></p> <p>(b) <i>r mh šn.w n.y it(=f) Imn.w-R.w nb</i>
 <i>ns.wt t3.wy</i>
 <i>ist h3s.wt nb.wt m nd.t n.t hm=f(...)</i></p> | <p>(a) This summary of the southern <i>h3s.wt</i>, the of the Tribesmen of Khenthennefer.</p> <p>His Majesty destroyed them, making a slaughter among them (without can be) known the number of (victims),</p> <p>all their inhabitants (of the land) being brought as living captives to Thebes</p> <p>(b) to fill a labour establishment of (his) father Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands.</p> <p>Behold, all <i>h3s.wt</i> (were/are) the serfs of His Majesty (...)</p> |
|---|--|

This statement provides the relevant context for the entire tableau and the slaughter of the southern peoples. No justification is given for the conflict itself, though the aftermath of such is stated: the slaughter and the subsequent enslavement of the foreigners to work in the labour establishments of the temple. The historical value is implied through the specific reference to the Tribesmen of Khenthennefer and the use of present perfect tenses, but the lack of additional information means that it is impossible to link this depiction to a specific event from the reign of Thutmose III. Considering the archaic nature of the representation of the southerners together with the fact that these campaigns to Nubia only occurred late in the reign of Thutmose III, one needs to raise the question of whether or not it is possible that this smiting scene was created simply to *balance* with its northern counterpart? Namely, that it is a *topos* representation with no historical foundation and is instead utilising representations of the ethnic “other” to present the king as upholding his royal duties.

¹⁵ The floral motif around the hips, a type of belt tie, is found in representations of Nubians in the pyramid complex of Sahure, as is the semicircular band design. Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negeren in Ägypten*, 4-6; Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-Re*. vol. 2.2: *Die Wandbilder: Abbildungsblätter* (Leipzig, 1913), blatt 2.

The case for such an interpretation finds support in the layout and structure of the list on the wall: they have been expanded to balance symmetrically with the northern list [18.06.16], and in many cases, the toponyms themselves have been repeated.¹⁶ Perhaps even more interesting is that the individuals attached to the rings have not been depicted as *Nubians*, which is what one would expect for a list of southern toponyms (Fig. 9.5).¹⁷ The figures instead have been depicted with southern Levantine characteristics, with a headband tying back the hair over the shoulders and not the short, round hairstyle associated with representations of Nubians.¹⁸ However, some figures do have full lips, pronounced

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.5 A close up of the name rings in [18.06.17].

nasolabial furrows, and the archaic square beards associated with southerners in the Old Kingdom.¹⁹ This indicates that the iconography was not applied neatly and that liberties were taken in the representations of the foreigners attached to the crenellated ovals.

Chamber of Kings

Another brief list of some thirty-three Levantine or northern name rings is found at the entrance of the Chamber of Kings within the Festival Temple of Thutmose III [18.06.18] (Fig. 9.6).²⁰ Located at the end of a dividing wall, the scene has been heavily damaged and significant blocks are missing from the completed list.

The name rings are similar in appearance to those discussed above. They have short torsos (from just below the clavicle upwards), long hair tied back with headbands, exposed ears, and

¹⁶ Minault-Gout, “À propos des listes des pays”, *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 2, 180-181.

¹⁷ Curiously, the other two examples of name rings from the early Eighteenth Dynasty in the reigns of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut are represented as *Nubians*. Minault-Gout, “À propos des listes des pays”, *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 2, 182-183; Peirce, “Some Commentary on Name Rings”, *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 109-111; For the Thutmose I examples: Helen Jacquet-Gordon, “Fragments of a Topographical List”, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 41-46; Jean Jacquet, “Fouilles de Karnak-Nord, cinquième campagne, 1972”, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 214. For the Hatshepsut examples: PM II², 341 (4); Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri* VI, pl. CLII; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 315-316 (106), A 1, 2; Minault-Gout, “À propos des listes des pays du sud au Nouvel Empire”, *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 2, 182.

¹⁸ Minault-Gout, “À propos des listes des pays”, *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 2, 182-183.

¹⁹ Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negern in Ägypten*, 4-6

²⁰ PM II², 112 (345); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 80-82 (fig. 14); Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 38-9 (iii), 123-124; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6528.

full beards. As a point of difference, this list makes use of an extensive amount of rope, namely, from binding the figures together by the neck to the ropes fastening the arms behind the back. The ropes also appear to be leading to a figure to the left of the scene, now lost, who presumably held the ropes in place. In sum, this list of name rings features the repeated use of characteristics associated with artistic representations of the southern Levantine-type of foreigner.

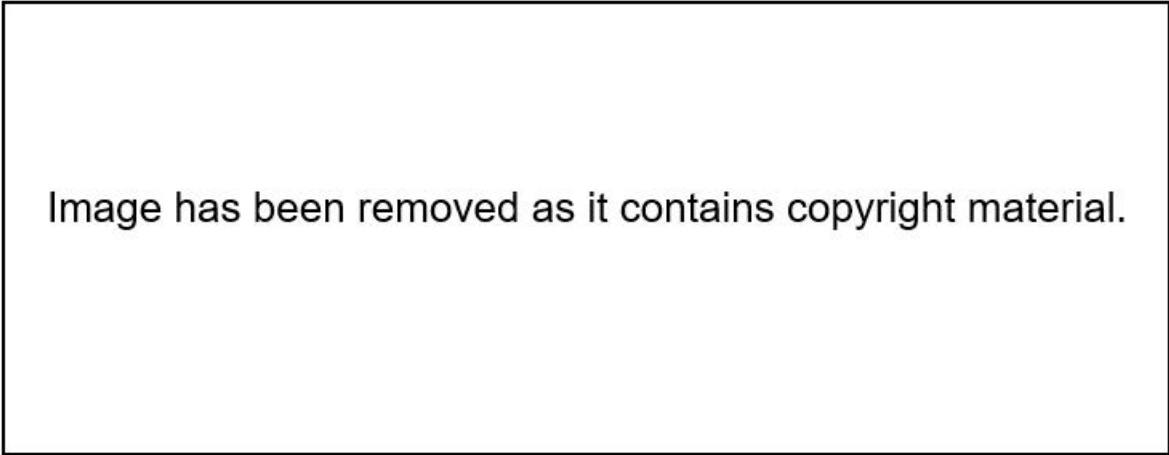


Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.6 The name rings in [18.06.18].

Seventh Pylon

The list of northern name rings engraved on the Sixth Pylon [18.06.16] is found in an expanded form on the north-east face of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.19] (Fig. 9.7).²¹ The scene includes 359 name rings with an associated smiting scene above. This smiting scene represents the king, adorned in the *shendyt*-kilt, facing left. There are fourteen captives visible and though no heads are entirely preserved, they appear to have been represented with full beards, nasolabial furrows, and open mouths.

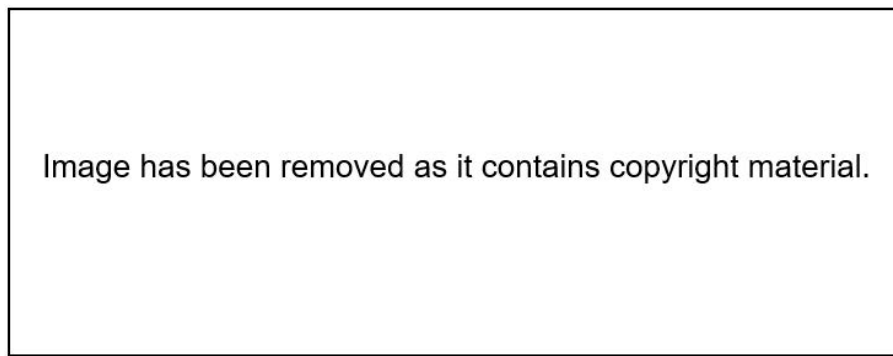


Figure 9.7 The remains of the smiting scene in [18.06.19].

The line of text below the scene suggests that these captives, specifically denoted as those of Megiddo, were brought to Karnak itself:

<i>shwy h3s.wt Rtnw hr.t</i>	Summary of the <i>h3s.wt</i> of Upper Retenu,
<i>ddh.n hm=f m dmi n.y Mkty hs.t</i>	which His Majesty imprisoned in the town
	of feeble Megiddo,
<i>ini.n hm=f ms.w=sn m skr(.w)-nh.w</i>	(and) whose children His Majesty brought
	as living captives to the town of Thebes
<i>r dmi n.y W3s.t r mh sn.w n.y it=f Imn.w [m]</i>	in order to fill a labour establishment of his
<i>Ip.t-Sw.t</i>	father Amun [in] Karnak

²¹ KIU 2106; PM II², 167 (496); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 19-21; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 781-6 (216) C; 769-794 (217); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, pl. 44-53; Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 94-96; Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 109-122; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2106).

wḏy.t=f tp.yt n.t nḥt mi wḏ.n it=f Imn.w on his first campaign of victory, according
sšm(.w) sw r w3.wt nfr.wt to what his father, Amun, had commanded,
 who guided him to the perfect roads.

This inscription is almost identical to that on the north-west face of the Sixth Pylon [18.06.16] and links the scene to the Battle of Megiddo and Thutmose III's first campaign. The repeated reference to the Battle of Megiddo communicates the awareness that this encounter was indeed a watershed moment in Egyptian history. Not only was it immortalised in the Annals and other texts, but so far *two* huge smiting scenes have likewise harked back and “re-remembered” this event. Notably, in this second pictorial representation, the number of captives has increased from ten to fourteen, thus further emphasising the superhuman strength of Thutmose III.

However, the striking characteristic of this artistic tableau is that the smiting scene only encompasses a small portion of the face of the pylon; name rings are the dominant feature organised into some eight rows, extending far to the left of the smiting scene with three rows below. These name rings have short torsos, full beards, long hair, and headbands. Accordingly, these depictions on the north-east face of the Seventh Pylon repeat many of the features found on the Sixth Pylon, from the same depictions and motifs, though on a grander scale - from a larger group of captives (ten to fourteen) to an increase in the number of name rings or toponyms (115 to 359).

The other half of this scene is found on the north-west side of the Seventh Pylon, which depicts Thutmose III smiting captives with 269 southern name rings [18.06.20] (Fig. 9.8).²² Once again, the smiting scene is not entirely preserved, though notable features can be discerned. The king is depicted on the left facing right with evident lateral peroneal muscles, the *shendyt*-kilt, and the bull's tail. The captives are less evident, though there are seven raised arms on one half of the bottom row, so it is reasonable to assume that originally fourteen figures were represented across the bottom row to balance with [18.06.19]. Finally, the remaining feature is an ostrich feather, which suggests that these captives can be identified as Nubians.

²² PM II², 167 (497); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 796-800 (218c), 801-806 (219); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 131-132, pl. 42; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne* II, 248 (fig.); Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 24-26; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum. Altaegyptische Inschriften. Sechste Abtheilung*, Band VI (Leipzig, 1991), 1552-1553; Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 97-99; Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 29-30, 111-115.

The horizontal text below has also suffered damage and does not provide further evidence for the ethnic identities of the captives:

/// /// /// [n] rh tnw in.n(=f) hrw=sn m	/// /// /// (making a slaughter among them)
skr.w- ^c nh.w	[without can be] known the number of (victims).
	(He) brought their people as living captives
r mh rw.yt n.y it=f [Imn.w] m [Ip.t-S.wt]	to fill the hall of his father, [Amun] in [Karnak].
i]st h3s.wt nb(.wt) m <n> d.t n.t hm=f	Behold, all h3s.wt are serfs of His Majesty.

Though the inscription does not identify a specific foreign group, it does reveal that the captives from the *h3s.wt* were put to work on the temple estates. The associated name rings contain toponyms of the southern regions, which assists in articulating the concept that these captives in the larger tableau are probably southerners. However, as in [18.06.17], the name rings have been depicted with short torsos, long hair, and the fillet, together with the mixing of the two beard styles, namely, short, squared beards and long full beards.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.8 The remains of the smiting scene with three rows of name rings below in [18.06.20].

The most famous of all the smiting scenes with name rings at Karnak, however, has to be the well-preserved depiction of Thutmose III smiting Asiatics on the southern face of the western

part of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.21] (Figs. 9.9-9.11).²³ This scene features Thutmose III wearing the Red Crown, false beard, collar, and *shendyt*-kilt, striking bound southern Levantine captives. Under this scene and along the right are 119 name rings in the typical form, with pointed beards, long hair, and medium-length torsos, namely, from the breast upwards rather than from the clavicle (Fig. 9.11).²⁴

Within the smiting scene itself, a variety of artistic principles have been used to articulate the superiority of the Egyptian king over the foreign captives (Fig. 9.10). The use of hierarchical proportion presents this viewpoint to the audience, with the Egyptian king, Thutmose III, almost twice as large as the captives. While he prepares to smite the group with a mace, they cower with their hands raised in submission. There are at least *forty* foreigners caught up in the king's grasp, which is yet another technique of contrasting the strength of the Egyptian king with the weak foreigners. This is a stark difference to the remains of the smiting scene on the Sixth Pylon, where only ten captives are discernible. Further, the king has an emphasised muscular physique, particularly expressed through the lateral peroneal muscles.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.9 A close up of the Asiatics in [18.06.21].

²³ KIU 2105; PM II², 170 (499); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 772-5 (212), 780-6 (216 B); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 18; Mariette, *Listes géographiques, texte*, 3, notes 1-3; Maspero, "Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III", *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 96-7; Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 29-30, 111-115; Luiselli, "The Ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies' ", *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, 16 (fig. 1.3: mistaken for Eighth Pylon); G. Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1928), 231; G. Steindorff, *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs* (Leipzig, 1900), Abb. 30; Pritchard, *ANET*, fig. 312; R. Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte* (Berlin, 1944), Abb. 217; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2105).

²⁴ It is on the basis of this change in torso length that the author has proposed a typology of name rings, where the short torsos are earlier in the reign of Thutmose III and the medium torsos are later. See Peirce, "Some Commentary on Name Rings", *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 109-111.

In regard to the depiction of the captives, particular features have been used to specifically designate their foreign and ethnic identities (Figure 9.9). Their hairstyles, beards, and headbands are set against that of the Egyptian king, and they also carry the typical duckbill axe of the southern Levant. They are adorned with headbands, long hair, long full beards, hooked noses, and necklaces with circular pendants. Some faces have been represented with prominent nasolabial furrows and open mouths.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.10 Thutmose III smiting Asiatics in [18.06.21].

The open mouths of the captives are salient. As Evans has shown, Egyptians are rarely represented with open mouths, perhaps because it was considered an animal attribute that signified “their inarticulate state”.²⁵ In contrast, foreigners *are* seen occasionally with open mouths, with some four known examples with their tongue protruding, which is a specific

²⁵ Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art*, 195.

characteristic of dying or distraught animals.²⁶ Evans suggested that “foreigners are depicted doing something in Egyptian art that otherwise animals do. The images were likely intended to show that the men are making noises like distressed animals in response to physical pain”.²⁷ The open mouths on the south face of the Seventh Pylon may, in turn, indicate that the foreigners are screaming or begging the king for their freedom, and thus, a sign of emotional and physical suffering.²⁸

The horizontal text below the scene reinforces the fact that these captives from the north were slaughtered and feeds into the notion of the distraught foreigner:

<i>t3.w nb.w št3.w n.w ph.ww Stt ini.n</i>	All flat lands, mysterious lands of the far north (in)
<i>hm=f skr.w-nh.w</i>	Asia which His Majesty brought (as) living captives,
<i>iri=f[h3]y.t ʿ3.t im=sn (...)</i>	he making a great [slaugh]ter among them (...)

Together with this caption linking the captives to the northern lands, the name rings themselves communicate the ethnic identities of the southern Levantines. The figures attached to the name rings are represented in a similar manner as the larger captives in the smiting scene, namely, with long hair, fillets, and full beards. They also have a medium length torso and arms tied behind their backs

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.11 A close up of the name rings in [18.06.21].

with the rope wrapped three to four times. Curiously, however, despite referring to the lands far north (*ph.ww*), all artistic depictions of the Levantines are in a southern Levantine manner rather than as northern Levantines. As southern Levantines are the most frequently attested and depicted in a such a manner in the Old Kingdom, it would appear that archaic representations of the Levantines have been chosen, rather than making a distinct effort to differentiate between different cultural and ethnic groups.²⁹

²⁶ Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art*, 196.

²⁷ Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art*, 196.

²⁸ Thomas Gilroy, “Outlandish outlanders: Foreigners and caricature in Egyptian art”, *GM* 191 (2002), 39.

²⁹ Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 270-271.

In sum, the famous smiting scene of Thutmose III is the best preserved of the smiting scenes from his reign and provides crucial evidence for how both foreigners and the Egyptian king are represented within the same tableau. In this case, attire, facial features, various accoutrements, layering, and hierarchical proportions are key to presenting a cohesive image of identity through exclusion and contrast.

The final smiting scene is located on the southern face of the eastern part of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.22] (Figs. 9.12 and 9.13).³⁰ Less well preserved than its western counterpart, a large group of foreigners with beards are before the king, who is on the right side of the image facing left. The king is preserved up to the *shendyt*-kilt, with distinct lateral peroneal muscles, and the remains of a bull's tail (Fig. 9.12). Associated with the image are 115 southern name rings.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.12 Thutmose III smiting southern and northern captives in [18.06.22].

The crouching captives are on the left-hand side of the scene. Though only some twenty-five figures have survived in the image, it is probable that forty were originally carved to balance symmetrically with its counterpart on the south-west face [18.06.21]. However, despite this damage, the scene is salient because the facial features of the foreigners are preserved (Fig.

³⁰ KIU 2104; PM II², 170 (500); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 774 (212) B.2, 795-800 (218), A-B (b); Burkhardt et al., *Übersetzung* (1984), 239, 252-269; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6610; Mariette, *Karnak*, 52-54, pl. 23; Maspero, "Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III", *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 99-100; Mariette, *Listes géographiques* I, 51-66; Ernest Desjardins, "Considérations sur une suite de travaux de M. Mariette, relatifs à la topographie de Karnak, aux textes qui y ont été récemment découverts et à l'explication des fameuses listes géographiques de Thoutmès III", *CRAIBL* 20 (1877), 21-25; Barguet, *Temple*, 269; Elmar Edel, "Die afrikanischen Namen in der Völkerliste Ramses' II. auf der Westmauer des Tempels von Luxor (Simons, Liste XXI) und ihre Parallelen in anderen afrikanischen Völkerlisten", *SAK* 4 (1976), 81-101; Kitchen, "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists", *Causing His Name to Live*, 129-131, 135; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2104).

9.13). Each figure has slightly open and full lips, pronounced nasolabial furrows, distinct alar nasi, almond-shaped eyes, and noticeable upper eyelids. Together with the open mouths and pronounced nasolabial furrows as seen on [18.06.21], this depiction of the foreign captives has the addition of small and distinct lines around the commissure of the lips. These lines are typically associated with age, emotion, or suffering.³¹ Unsurprisingly, these lines are often seen on the faces of foreigners, though they are also evident on the faces of soldiers and shepherds during the New Kingdom.³² Accordingly, the lines themselves on the faces of the foreigners act as a stark contrast to the faces of the Egyptians, particularly when compared with Thutmose III's smooth and ageless face on [18.06.21].³³

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.13 A close up of captives in [18.06.22].

In addition, the noses are not represented consistently, with some hooked and others straight; a similar alternation is evident in the depiction of the beards that vary between long full beards and short squared beards. The latter style of facial hair appears to be an archaic characteristic found in representations of southern peoples, a feature which was often the only identifying marker to distinguish between *Egyptians* and *southerners*.³⁴ Other features such as the ostrich feather, archaic circular motif on the leg, and the floral motif on the hip, appear to forge a link

³¹ Elizabeth Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man", *JNES* 10:2 (1951), 66; Gilroy, "Outlandish outlanders", *GM* 191 (2002), 35-37.

³² Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man", *JNES* 10:2 (1951), 66.

³³ James A. Russell, "Is There Universal Recognition of Emotion From Facial Expression? A Review of the Cross-Cultural Studies", *Psychological Bulletin* 115:1 (1994), 102; Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man", *JNES* 10:2 (1951), 66; Gilroy, "Outlandish outlanders", *GM* 191 (2002), 35-52.

³⁴ Helck, "Fremdvölkerdarstellung", *LÄ* II, 317.

between the captives and the Nubians. Curiously, however, together with the alternating nose shape, every second individual with the squared beard has an archaic hairstyle associated with southerners, namely, sectioned long hair with layers of tightly curled plaits reaching below the shoulders with separate curled strands at the end.³⁵ On the other hand, the figures with the full beards have a fillet and appear to be southern Levantine in appearance and are almost identical to those found on the south-west face in [18.06.21].

The typical assumption that this pylon contains a southern or Nubian smiting scene appears to be related to the 115 name rings that detail localities to the south (Fig. 9.14).³⁶ However, as stated in relation to the other “southern” smiting scenes (namely, [18.06.17] and [18.06.20]), these figures attached to the rings are actually represented as

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.14 A close up of the name rings in [18.06.22].

southern Levantines (full beard, long hair) and as southerners (squared beard, long hair). Accordingly, there appears to be a significant disjunction between text and image. The *text* (name rings) appears to imply a *southern* smiting scene, while the *image* suggests a *hybridised tableau* that represents both southern Levantines and Nubians.

However, the horizontal text can further explain this mixing of ethnic stereotypes, which indicates that this eastern side of the pylon is designed as a summary of the southern *and* northern lands:

<p><i>šḥwy nn ḥ3s.wt rs.ywt mḥ.ywt sm3.n</i> <i>ḥm=f</i> <i>iri.y ḥ3y.t ʕ3.t im=sn</i> <i>n [rh tnw ini.n(=f) hrw=sn m skr(.w)-</i> <i>ʕnh(.w)]</i></p>	<p>Summary of these <i>ḥ3s.wt</i>, the southerners and northerners, which His Majesty killed, making a great slaughter among them without [knowing their quantity, and whose subjects he brought as living captives]</p>
---	--

³⁵ See Wig Type A in Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negern in Ägypten*, 4-6; Robert S. Bianchi, *Daily Life of the Nubians* (Westport and London, 2004), 128.

³⁶ PM II², 170 (500); Janzen, *The Iconography of Humiliation*, 120.

r mh] *šn^c.w* [*n.y it=fImn.w*] /// /// /// *Ip.t-* [in order to fill the] labour establishment [of his
Sw.t ist h3s.wt nb.(w)t /// /// /// father Amun] /// /// /// Karnak. Then all *h3s.wt* ///
 /// ///

Accordingly, this smiting scene contains both *northerners* and *southerners*, which explains the juxtaposition of the ethnic stereotypes through the representation of southern Levantines and the archaised depictions of the Nubians. This is a salient differentiation to make, as this smiting scene is often labelled as a “Nubian smiting scene” in the literature.³⁷ It would appear that a reassessment is needed in the future for how smiting scenes are labelled in order to remove this confusion and encourage scholars to consider all aspects of a smiting scene, from image, name rings, to any associative text, before labelling it as “Asiatic” or “Nubian”.

Colonnade of Thutmose I

A final text of note is a statue of the king with name rings along its base, though scholars have variously dated it to the reign of Thutmose I, II, to III, with Laboury arguing for a Thutmose II or III date [18.06.23].³⁸ The green breccia statue is preserved to a height of 1.5 metres and depicts the king seated with two dozen name rings. This statue has not been published in detail, and no image is available and nor is its current location known. Regardless, the twenty-four name rings, of which nine have been preserved, detail localities from the Levant, including Retenu and Kadesh. It is probable that the foreigners have been depicted as southern Levantines with hair brushed over the shoulders, headbands, and full beards.

Summarising comments: smiting scenes and topographical lists

In sum, these smiting scenes and name rings provide evidence for a number of stereotypical characteristics that the Egyptians associated with foreign peoples. The characteristics of foreigners that are considered “other” relate to associated symbols and weapons (the ostrich feather and the duckbill axes), coiffures (long hair with fillets; braided hair with curled strands), and motifs and patterns on clothing (circular and floral designs). In regard to the name rings, beards (full and squared), headbands, and nasolabial furrows appear to denote alterity. The

³⁷ PM II², 170 (500); Janzen, *The Iconography of Humiliation*, 120.

³⁸ PM II², 84; Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 21 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 34-35 (17); Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 328 (called Thutmose I); Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 367 (called Thutmose I); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 142-143 (C 31) (called Thutmose II or III).

king, by contrast, is the largest figure, adorned in full regalia, with a clear artistic effort to denote his physical strength with emphasised muscles. Overall, the entire tableaux provide evidence for the *physical appearance* associated with foreigners and the Egyptian king, through which the audience can derive an awareness of the individuals and groups who belong to this delineation and those who do not.³⁹

Further, when they are depicted on the pylons, whether as captives in the smiting scenes or figures attached to name rings, foreigners are typically demarcated into two different groups: northerners and southerners, which is often further emphasised by their respective placement in relation to the geographical world. The northern lists are generally located towards the north and the southern lists towards the south, though this division is not strict and absolute. As shown on the scenes with southern name rings, the representation of the southern Levantine foreigner can appear on both southern and northern topographical lists. This suggests that the stereotype of a *foreigner* in this period was established as a southern Levantine. This would, in turn, intimate that Thutmose III's extensive campaigning to the north had a significant impact on the artistic depictions of the "other" at Karnak Temple.

Perhaps most crucially, these smiting scenes are repeated some six times at Karnak. This implies that they constitute an aspect of Thutmose III's identity and heritage that he wished to portray and preserve. The smiting scene is one of the best-attested iconographical motifs in ancient Egypt, and Thutmose III has added his own "twist" to it through the addition of the topographical lists.⁴⁰ By drawing on this motif to visually portray his successes abroad, Thutmose III places greater emphasis upon his exploits within this ideological and traditional framework. In combination with the fact that this is an institutionalised representation of the past, these smiting scenes can engender a system of values for the group in relation to conceptions of Egyptian identity based on shared beliefs and physical appearance.⁴¹

9.2 Statues with the Nine-Bow Motif

Statues displaying the nine-bow motif appear to reach their zenith during the reign of Thutmose III. Laboury (1998) has extensively published the statuary of Thutmose III, and of the 162 statues discussed from this period, fifteen statues (plus another recently discovered) contain

³⁹ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

⁴⁰ Luiselli, "The Ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies'", *Cultural Memory and Identity*, 17.

⁴¹ Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 130-131.

the nine-bow motif at Karnak [18.06.24]-[18.06.39].⁴² The following discussion details these statues to demonstrate the variety of poses that the motif is now used in tandem with, namely, striding, kneeling, enthroned, and other.

Striding statues with the nine-bow motif

The first example is a striding statue of Thutmose III [18.06.24] (Cairo CG 42053) (Figs. 9.15 and 9.16).⁴³ Discovered in the Karnak Cachette, the striding statue is carved from greywacke and measures 2 meters tall.⁴⁴ It depicts the king adorned in the White Crown, with the uraeus, and a *shendyt*-kilt. No beard is preserved while the hands are clenched around cylindrical objects held against the king's sides.⁴⁵ Beneath the feet, the nine-bows are engraved neatly, with five bows under the front (left) leg, and four bows are under the rear (right) leg.

The second example of a striding statue is carved from red granite and remains in situ before the north face of the east wing of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.25] (Figs. 9.17-9.19).⁴⁶ The statue, measuring around 4 metres high, depicts the king wearing the White Crown with a false beard and the *shendyt*-kilt.⁴⁷ The arms are suspended downwards with each hand grasping cylindrical objects. Five bows are engraved beneath the right foot (front) and four beneath the left (back), though high-water levels have damaged the bows in parts.⁴⁸ On some of the bows, the top line has overlapped the bottom.

⁴² Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998).

⁴³ PM II², 137; Georges Legrain, "Fouilles et recherches à Karnak", *BIE* 6 (1905), 110; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes I*, 32 (pl. 29-30); Musée du Caire, *Description sommaire des principaux monuments* (Cairo, 1964), 33; Gaston Maspero, *Essais sur l'art égyptien* (Paris, 1912), 100-104 (fig. 19); Gaston Maspero, *Art in Egypt* (London, 1912), 162 (fig. 310), 171-172; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 122 (no. 400) (fig. 43); W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven and London, 1998), 134 (fig. 231); H. R. Hall, "Head of a Monarch of the Tuthmosid House, in the British Museum", *JEA* 13:3/4 (1927), 133-134 (pl. xxx); Betsy Bryan, "Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV", *JARCE* 24 (1987), 7, fig. 6; Henry G. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues", *MMJ* 10 (1975), 21 (no. 65); Cyril Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty 1570 to 1320 B.C.* (London, 1961), 11, 12, 14, 47, 53, pls. 36, 38; Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Egyptian Statuary I* (Copenhagen, 1951), 142; Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, III, Les grandes époques. La statuaire* (Paris, 1958), 2, pl. C (2); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 156-159 (C 36).

⁴⁴ Legrain, *Statues et statuettes I*, 32.

⁴⁵ This is believed to be a rolled-up piece of cloth. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape", *MMJ* 10 (1975), 11, 21 (no. 75).

⁴⁶ PM II², 168 (B); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 556 (179), 53a; Legrain, "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", *ASAE* 4 (1903), 7 (7); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 694, pl. 363; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 118-121 (C 20).

⁴⁷ Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 118-121 (C 20).

⁴⁸ Adam and El-Shaboury, "Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56", *ASAE* 56 (1959), 41.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.15 Cairo CG 42053 [18.06.24]. Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 9.16 The base of Cairo CG 42053 [18.06.24]. Karnak Cachette website.



Figure 9.17 The statue before the NE Face of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.25]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).



Figure 9.18 The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.25]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.19 The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.25].

The pair to this statue before the north-west face of the Seventh Pylon also contains the remains of the nine-bow motif [18.06.26] (Figs. 9.20-9.22).⁴⁹ The striding statue depicts the king adorned in the White Crown and *shendyt*-kilt. The remains of “tearing” on the stone reveal that the king was once had a false beard and the uraeus. Overall, this statue in red granite is the less well-preserved of the pair, as it was found in three pieces.⁵⁰ According to the reports by Legrain in 1901, it would appear the base was found in place, whilst Adam and El-Shaboury “pressed” the stone for moisture damage, which consequently explains the wear on the statue around the base.⁵¹ The nine-bows themselves are only perceptible as lines within one to two centimetres of the left foot, with two more fully formed bows underneath the back right foot (Fig. 9.21-9.22).⁵²

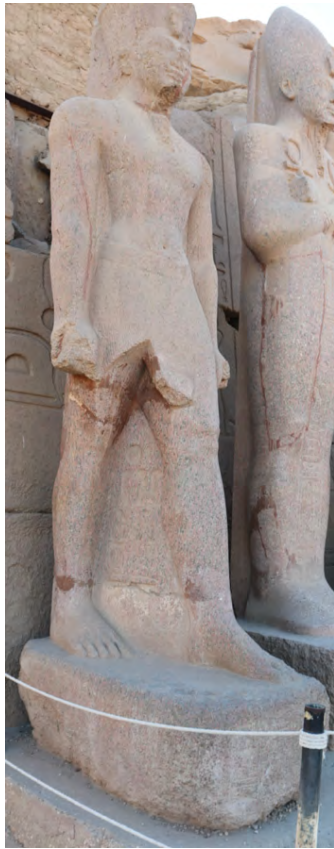


Figure 9.20 The statue before the NW Face of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.26]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).



Figure 9.21 The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.26]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.22 The remains of the nine bows beneath the feet of the king in [18.06.26].

⁴⁹ PM II², 168 (C); Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 6-7, pl. 1; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 694, pl. 363; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 118-123 (C 19).

⁵⁰ It was broken at the neck, knees and ankles, with the feet and its base in situ near the gateway. Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 118 (C 19).

⁵¹ Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak”, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 272; Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 41; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 118 (C 19).

⁵² This is based on personal observations and photographs of the monument.

A fourth striding statue is located before the south-west face of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.27] (Fig. 9.23).⁵³ The colossal statue is fragmentary, preserved from the knees down, with a base height of 98 centimetres and the dorsal pillar measuring 165 centimetres.⁵⁴ The original height of the statue in its entirety has been reconstructed at 9 metres.⁵⁵ Like the other statues located around the Seventh Pylon, the base has suffered a significant amount of water damage.⁵⁶ According to Laboury, beneath the feet are the remains of the nine-bow motif beneath the right foot.⁵⁷

A fifth striding statue with the nine-bow motif was discovered in the Akhmenu and is poorly preserved [18.06.28] (Figs. 9.24-9.25).⁵⁸ Only the sandstone pedestal remains of this example, though the dimensions of the base, 60 centimetres wide and 90 centimetres deep, suggest that it would have been of significant size. Beneath the feet, the nine composite bows are divided, with four bows beneath the right front foot and five beneath the back left foot. The bows are notably curved with some overlap of the lines at the tip of the bow.

⁵³ PM II², 171 (Statue I); Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 5220; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 698, pl. 370; Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, 114-117 (C 17); Blyth, *Karnak*, 84.

⁵⁴ The eastern colossal statue has not been included in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, the base of the statue has not preserved the nine-bow motif. Secondly, the name rings on the base appear to be a later addition of the Eighteenth Dynasty as they have the “plant of the north” tie detail and the figures are depicted as Nubians. As discussed above, the name rings from the reign of Thutmose III at Karnak are represented as hybrid Egyptians with archaic “southern” features, and as such a depiction of Nubians is suspect. In sum, this decoration has been placed outside the parameters of this thesis. For this statue see: PM II², 171 (Statue J); Georges Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 9, 17; Jean Capart, *Thèbes. La gloire d’un grand passé* (Bruxelles, 1925), 347-348, fig. 255; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pls. 369, 371; Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 136 (XX); Paul Barguet, “Karnak, métropole religieuse de l’Égypte. L’œuvre architecturale des pharaons à la XVIIIe dynastie”, *Archéologia* 15 (1967), 63; Claude Traunecker, “Le ‘Château de l’Or’ de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d’Amon”, *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989), 100-106; Michel Azim, “La fouille de la cour du VIIIe pylône”, *Karnak* 6 (1980), figs. 5-6; Jean Lauffray, “Les travaux du Centre Franco-Égyptien d’Étude des Temples de Karnak, de 1972 à 1977”, *Karnak* 6 (1980), pl. 11; François Le Saout, “Fragments divers provenant de la cour du VIIIe pylône”, *Karnak* 7 (1982), 265; Hourig Souroubian, “Les colosses du IIe pylône du temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak, remplois ramessides de la XVIIIe dynastie”, *Karnak* 10 (1995), 513-514, 521-526, pl. 13; Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, 114-117 (C 17-18); Laura Peirce, “The Curious Case of the Colossal Statue of Thutmose III before the South-East Face of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak”, *GM* 257 (2019), 153-164.

⁵⁵ Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, 114-117 (C 17).

⁵⁶ This type of damage is seen on a number of other statues throughout Karnak, as well as to the shrine of Philip Arrhidaeus at central Karnak. Capart, *Thèbes*, 347 (fig. 255), 348; Abd-Elkareem, Asran, and El Shater, “Damage Blocks Granite of Philip Arrhidaeus Compartment and its Source and Treatment, Karnak, Egypt”, *EJARS* 7:2 (2017), 111-121.

⁵⁷ Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, 116 (C 17).

⁵⁸ KIU 968; PM II², 119; Barguet, *Temple*, 192, no. 2; Lauffray, “Le secteur Nord-Est du temple jubilaire de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. État des lieux et commentaire architectural”, *Kémi* 19 (1969), 188-190; Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, 167-168 (C 39); Carlotti, *L’Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale*, 114-117, fig. 66; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 396 (KIU 968).



Figure 9.23 The colossal statue of Thutmose III [18.06.27]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.24 The nine bows in [18.06.28]. SITH website.

Figure 9.25 The nine bows in [18.06.28].

A sixth striding statue of the king was discovered in the Cachette [18.06.29] (Cairo CG 42057) (Figs. 9.26-9.27).⁵⁹ This diorite statue measures 155 centimetres high, 40 centimetres wide, and 59.5 centimetres deep. The king wears the *nemes*-headdress with the uraeus and false beard. The kilt is broken towards the bottom, together with the hands, but the costume appears to be a *shendyt*-kilt. The nine bows are divided between the two feet, with five under the front or left foot and four under the back or right foot.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.26 [18.06.29] Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 9.27 [18.06.29] A close up of the nine bows.

Kneeling statues with the nine-bow motif

There are three examples of representations of the nine-bow motif underneath the kneeling king. The first is [18.06.30] (Cairo 42055) (Figs. 9.28-9.29).⁶⁰ The statue discovered in the Cachette is carved from black diorite, with a height of 132 centimetres, a width of 49 centimetres, and 84 centimetres deep. The king is kneeling, with his arms resting on his upper thighs grasping two spherical *mw*-vessels, equipped with the *nemes*-headdress and the false beard. Though this statue is notable alone because of the high quality of the craftsmanship, the

⁵⁹ PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 34-35; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 73 (no. 122); Gabolde, “Un fragment de stèle au nom d’Ahmès-Néfertary provenant de Karnak”, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 169 (no. 37); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 234-237 (C 70).

⁶⁰ PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 33, pl. 31; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 74 (no. 125); Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 142 (no. 447); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 128-133 (C 24).

placement of the nine bows is also one of its defining features. The bows are not just beneath the feet of the king but are from the patella or knee to the toes. They are wide, just short of the width of the statue, with the lower delineation of the bow a straight line, whilst the upper line is slightly curved.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.28 [18.06.30] Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 9.29 The nine bows beneath the legs [18.06.30].

The second example of the king kneeling was discovered in the court of the Third Pylon near the obelisk of Thutmose I **[18.06.31]** (Cairo JE 43614) (Fig. 9.30).⁶¹ The black diorite statue measures 138 centimetres in height and represents the king kneeling, adorned in the *shendyt*-kilt and the *nemes*-headdress. The right arm is lost below the elbow and the left arm around the biceps, as well as a significant portion of the base. The face has been injured, with the nose lost together with the false beard. Though the base has been damaged, the arcs of five bows are clear, also presented horizontally beneath the patella of the king to the toes of the statue.

A third example depicting the king kneeling is known as Cairo CG 1226 **[18.06.32]** (Fig. 9.31).⁶² The exact position of its discovery at Karnak is unknown. The statue itself is formed of limestone and is preserved to a height of 127 centimetres. The statue of the king is acephalous, with the lappets of the *nemes*-headdress and end of the false beard preserved. The right shoulder and most of the right arm is missing, while the left arm is lost from the wrist. The arms appear to have rested on the thighs of the king grasping objects, probably vessels.

⁶¹ PM II², 77; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 128-133 (C 23).

⁶² PM II², 281; Legrain, *Repertoire*, no. 127; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 220-221 (C 64).

The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt with the nine bows engraved beneath his legs from the patella to the feet.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.30 [18.06.31] Laboury (1998), 130 (fig. 37).

Figure 9.31 [18.06.32] Laboury (1998), 221 (fig. 112).

Enthroned statues with the nine-bow motif

The third type of statue with the nine-bow motif represents the king enthroned. The first example was discovered in the Cachette and depicts the king adorned in *heb-sed* garb, grasping the crook and flail, and adorned in the White Crown [18.06.33] (Cairo CG 42058) (Fig. 9.32).⁶³ Formed in limestone, the statue measures 79 centimetres high, 20.5 centimetres wide, and 41 centimetres deep. The composite bows are faintly engraved under the bare feet of the king.

The second enthroned example depicts Thutmose III seated with Amun [18.06.34] (Cairo CG 42066) (Figs. 9.33-9.34).⁶⁴ Discovered in the Cachette, the statue measures 68 centimetres high. The king is seated on the left wearing the *nemes*-headdress with the *shuty*-crown, namely,

⁶³ PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 35; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 74 (no. 126); Gabolde, “Un fragment de stèle au nom d’Ahmès-Néfertary”, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 169 (no. 37); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 227-229 (C 67); Azim, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I. 334, II. 301 (X15).

⁶⁴ PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 39, pl. 39; H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich, 1929), II. 16, 40; Tefnin, *La statuaire d’Hatshepsout* (1979), 31 (no. 5), 32-33; Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen I* (1996), 140-141 (Dok. 56); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 224-226 (C 66); Azim, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I. 309, II. 238-239.

with two plumes, ram horns, and the uraeus. The right hand of the king grasps an ankh on top of his *shendyt*-kilt, whilst the left is curved around the back of the god. To the right of the king is Amun, likewise seated, though the head has been lost, and the deity's right arm is behind the king with the left hand resting on his lap. Most significantly, the nine-bow motif is engraved *only* under the feet of the king (Fig. 9.34).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.32 [18.06.33]
Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 9.33 [18.06.34] Karnak
Cachette website.

Figure 9.34 A close up of the nine bows
on [18.06.34].

Another seated statue of Thutmose III discovered in the Cachette has the nine composite bows under the feet of the king [18.06.35] (Cairo JE 39260) (Figs. 9.35-9.36).⁶⁵ The king wears the *nemes*-headdress with the uraeus and false beard. Donning the *shendyt*-kilt, the arms rest on the thighs of the king, with the left-hand, half of which is missing, appears to be lying flat whilst the right-hand grasps a cylindrical shape. The nine bows are engraved under the feet with straight upper lines and curved lower levels. The tips of the bow have the additional stroke seen in [13.30.03], and for the first time, in the space between the two feet, the detail of the wrapping of the bows is apparent.

⁶⁵ PM II², 173, 218; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 75 (no. 128); Bryan, "Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV", *JARCE* 24 (1987), 7 (fig. 6); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 241-246 (C 73).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.35 A close up of the nine bows on [18.06.35].

Figure 9.36 Cairo JE 39260 [18.06.35]. Karnak Cachette website.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.37 Cairo SR 211 [18.06.36]. Karnak Cachette website.

Figure 9.38 A close up of the nine bows on [18.06.36].

The remains of a statue base discovered in the Cachette provide evidence of another enthroned example of the king with the nine-bow motif [18.06.36] (Cairo S.R. 211) (Figs. 9.37 and 9.38).⁶⁶ The calcite statue is preserved to a height of 49 centimetres, a width of 34 centimetres, and is 32 centimetres deep. Though suffering significant damage, the bows are clearly articulated beneath the feet, and like [18.06.35], the wrapping in the centre of the bows is evident between the two parallel feet.

⁶⁶ Unpublished. Image from the Karnak Cachette website. CK 1157. Available from <<http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

A second example of a group statue with Thutmose III and a deity was discovered in the Palace of Maat, Hall 17 [18.06.37] (Fig. 9.39).⁶⁷ The statue is preserved to a height of 128 centimeters, with an estimated original height of 200 centimeters.⁶⁸ The king is seated on the left, preserved from the *shendyt*-kilt to the feet, whilst the figure on the right, presumably Amun, is missing completely. The right-hand rests on the thighs of the king. Beneath the feet of the king is the nine-bow motif, with the bow wrappings visible between the feet.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Other types of statues with the nine-bow motif

Statues with the nine-bow motif can also appear in exceptional forms, exemplified by the example of

Figure 9.39 [18.06.37] Laboury (1998), 149 (fig. 53).

Thutmose III depicted as the Nile-God with an offering table [18.06.38] (Cairo CG 42056; JE 36328) (Fig. 9.40).⁶⁹ This diorite statue measures 152 centimetres and is preserved from the waist or belt of the figure down to the pedestal.⁷⁰ The king is adorned in the *shendyt*-kilt while the sides of the table are elaborately decorated in relief. This decoration features a variety of flora and fauna, including wheat stalks, bouquets of lotus flowers, and a cluster of ten ducks. The left foot is placed towards the front of the statue and the right foot at the back, giving an impression of the king, as the Nile-God, walking with this heavily laden offering table. Five bows are engraved beneath the left foot and four beneath the right foot.

A final example with the remains of the nine-bow motif is a fragmentary group statue discovered in the halls of the Akhmenu (SF. 8-10) [18.06.39] (formerly Cairo CG 42064 and JE 38236) (Fig. 9.41).⁷¹ The torso of this statue, Cairo CG 42064, was unearthed in the north-

⁶⁷ PM II², 105 and 538; Legrain, "Notes prises à Karnak. V-VIII", *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 63; Barguet, *Temple*, 144; Redford, "The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II", *JEA* 51 (1965), 116; Charles C. Van Siclen III, "Two Tuthmosid Statue Groups from Thebes", *VA* 7 (1991), 88-96; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 144-149 (C 32).

⁶⁸ Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 144 (C 32).

⁶⁹ PM II², 84; Legrain, "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903", *ASAE* 5 (1904), 33-34; Legrain, *Repertoire*, no. 131; Barguet, *Temple*, 102 (no. 3), 319 (no. 2), pl. 24b; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 120-121; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 136-139 (C 29).

⁷⁰ Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 136-139 (C 29).

⁷¹ PM II², 123, 127; Petrie, *A History of Egypt* II, 137; Barguet, *Temple*, 178; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 190, fig. 76; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 163-166 (C 38).

east corner of the Middle Kingdom temple in 1899, with the remaining fragments found in the Akhmenu. The total height of this quartzite statue is 4 metres, and it depicts three figures standing on a platform with the king in the centre and two figures behind on either side of him, presumably Amun, Mut, or Amaunet. A large wall or dorsal pillar supports the figures, with the remains of a sun disc in the centre. The king, adorned in the *shendyt*-kilt, is the best preserved, though this statue is acephalous, and the arms are missing. The remains of “tearing” on the collar indicate the king originally wore a false beard.⁷² The nine-bow motif is discernible beneath the feet on the pedestal.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.40 [18.06.38] Laboury (1998), 137 (fig. 46). Figure 9.41 [18.06.39] Laboury (1998), 165 (fig. 68).

Summarising comments: the nine-bow motif

The characteristics of the sixteen statues discussed above vary significantly. They are similar only in that they represent the king with the nine composite bows on the base of the statue. They can be formed of a variety of materials and depict a number of poses. There are six striding examples, three kneeling, five enthroned, one striding with an offering table, and one standing. Three are group statues which clearly articulate the concept that the motif is linked to kingship alone. Concerning provenance, seven were unearthed in the Cachette, which may

⁷² Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 164 (C 38).

be evidence for their removal from a similar location as a group, whilst three were discovered around the Seventh Pylon.

The presence of sixteen statues with the nine-bow motif is crucial for the dissemination of the motif and its association with kingship. Royal statuary is extremely salient as it represents the ideal, general, and stable conceptions of man and the identity of the group.⁷³ Through such a medium, the nine-bow motif has become inextricably tied to kingship and portraiture in a wide range of poses and attire. The repetition of these statues at Karnak ensures that the audience links the domination of foreign peoples, specifically those included within the nine-bow list, with one of the roles of the Egyptian king.

9.3 Small Scenes

The Akhmenu

As a divergence from the smiting scenes, the Festival Temple of Thutmose III contains representations of foreign flora and fauna in the “Botanical Garden”. The collection of scenes, from the rooms known as XXXI and XXXII, represents the topography and environment of foreign lands in the famous botanical reliefs [18.06.40].⁷⁴ The scenes upon the walls are various images of miscellaneous birds to lotus flowers which have been admirably identified and published by Beaux (1990) (Figs. 9.42-9.45).⁷⁵ The scenes are carved in raised relief, with some remains of paint. The associated caption reads:

A. (After Mariette, pl. 28)

⁷³ Jan Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, Third Edition (Munich, 2003), 144-146; Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 130-131.

⁷⁴ This thesis focuses particularly on the scenes published by Mariette which specifically refer to foreign lands. As the majority of the scenes in the Botanical Gardens are not identified as “foreign” by the Egyptians in the captions, they have been excluded, though the author does attempt to show the variety of flora and fauna that these scenes depict. For the rules of exclusion, see Chapter 1.2, p. 7 (no. 17). For the Botanical Garden reliefs see: PM II², 120-122 (404-412); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 775-77 (213); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 28, 31; Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, fig. 199; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne* II, 260 (fig); Maspero, *L’archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1887), fig. 100; H. Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Applied Art* (Vienna, 1936), 255; Barguet, *Temple*, 198, 296; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 5-6 (pl. II: A-B); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 210-211; 216-217; Carlotti, *L’Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak*, 218; Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III* (1990); Dimitri Laboury, “Archaeological and Textual Evidence for the Function of the ‘Botanical Garden’ of Karnak in the Initiation Ritual”, in P. Dorman and B. M. Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop*, SAOC 61 (Chicago, 2007), 27-34.

⁷⁵ Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III* (1990).

(1) <i>smw nb hpp⁷⁶ hrr.t nb.t nfr.t imi.yt T3-ntr</i>	(1) All strange herbage, every beautiful flower/plant which is in the God's Land,
[<i>in.n b3.w</i>] (2) <i>hm=f hft wd3 hm=f r Rtnw hr.t</i>	[which the powers] (2) of His Majesty [brought] according to the command of His Majesty (to set out) to Upper Retenu
<i>r shr.t h3s.wt [mh.tt] (...)</i>	to overthrow the [northern] <i>h3s.wt (...)</i>
B. (After Mariette, pl. 31)	
<i>rnp.t sp 25 hr nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w) </i>	Regnal Year 25 under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Menkheperre)
<i>nh(.w) d.t</i>	may he live forever.
<i>smw gm.n hm=f hr Rtnw</i>	The herbage which His Majesty found in Retenu.

The caption presented with the image provides additional information. It details where these fauna and flora were sourced, namely, from the God's Land (*T3-ntr*) in Upper Retenu in the northern Levant after a military campaign.⁷⁷ It is notable that the term *T3-ntr* has been used, as stated by Cooper, it is often used in "texts that relate to the procurement of various exotic goods from beyond Egypt", with the connotation of the East and the Levant.⁷⁸ However, curiously, as Beaux has shown, the depictions of flora and fauna can be linked to known plants and animals of both the Levant and Africa. In such a sense, the term God's Land appears to have been selected to reflect products from general fertile regions and are not necessarily related to Thutmose III's northern campaigns. The verb chosen, "found" (*gm.n*) is also intriguing and indicates that it was not given as part of tribute or taken by the Egyptians in the act of war, but implies the Egyptians passively came across the herbs, selecting the exotic materials that they desired.⁷⁹

Regarding the botanical motifs themselves, the walls are adorned in a huge range of plants and animals. The goal here appears to have been to denote alterity with exotic connotations through the depiction of "strange" natural phenomena that were unknown in Egypt. So strange, in fact, that some plants contain evidence of hybridisation, a technique which, it would appear, has

⁷⁶ Related words being "strange, strange things"; it also has the connotation of being linked to foreigners or foreign lands. *Wb* III, 259.3-115; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 188; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 638.

⁷⁷ Cooper, "The Geographic and Cosmographic Expression *T3-ntr*", *BACE* 22 (2011), 47-66.

⁷⁸ Cooper, "The Geographic and Cosmographic Expression *T3-ntr*", *BACE* 22 (2011), 47, 52.

⁷⁹ However, it is worth noting that *gm* can have a connotation to "control", though this is rarely encountered. *Wb*. V, 168, 23; Jaroslav Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents", *JEA* 31 (1945), 33 (no. 1).

been adopted in order to communicate the notion that these products in the garden of Amun are “extraordinary”.⁸⁰ This method may have also been adopted for the depictions of the birds; of the 38 birds across the reliefs, 6 could not be identified.⁸¹ As a whole, these images of foreign plants and animals appear to be evidence for the variety of flora and fauna that was imported at a high cost to create a garden for Amun. They are a reflection for the king’s piety to his god, the Egyptians’ taste for such exotic products, and are a testimony to the king’s power over the terrestrial world through the goods that he receives.⁸²

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.42 The flora and fauna of Retenu in [18.06.40]. Mariette, Karnak, pl. 28A.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.43 The flora and fauna in [18.06.40]. Beaux (1990), pl. VII.

⁸⁰ Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, 299-300.

⁸¹ Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, 273.

⁸² Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, 318.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.44 The flora and fauna in [18.06.40]. Beaux (1990), pl. XI.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.45 The flora and fauna in [18.06.40]. Beaux (1990), pl. XXIII.

North Girdle Wall

Around the North Girdle Wall of the temple (Room XLIB), we catch a glimpse of a rare scene that may shed light into the various relationships held between Egyptians and foreigners. This is a scene depicting two rows of figures identified as foreigners erecting masts with Egyptians **[18.06.41]** (Fig. 9.47).⁸³

⁸³ PM II², 125 (451.4); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 626, pls. 176-179; Wolfgang Decker and Michael Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen* (Leiden and New York, 1994), vol. 1: 125, vol. 2: pl. 56 B(8); Martina Minas-

The figures identified as foreigners are depicted climbing *shn.t* posts, whilst the Egyptians pull the ropes. The foreigners have been depicted with ostrich plumes, short round wigs, clean-shaven faces, simple wrap-around kilts, and bands from the waist to the shoulder (Fig. 9.47).⁸⁴ The Egyptians lack a comparable headpiece and are depicted with the wrap-around kilt, band across the chest, and short hairstyle. The king who oversees the scene to the left is depicted as a large figure in full regalia with the White Crown, uraeus, collar, pointed-short kilt, and bull's tail (Fig. 9.46).

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.46 The Egyptian king in [18.06.41].

The caption before the king indicates that the climbers are helping in construction work for Amun:

sḥꜥ k3 shn.t n Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy hnty Erecting the *ka* of the *shn.t* for Amun, Lord of
Ip.t-Sw.t Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak.

This erecting of the mast is a ceremony that normally took place in a mortuary context, but there are examples in a temple context, most significantly from the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak.⁸⁵ The ritual involves a central mast set on a platform, and four other poles, two on each side of the central mast, slanting towards the central pole.⁸⁶ It is on these slanted poles that the climbing personages, wearing a feather on their head, are found.⁸⁷ Lacau proposed the erection of the masts represent the masts of Min's tent, a shelter typically used in the desert, whilst Badawy later argued that due to the aspective nature of depictions in Egyptian art, the four poles would be fanning out from the central point, and the swinging from the poles could be part of the ritual.⁸⁸ Though Lacau does not comment on this later scene found in the

Nerpel and Marleen de Meyer, "Raising the Pole for Min in the Temple of Isis at Shanhur", *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 158.

⁸⁴ Booth, *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt*, 9; Robins, "Hair and the Construction of Identity", *JARCE* 39 (1999), 60.

⁸⁵ Dieter Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms", in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2005), 51-52; Pierre Lacau, "L'érection du mâât devant Amon-Min", *CdE* 55 (1953), 13-22; Alexander Badawy, "Min, the Cosmic Fertility God of Egypt", *MIO* 7:2 (1959), 168-169.

⁸⁶ Badawy, "Min, the Cosmic Fertility God of Egypt", *MIO* 7:2 (1959), 168-169.

⁸⁷ Badawy, "Min, the Cosmic Fertility God of Egypt", *MIO* 7:2 (1959), 168-169.

⁸⁸ Pierre Lacau, "L'érection du mâât devant Amon-Min", *CdE* 55 (1953), 16, 21; Alexander Badawy, "Min, the Cosmic Fertility God of Egypt", *MIO* 7:2 (1959), 169-171.

Akhmenu (the earlier scenes that he discussed do not feature climbers), he does point out that Min was known as “the hunter of the country of Punt”, and the companion of the Nehesy.⁸⁹ Badawy also articulates this link as the Egyptians claim to have adopted Min from Punt.⁹⁰

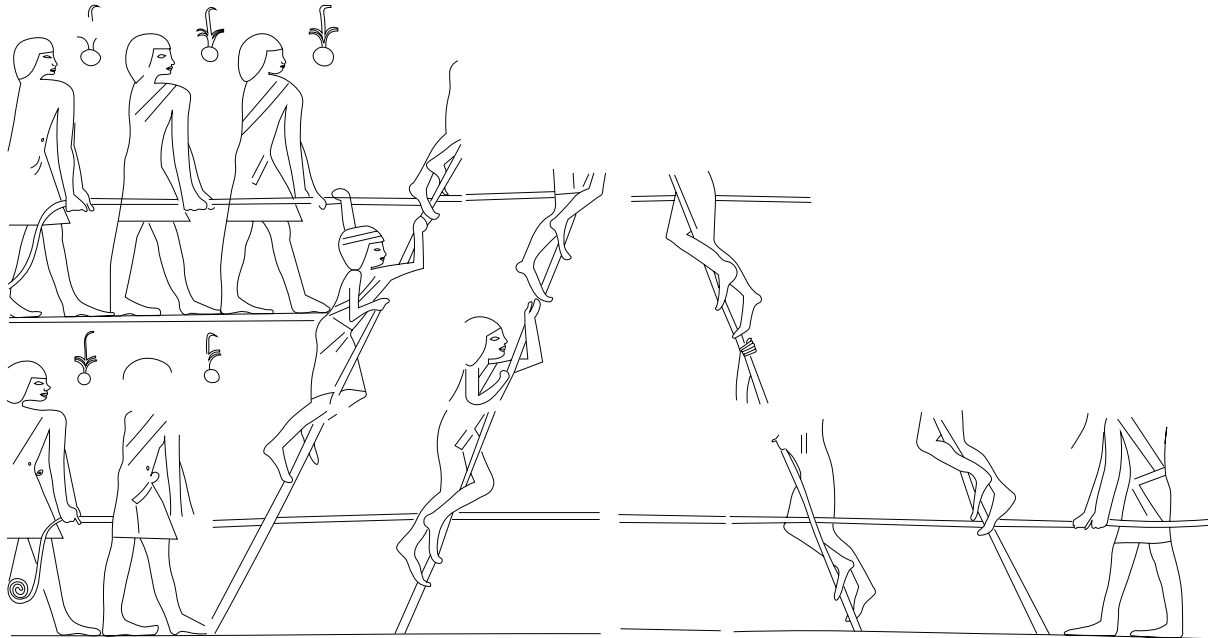


Figure 9.47 Figures climbing the masts in [18.06.41]. Drawing by Peirce after Schwaller de Lubicz.

This link would justify the engaging of Nubians for the erection of the masts, or perhaps even the addition of the ostrich feather, signifying the south, to the heads of the climbers. Even if they were not necessarily Nubians themselves, they are illustrating a link to southerners within a ritual context. It is worth noting, however, that the ostrich plume (*maat* feather) attached to a hairstyle or headdress is traditionally a symbol of the Tjehenu and the west. For this reason, others such as Decker and Herb have identified the figures as “Libyans”.⁹¹ Accordingly, there is some uncertainty regarding the identity of these climbers, as they can be identified as Nubians or the Tjehenu, though the link with Min, as well as the band across the chest, may justify an association with the Nubians.

Despite these issues of ethnic attribution, it is clear that the ostrich feather has been used as a symbol to distinguish between the climbers and the Egyptians. The effectiveness of this motif is reflected in the literature by the willingness of scholars to describe these figures as Nubians or Westerners, in other words, as “other”, and it is possible that such a view might have existed

⁸⁹ Lacau, “L’érection du mâât devant Amon-Min”, *CdE* 55 (1953), 21-22.

⁹⁰ Badawy, “Min, the Cosmic Fertility God of Egypt”, *MIO* 7:2 (1959), 163-165.

⁹¹ Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten* I, 125.

in ancient Egypt as well. In addition, there are various stages of action and inaction that relate to status. The climbing figures undertake the most strenuous work (and appear to have the lowest status), the Egyptians assist by holding the ropes (and a medium status), whilst the Egyptian king simply looks on (as overseer, and as such, highest status). Therefore, this climbing of the mast scene appears to distinguish between foreigners and Egyptians through their attire, role in physical activities, and hierarchical proportion.

9.4 Observations and Spatial Distribution of the Artistic Depictions in the Reign of Thutmose III

There is an increase in the number and type of visual representations of foreign peoples at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak during the lengthy reign of Thutmose III (see Table 9.1 for an overview). These include smiting scenes, topographical lists, depictions of foreign flora and fauna, as well as the continuation in the usage of the nine-bow motif on statuary. Two major themes were seen to dominate the corpus: smiting scenes and the motif of the nine bows. The proliferation of these types is pivotal, as smiting scenes may be perceived as a manifestation of cultural memory⁹², whilst the royal statues are a manifestation of cultural knowledge (see Chapter 11.4).⁹³

The smiting scenes reinvented a traditionally and culturally significant motif to reflect the campaigns of Thutmose III whilst ensuring that the tableaux remained relevant. This conventional image in itself reaffirms social norms and knowledge that can bond a group together, and accordingly, it can promulgate and alter contemporary and future conceptions of Egyptian identity. Due to this traditional form, the depictions of the foreigners and the Egyptians were presented as diametrical opposites in every sense of the phrase. Through the use of layering, hierarchical proportion, poses, and striking attention to detail regarding the facial features of the foreigners, the artistic tableaux were able to communicate the stress, despair, weakness, and general inferiority of the foreign peoples. Most significantly, however, within the context of the current study, we find the first (published) artistic example where foreigners and Egyptians are preserved in the same tableau. This is salient, as it is now possible to identify the distinctive *physical qualities* that the Egyptians associated with their king (and by extension, themselves). In such a view, the muscular physique, attire, items of personal

⁹² Luiselli, "The Ancient Egyptian Scene of 'Pharaoh Smiting His Enemies' ", *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, 10-25.

⁹³ Jan Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*³ (Munich, 2003), 144-146.

adornment, royal regalia, and the unlined ageless face of the king can be seen to as a technique to establish and preserve particular aspects of the “ideal” Egyptian.

The statues with the nine-bow motif, to a lesser extent, also encapsulate the physical qualities associated with the quintessential Egyptian. The king is still the ideal, physically and aesthetically, though his dominance over the foreign peoples is not at the centre of what is to be communicated. In some cases, it has the appearance of an assumption of kingship that does not necessarily need to be reinforced or acted upon in a physical fashion. In most cases, the king is shown seated, or even completing other activities (such as offering) whilst simultaneously suppressing the nine bows. As a whole, however, the constant reuse of this traditional motif creates an expectation with regard to the duties of the king in connection to the foreign lands, obligations which Thutmose III ensured was part of his associative identity and the legacy that he has left at Karnak.

The spatial distribution of these scenes implies that there was some intention for the pictorial images of foreigners to be seen (see Figs. 9.48 and 9.49). With the smiting scenes across the Sixth and Seventh Pylons and the statues with the nine-bow motif also before the Seventh Pylon. It is curious that the smiting scenes are larger on the south face of the Seventh Pylon when compared to the examples on the north face; this may be evidence that more people were expected to witness the “outside” scenes than the ones on the inside face. Finally, as the southern name rings are on the south wing and the northern name rings on the north wing, the known geography of the terrestrial world has played a significant, but not exclusive, role in the placement of these scenes at Karnak.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9.48 Spatial distribution of the images and statues in relation to the previous texts at Karnak from the reign of Thutmose III.

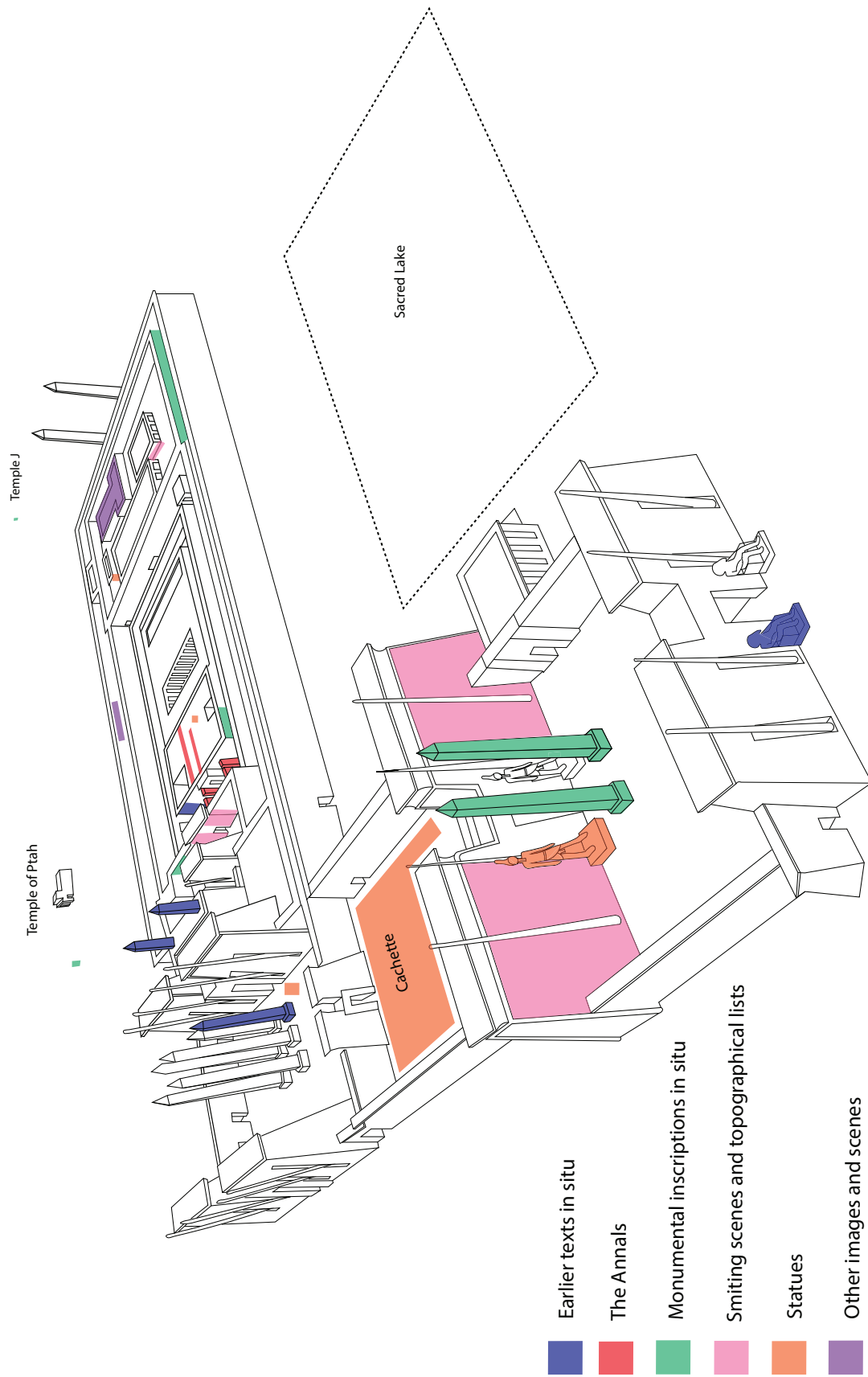


Figure 9.49 Spatial distribution of the images and statues in relation to the previous texts at Karnak from the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Content
18.06.16	Sixth Pylon, W. Face, N. Wing	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III with northern name rings.
18.06.17	Sixth Pylon, W. Face, S. Wing	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III with southern name rings.
18.06.18	Chamber of Kings, Akhmenu	unknown	in situ	A small list of 33 northern name rings.
18.06.19	Seventh Pylon, N. Face, E. Wing	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III smiting northern captives with name rings.
18.06.20	Seventh Pylon, N. Face, W. Wing	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III smiting southern captives with name rings.
18.06.21	Seventh Pylon, S. Face, W. Wing	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III smiting northern captives with name rings.
18.06.22	Seventh Pylon, S. Face, E. Side	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III smiting southern and northern captives with name rings.
18.06.23	Colonnade of Thutmose I	H 150 cm	unknown	A seated statue with northern name rings engraved on the pedestal.
18.06.24	Cachette	H 200 cm W 37 cm D 68 cm	Cairo CG 42053	A statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.25	Seventh Pylon, N. Face, E. Wing	H 400 cm	in situ	A colossal statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.26	Seventh Pylon, N. Face, W. Wing	H 400 cm	in situ	A colossal statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.27	Seventh Pylon, S. Face, W. Wing	unknown	in situ	Half a broken colossal statue of with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.28	Akhmenu, SX Axial Sanctuary	W 0.6 m D 0.9 m	in situ	A statue base with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.29	Cachette	H 155 cm W 40 cm D 59.5 cm	Cairo CG 42057 (JE 38681)	A striding statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.30	Cachette	H 132 cm W 49 cm D 84 cm	Cairo CG 42055	A kneeling statue of Thutmose III with nine-bow motif.
18.06.31	Near obelisk of Thutmose I	H 138 cm	Cairo JE 43614 A, SR 11439	A kneeling statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.32	Karnak, unknown specific location	H 127 cm	Cairo CG 1226	A kneeling statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.33	Cachette	H 79 cm W 20.5 cm D 41 cm	Cairo CG 42058	A seated statue of Thutmose III with nine-bow motif.
18.06.34	Cachette	H 68 cm W 31.5 cm D 33 cm	Cairo CG 42066	A group statue of Thutmose III with Amun. Nine-bow motif below feet of king.
18.06.35	Cachette	H 108 cm W 32.5 cm D 56.5 cm	Cairo JE 39260	A seated statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.36	Cachette	H 49 cm W 34 cm D 32 cm	Cairo SR 211	A statue base with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.37	Palace of Maat, Hall 17	H 128 cm	in situ	A seated group statue with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.38	Colonnade of Thutmose I	H 152 cm	Cairo CG 42056, JE 36328	A statue of Thutmose III as the Nile-God with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.39	Akhmenu, Halls 36-38.	H 400 cm	Karnak (prev. Cairo CG 42064, JE 38236)	A fragmentary group statue with the nine-bow motif.
18.06.40	Akhmenu, JB 2	unknown	in situ	Flora and fauna scenes from the Levant.
18.06.41	North Girdle Wall, Room XLIB	unknown	in situ	King erecting <i>shn.t</i> posts (Min's Mast) with Nubians (?) climbing.

Table 9.1 Overview of sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 10

The Reign of Thutmose III

Captions

“(I) gave to you the [kingship] of the flat lands
and your victories throughout all *ḥ3s.wt*,
may you live forever.”
Speech of [Seth] from Room XII of the Akhmenu.¹

In addition to the Annals, monumental inscriptions, and iconography, small captions are scattered across the entire site of Karnak. These captions are found on various types of monuments, linked to scenes and statues, and are typically brief references. In terms of their content, the captions that refer to foreigners can be seen to highlight Egyptian ownership over the foreign regions and display fundamental characterisations of the “other”. This chapter has identified forty-four texts as captions [18.06.42]-[18.06.86] from the time of Thutmose III. These have been divided into various categories dependent upon the areas and monuments of the temple where they are located, including the Akhmenu (Section 10.1), the Chapelle Rouge (Section 10.2), other bark shrines and chapels (Section 10.3), the Seventh Pylon (Section 10.4), Central Karnak (Section 10.5), miscellaneous (Section 10.6), and non-royal monuments (Section 10.7). The overall themes with ramifications for the concretion of Egyptian identity and their spatial distribution are then discussed in Section 10.8.

10.1 The Akhmenu

The Akhmenu contains a plethora of short textual references to foreign lands that can be classified as captions. As a whole, these texts can be divided into three categories by the theme: foreign products, domination and ownership, and the Nine Bows.

The theme of foreign products

The first distinct theme relates to the inscriptions that refer to imported exotic products, which were then redistributed and used to embellish the temple.

¹ See [18.06.48].

In Room XXIX / SX.5, a scene depicts Thutmose III with his *ka* bringing incense from Punt [18.06.42]:²

dd mdw in k3=k n Imn.w

Words spoken by your *ka* to Amun:

ini(=i) n=k Pwn.yt (...)

“(I) bring to you that which belongs to Punt (...)”

In Room XIII / MS.7, a scene depicts Thutmose III with Thoth consecrating offerings before Amun and Amaunet [18.06.43]:³

(3) (...) *rdi.t m3^c wdhw htw ʕš3(.t)* (3) (...) to give a ritual offering-*maa*, offering tables,
wr.t wsh.w wd3.w [mni.wt] (4) *m d^cm* (and) very many bowls, broad collars, amulets,
m3^c [menit-necklaces] (4) in real *djam*-gold,
ini.tn hm=f m h3s.w(y)t rs.wyt m and what His Majesty brought from the southern
b3k.wt=sn n.t hr.t-rnp.t iri=f^cnh d.t *h3s.wt* as their work produce of the annual dues that
 he may make a living, forever.

In Corridor VI / MS.10, a scene portrays the king bringing metals and minerals to Amun [18.06.44]:⁴

Urk. IV, 256 (B.2).

List behind the king:

(b) *rdi.t [m]fk3.t ///*

(b) Giving [tu]rquoise ///

(c) *ini n=k (i)ht nb(.w)*

(c) Bringing for you everything /// ///

(d) *di=i nb i3b.tt nb h3s.t*

(d) I bring all (things) of the east and all (things) of the *h3s.t*.

Urk. IV, 256 (B.4).

rdi.t ʕntyw iri=f(r)di ʕnh⁵ ///

Giving the myrrh that he may make “giving life” ///

A scene in Room IV / SF. 6 refers to oil sourced from Tjehenu as Thutmose III offers two vessels to Amun-Min [18.06.45]:⁶

² PM II², 119 (395); Barguet, *Temple*, 197; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5650, 5658-61, 5681.

³ PM II², 115 (363); Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 870-3 (255 E-F); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 297-299 (255 E-F); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 6828-9; 6937; 6940. Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 165-6 (9).

⁴ PM II², 113 (355); LD III 36a; Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 874-877 (256 B.2, 4); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 300-301 (256B.2, 4); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 169.

⁵ Sethe notes that this probably refers to the products of Punt. Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 877.

⁶ KIU 2949; PM II², 113 (351, 3); Jean-François Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (Paris, 2001), pl. 55; Jean-François Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (Paris, 2000), pl. 118; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 456 (KIU 2950).

(1) */// /// /// ḥ3.tt n.t ʕš ḥ3.tt n.t Thnw (...)* (1) */// /// /// fine oil of cedar (and) oil of Tjehenu (...)*

The above captions offer explanations for the activities depicted on the walls, namely, the listing of the materials and goods included in the offerings for the gods. As a whole, the captions provide evidence for the varied foreign resources that were brought to Egypt and used at Karnak Temple during the reign of Thutmose III. Despite the Annals listing quantities of products from foreign lands as part of the *in.w*- and *b3k.w*-relationships that were established, these captions, for the most part, are devoid of political and imperialistic undertones and instead emphasise the products themselves. The products, exclusively used in offering scenes, are a reflection of the king's piety; on a subtler level, especially when read in conjunction with the texts discussed over the past three chapters, they can be seen as testimony for the king's power over the terrestrial world through the goods that he receives.⁷

The theme of Egyptian domination and ownership

The most common type of caption relates to Egyptian domination over, and the associated ownership of, the *ḥ3s.wt*. They are found integrated into the titulary of the king, as well as in speeches by deities in which the *ḥ3s.wt* are transferred from the god to the king.

Examples of domination in the titulary are the following:

[18.06.46], architraves A-A (Fig. 10.1):⁸

Upper architrave:

(...) *ḥwi(.w) ḥk3.w ḥ3s.wt (...)* (...) who smites the rulers of *ḥ3s.wt* (...)

Lower architrave:

(...) *ḥwi(.w) ḥk3.w ḥ3s.wt (...)* (...) who smites the rulers of *ḥ3s.wt* (...)

[18.06.47], architraves G-G:⁹

Upper architrave:

(...) *ḥwi(.w) ḥk3.w ḥ3s.wt (...)* (...) who smites the rulers of *ḥ3s.wt* (...)

⁷ Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, 318.

⁸ KIU 2596, 2602; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou, planches*, pl. 5; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pl. 92-94, 109-110; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 448 (KIU 2596, 2602).

⁹ KIU 2608; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou, planches*, pl. 8; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pls. 101-102.

These three architrave inscriptions repeat an identical epithet, two of which are found in the same area of architraves. The consistent use of the verb *hwi* expresses action with a connotation of physical superiority. Thematically, this royal titulary implies conflict and physical prowess over the groups that the king *needed* to subjugate and those that he considered had *power*: the rulers of the *h3s.wt*. As these epithets are in the titulary of the king, the connotation is that it was part of the responsibilities of the king to dominate the *h3s.wt*, and by extension, control and theoretically *own* the subjugated regions.



Figure 10.1 The upper architrave of A-A in [18.06.46]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

The transparent statements of ownership or military successes over the *h3s.wt* are usually stated in the speeches of deities:

[18.06.48] Speech of [Seth] from Room XXII / SK. 4:¹⁰

di.n(=i) n=k [ns]y.t t3.w nht.w=k “(I) have given to you the [kingship] of the flat lands
h.t h3s.wt nb(.wt) ϵnh.ti d.t and your victories in all *h3s.wt*, that you may live
 forever.”

[18.06.49] Speech of the Ennead from Corridor V / MS. 11:¹¹

(2) *Sbk di=fkni nht h3s.wt nb(.wt) hr* (2) Sobek, he gives bravery and victory and all *h3s.wt*
tb.ty=k under your sandals.

[18.06.50] Speech of Sodpu from Corridor VI/ MS.10:¹²

(1) *dd mdw in Sdpw di.n(=i) n=k ϵ-* (1) Words spoken by Sodpu: “(I) have given to you
[r]s[y] i3b.tt snbk h3s.t /// /// /// (2) *twt* the [southe]rn province, the eastern [province],
Hr.w nb T3-Sty

¹⁰ PM II², 117 (380); LD III, pl. 35a; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 573 (182 S.b); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 142 (182 S.b).

¹¹ PM II², 113 (352); LD III, pl. 34d; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 574 (182 V); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 143 (182 V).

¹² PM II², 113 (356); LD III, pl. 35d; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 572 (182 W); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 143 (182 W); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 169.

Senebek¹³ /// /// /// (2) You are Horus, Lord of Nubia,

(3) *t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(wt) t3š hr* (4) (3) all flat lands and all *h3s.wt*, and (their) boundaries are under (4) your sandals, that you may live, like Re.”

[18.06.51] Pillar 1 of Room XX / SK. 6:¹⁴

(1) *nfr ntr nb 3w.t-ib nb* /// (*Mn-hpr-* (1) The Good God, Lord of Joy, Lord /// *Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w*)| (2) *s3.n Rc.w ph.ty* (Menkheperre, chosen-by-Re)|, (2) whom Re made great, strength /// his [vic]tory over every *h3s.t* /// [*n*]*ht=f r h3s.t nb(.t)*

In three of the four captions, stereotypical statements are found that highlight the transference of the *h3s.wt* to the king from the various deities (*di.n(=i) n=k*). Placing these words into the mouths of the gods and goddesses creates a universality regarding Thutmose III’s right to be king, together with emphasising traditional values regarding Egyptian kingship: the domination over the *h3s.wt*. In some cases, particularly in [18.06.50], the text reinforces that the four points of the compass (or four pillars), and as such, the entire world, are under the purview of the king. In [18.06.51], within the titulary of the king, a generic statement of the king’s military successes over the *h3s.wt* is evident. It is his role to subdue chaotic forces and maintain *maat*, an idea which was manifested and continually played out against the *h3s.wt*.

The theme of the Nine Bows

A third theme found throughout the Akhmenu relates to the Nine Bows. Like the theme of Egyptian domination and ownership, the references to the Nine Bows are found in the titulary of the king and in the speeches of the various deities.

[18.06.52], architraves B-B (Fig. 10.2):¹⁵

¹³ The meaning of *snbk* is unclear here and it was left untranslated in Burkhardt et al. Could it possibly be a toponym, as suggested by the *h3s.t* sign? Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 143 (182 W).

¹⁴ PM II², 116 (375); LD III, pl. 34a; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 556 (179 E.54); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 129 (179 E.54).

¹⁵ KIU 2595, 2603; PM II², 111; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 856-7 (248 C); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 288 (248 C); Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou, planches*, pl. 5; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pl. 90-91, 107-108; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 448 (KIU 2595, 2603).

Upper Architrave:

(...) *ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt* (...) (...) who smites the Nine Bows (...)

Lower Architrave.

(...) *ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt* (...) (...) who smites the Nine Bows (...)

[18.06.53], architraves E-E:¹⁶

(...) *ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt* (...) (...) who smites the Nine Bows (...)

[18.06.54], west wall of Room IV / SF. 6:¹⁷

(8) (...) *snd=k m psd.t pd.wt* (...) (8) (...) fear of you is in the Nine Bows (...)

[18.06.55], north wall of the entry passage, between Rooms SF. 8 and SF. 9:¹⁸

(2) (...) *psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=k* (2) (...) the Nine Bows are bound together under your two sandals.

[18.06.56], Pillar 9, west, below architraves G-G:¹⁹

(3) (...) *skr(.w) psd.t pd.wt* (...) (3) (...) who strikes the Nine Bows (...)

There are four references to “smiting/striking the Nine Bows” (*ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt* and *skr(.w) psd.t pd.wt*) used in connection with the titulary of the king. Like previous examples, these texts denote *action* against the traditional enemies of Egypt. The additional two captions describe other *results* of the king’s exploits, such as “fear” (*snd*) and control (*hr tb.ty=f*).



Figure 10.2 The painted remains of the lower architrave of B-B [18.06.52]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

Summarising comments: captions from the Akhmenu

¹⁶ KIU 2606; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou, planches*, pl. 7; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pl. 97-98.

¹⁷ KIU 2950; PM II², 113 (351, 2); Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou, planches*, 55; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pl. 119; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 456 (KIU 2950).

¹⁸ Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pl. 79.

¹⁹ KIU 2364; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou, planches*, pl. 8; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou, relevés épigraphiques*, pl. 48; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 442 (KIU 2364).

The captions are repetitive with little or no variation in the wording, and “*h3s.wt*” can easily be interchanged with the “Nine Bows” in many of these expressions. In eight of the phrases, they were part of the titulary of the king, and specifically, in all examples, the prenomen: Menkheperre. The remaining five examples were presented as the speech of a deity in which the *h3s.wt* or the Nine Bows are given to the king. Overall, the actions revolve around “smiting” (*hwi*), “victory” (*nh*), the placement of the Nine Bows or *h3s.wt* under the feet of the king, and finally, “fear” (*snd*). They represent a variety of relations with foreign lands, though as a whole, they highlight the superiority of the Egyptians in relation to the “other”, together with the contrasted and expected roles of the Egyptian king.

Concerning spatial distribution, references are found in the pillared hall across the architraves, a pillar, and an adjoining wall (Fig. 10.3). Other examples are found the rooms off the pillared hall: SF. 6 (or IV), rooms to the south off the Southern Girdle Wall (MS.5 or XI) and the corridors MS.11 (or V) and MS.10 (or VI) which link these rooms.²⁰ Other examples are along the eastern side of the complex in rooms SX. 5 (XXIX), SK. 4 (XXII), and SK.6 (XX). It would appear that references to foreign products occur in the smaller chambers of the temple and are associated with offering scenes, and potentially, rituals, while themes of foreign ownership and the Nine Bows are predominantly found on the western side of the complex.

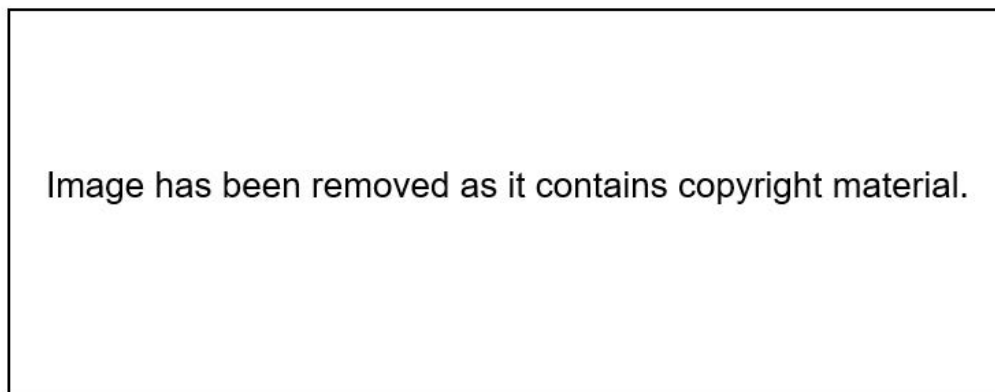


Figure 10.3 The placement of the three types of captions in the Akhmenu. Image after Carlotti (2001); Pécoil (2001), and PM II², plan XII.

²⁰ Roman numerals refer to the names of the rooms as in PM II², pl. 12 and the others as the room numbers under Pécoil (2000), plan 1.

10.2 Chapelle Rouge

There are four blocks from the Chapelle Rouge with references to the *h3s.t* that have been attributed to Thutmose III. These blocks have been decorated in the same manner as those of Hatshepsut, with similar layouts and captions. They belong to the upper registers of the chapel, from registers 6-9 / courses 5-8, and are found in the context of offering scenes.

Block 108 [18.06.57], Thutmose III offering bread to Amun, from the fifth course, exterior south side:²¹

(8) *dd mdw (in Imn.w-R^c.w) sm3.n(=i) n=k t3.wy m htp.w t3.w nb(.w) h3s.t nb.t nh.ti d.t* (8) Words spoken (by Amun-Re): “(I) have united for you the Two Lands in peace, and all the flat lands and every *h3s.t*, that you may live forever.”

Block 192 [18.06.58], Thutmose III offering incense to Amun, from the eighth course, exterior west side:²²

(...) (8) [*dd mdw*] (*in Imn.w) di.n(=i) n=k t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb.t* (...) (8) [Words spoken] (by Amun): “(I) have given to you all flat lands and every *h3s.t*.”

Block 224 [18.06.59], Thutmose III consecrating three tables of vases to Amun-Re, from the seventh course, northern wall of the vestibule:²³

(10) *dd mdw (in Imn.w-R^c.w) sm3.n(=i) n=k t3.wy m htp.w t3.w nb(.w) h3s.t nb.t* (10) Words spoken (by Amun-Re): “(I) have united for you the Two Lands in peace, and all the flat lands and every *h3s.t*.”

Block 253 [18.06.60], Thutmose III offering a cow leg to Amun-Re, from the seventh course, south wall of the vestibule:²⁴

²¹ KIU 1288; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 218 (§335), pl. 10; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* I, pl. 69; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408 (KIU 1288).

²² KIU 1446; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 300 (§498), pl. 2B; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* I, pl. 142; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 413 (KIU 1446).

²³ KIU 1501; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 18; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* I, pl. 172; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 416 (KIU 1501).

²⁴ KIU 1710; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 12; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* I, pl. 255; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 423 (KIU 1710).

(6) *dd mdw (in 'Imn.w-R^c.w) sm3.n(=i) n=k t3.wy m htp.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t hr tb.ty=k* (6) Words spoken (by Amun-Re): “(I) have united for you the Two Lands in peace, and all *h3s.wt* under your sandals.”

The inscriptions found on these four blocks are so alike that one can classify them as stereotypical phrases. Thematically, they highlight the transference of Egyptian kingship to Thutmose III from the god, Amun/Amun-Re. Three blocks are identical, in which the god “unites” the Two Lands and effectively controls the *h3s.wt*. The final example denotes the transference of ownership of the *h3s.wt* from god to king.

Summarising comments: captions from the Chapelle Rouge

The repetition of the encapsulating term *h3s.t* reveals that these inscriptions can be classified as *topos*. As a whole, the captions can be seen to engender and cultivate a system of values of Egyptian kingship as an institution. By mimicking the layout and decorative program of Hatshepsut, the same principles are thus continued from king to king and accordingly, *canonised*. Like the earliest Chapelle Rouge blocks from the reign of Hatshepsut, the *h3s.wt* continue to act as an anonymous group encapsulating the “other”. Now, instead of Hatshepsut projecting herself as a successful ruler, Thutmose III uses them to promote a sense of continuity between his reign and Hatshepsut’s.

The reconstructed locations of these blocks within the chapel is significantly mixed without any discernible pattern, with two occurring on the exterior walls (south and west) and the remaining two inside the vestibule (south and north walls) (Figs. 10.4-10.7). The location on the exterior west side of the chapel faces towards the processional way, whilst the scene on the southern exterior wall may have been visible in the south court, though if it was inside the Palace of Maat, as discussed in Chapter 6.3, the visibility of the wall would have been compromised. Furthermore, as most of these blocks have been reconstructed as belonging on the upper courses of the chapel, significantly above head height, the visibility of these texts is questionable. A final caveat to note is that the Chapelle Rouge itself was short-lived at the temple, as it was dismantled sometime before Year 42, which raises further doubt as to how effectively the messages upon these blocks could be disseminated.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.4 Spatial distribution on the west façade of the Chapelle Rouge.

Figure 10.5 Spatial distribution on the north wall of the vestibule of the Chapelle Rouge.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.6 Spatial distribution on the south wall of the sanctuary of the Chapelle Rouge.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.7 Spatial distribution on the south façade of the Chapelle Rouge.

10.3 Other Bark Shrines and Chapels

Apart from completing his step-mother's chapel, Thutmose III constructed several bark shrines and chapels during his sole-reign which refer to foreign lands, including the Central Bark Shrine, the Contra (Hearing) Temple at East Karnak, and a chapel before the Seventh Pylon.²⁵ The texts on these monuments referring to foreign lands are short captions, some within expanded titularies of the king, while others refer to produce from lands outside Egypt.

Central Bark Shrine

A first reference is found on a section of wall formerly part of Thutmose III's Central Bark Shrine, which was discovered in the fill of the Second Pylon [18.06.61].²⁶ This granite slab is arranged in retrograde and measures two metres in length.²⁷ This central shrine, which one travelled through before reaching the Holy of the Holies, appears to have held "exceptional importance" as it is attested elsewhere, namely, from the tomb of the High Priest of Amun,

²⁵ Blyth, *Karnak*, 89.

²⁶ PM II², 99; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*² (1983), 127-129 (135); Nims, "Thutmosis III's benefactions to Amon", *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 70-71 (vii); Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1953-1954", *ASAE* 53 (1955), 27-28; Barguet, *Temple*, 53 (no. 4), 54 (no. 2).

²⁷ Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1953-1954", *ASAE* 53 (1955), 27-28.

Menkheperreseneb (TT86).²⁸ Menkheperreseneb describes it as a monolith worked with gold, which is confirmed from the inscription found on the shrine itself.²⁹

(...) (x+2) [ḥ ^c .n n=f] ḥm=i sb ³ ʕ m nbw Imn.w ʕ šs ³ m /// /// ///	(...) (x+2) My Majesty [erected for him] a great gateway in nbw-gold, “Amun, Great in Wisdom” in /// /// ///
(x+3) wsh.t ʕ ³ .t w ³ d.yt t ³ -iwn.w m inr (ḥd nfr) n.y rwdt b ³ k(.w) m d ^c m ʕ ³ .t /// /// ///	(x+3) A great hall, a hall of columns with tja-pillars of sandstone, worked with djam-gold and costly stone /// /// ///
(x+4) nbw ʕ ³ .t šps.t m tp in.w ḥ ³ s.wt rs.ywt ini.y n b ³ .w ḥm=i ik(r) /// /// ///	(x+4) nbw-gold and precious costly stone, from the best gifts of the southern ḥ ³ s.wt, brought because of powers of my Majesty, excellent /// /// ///
(x+5) mi.ty=f ḥr šms ntr iw mdḥ.n(=i) n=f wi ³ ʕ ³ n.t [Imn.w-wsr] /// /// ///	(x+5) his likeness following the god. I hewed for him ³⁰ the great barque, of [Amun-Weser] /// /// ///
(x+6) b ³ k(.w) m d ^c m sw ^c b(.w) wnd=f m ḥd sh-ntr m ḥr.y-ib=f b ³ k d ^c m m /// /// ///	(x+6) worked with djam-gold, its ship’s hold purified with silver, the shrine in its midst worked (in) djam-gold /// /// ///
(x+7) Rtnw ḥr.t m wdy.t tp.yt n.t nḥt wd(.n) [it=i Imn.w] iw s ^c ḥ ^c .n[=i] /// /// ///	(x+7) Upper Retenu in the first campaign of victory, [which my father, Amun], command(ed). [I] erected /// /// ///
(x+8) ḥm=i m ʕ.wy ds=i m Htyw ʕš b ³ k(.w) r ʕw=sn m nbw m ḥkr.w /// /// /// (...)	(x+8) my Majesty, with my own two hands, from the Htyw of cedar, worked to their width with nbw-gold, with ornaments /// /// /// (...)

The description, which details the specific changes implemented at Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III (*mimesis*), evokes the splendour of the temple. Within the inscription, a particular focus is placed upon the various exotic and expensive materials, which were used to construct

²⁸ Blyth, *Karnak*, 79.

²⁹ PM I.1², 177 (5) Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 932-933 (274 C); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 339-340 (274 C); Norman de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The tombs of Menkheperreseneb, Amenmosē, and another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (London, 1933), 11-12; pl. X-XII, XXI; Blyth, *Karnak*, 79.

³⁰ Nims reconstructs this section as “My Majesty hewed for him great [river] bark”, though there is no evidence of “my Majesty” in the original text; it is more likely an omitted first-person suffix pronoun.

and embellish the monuments. Only three of these products have a supplementary description that designates their procurement from foreign lands: *nbw*-gold and precious stones of the “southern *h3s.wt*” and cedar of the “terraces” (*Htyw*). Further, the reference to the material from the southern lands is designated as *in.w*, implying gifts for the king’s private use together with a personal relationship existing between the king and the southern lands.³¹ The system is hierarchical, representing the king’s superiority to others, and in this context, the others are the southern *h3s.wt*.³² The second source for products are the terraces of cedar, namely, modern-day Lebanon. Considering the location of Lebanon, together with the reference to the first campaign to Retenu in line x+7, it is plausible that the material was acquired on one of the northern campaigns of Thutmose III. The material was not necessarily one of tribute or booty, and in fact, it is not designated as such, but it may have been acquired as the army passed through the area. Overall, this text on the Central Bark Shrine reiterates the theme of foreign products as evident at the Akhmenu. It is possible that the king, through referring to these products as *in.w* or brought from a foreign land, is addressing and reiterating two particular concepts: the king’s piety and his power over the known world through the products that he receives.³³

The Contra Temple

There are two captions from the chapel known as the “Contra Temple” at East Karnak (Fig. 10.8). This chapel, which measures some 15 metres wide, was constructed at the same time as the Girdle Wall, around Year 30, and is situated between the two eastern obelisks of Hatshepsut.³⁴ It was a shrine where all Egyptians could access the gods, through prayer and seeking answers to oracular questions, without entering the sacred complex itself.³⁵ Accordingly, this alabaster chapel was probably one of the most accessible and visible of Thutmose III’s monuments at Karnak during and after his reign.

The first text is the jambs of Door A from the second chamber [18.06.62].³⁶ The jambs are large, with two vertical columns of text mirrored on each side. The text has been damaged,

³¹ Bleiberg, “The King’s Privy Purse”, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 156, 158.

³² Bleiberg, “The King’s Privy Purse”, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 167.

³³ Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, 318.

³⁴ Blyth, *Karnak*, 89.

³⁵ Blyth, *Karnak*, 89.

³⁶ PM II², 217 (24); Alexandre Varille, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 147, pl. XIII; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6980.

with the lintel lost and several blocks missing, but the remains of the sunk relief text details the titulary of the king:

(2) (...) *hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt s3 R^c.w* (2) (...) who smites the Nine Bows, Son of Re,
(*Dhwti-msiw-hk3-m3^c.t*)| (...) (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Maat)| (...)

This phrase, “who smites the Nine Bows”, is a descriptive epithet within the titulary of the king and is seen across Karnak in numerous texts. It provides evidence for the expected roles of the king, namely, strength and the domination over Egypt’s enemies.

The second text is found on the western wall of this same chamber [18.06.63].³⁷ The scene features the king presenting offerings to Amun. Above the god are the remains of four columns of text:

(1) */// mri.y T[mn.w] ///* (2) */// [dd* (1) /// beloved of A[mun] /// (2) */// all [stability*
w3s] nb hr.y(=i) (3) */// [3w].t-ib nb(.t)* and domination] belonging to (me) (3) */// all*
/// r (4) */// h3s.wt nb(.wt)* jo[y] /// (4) */// all h3s.wt.*

The passage is fragmentary, though it would appear to be an excerpt from a text in which the god is indicating that he gave the king all life, health, joy, and all *h3s.wt*. This phrase is encountered multiple times throughout Karnak and is reiterating once again the transference of power or responsibility from the god to the king.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.8 Spatial Distribution of captions in the Contra Temple

³⁷ PM II², 217 (26); Varille, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 148, pl. XIV; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6156.

Chapel of the Lake

Another text is from the Chapel of the Lake before the Seventh Pylon [18.06.64].³⁸ The monument was constructed in alabaster and sandstone as a replica of the shrine of Amenhotep I and was placed on the eastern side of the second court.³⁹ The pertinent inscription for this study lies on the west façade, left jamb:

(3) (...) s3 [R ^c .w] n.y h.t=f mri.(y)=f	(3) (...) son [of Re] of his body, his beloved,
nb n.y h3s.wt nb(.wt)	Lord of all the h3s.wt,
(Dhwtj-msiw-nfr-hpr) (...)	(Thutmose III, beautiful-of-form) (...)

Like the first example from the Contra Temple, the reference to *h3s.wt* is found in the context of a titulary, as the king is designated as “Lord of all *h3s.wt*”. This is linked to the “Son of Re” (nomen) of the king and is another recapitulation of the stereotypical (*topos*) concept of Egyptian ownership over the “other”.

10.4 Seventh Pylon

Apart from the lengthy topographical lists, large smiting scenes, and statues that adorn both wings and sides of the Seventh Pylon, captions also refer to foreign lands on this monument (Fig. 10.10). The first text comes from the flag mast niches on the south face of the Seventh Pylon on both wings [18.06.65].⁴⁰ These niches describe the acquisition of wood from Asia:

A. Inscription on the Right Niche

[Hr.w] /// /// /// [nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr- R ^c .w)] /// /// ///	[Horus] /// /// /// [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)] /// /// ///
---	---

³⁸ KIU 3039; Emmanuelle Arnaudès-Montélimard, “Un reposoir de barque en calcite édifié par Thoutmosis III dans le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *Karnak* 11 (2003), 164-171, 196-197, 207-209, pl. V and VIII (a-c); Blyth, *Karnak*, 84-85; Christiane Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre. Les textes de construction de Karnak*, MAIBL 41 (Paris, 2009), 169; Bernadette Letellier and François Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, *ÉtudÉg* 12 (2013), 96-98; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 461 (KIU 3039).

³⁹ Blyth, *Karnak*, 84-85.

⁴⁰ KIU 2088, 2102; PM II², 171 (501-502); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 777-778 (214); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 240 (214); Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5:1 (1904), 13-16; Legrain, “Notes d’inspection. XXX-XXXVI”, *ASAE* 7:1 (1906), 33; Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921-1922)”, *ASAE* 22 (1922), 243; Barguet, *Temple*, 269 (no. 2); Traunecker, “Le ‘Château de l’Or’ de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d’Amon”, *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 103-104; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre*, 144; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 434-435 (KIU 2088, 2102).

[*iri.n=fm mnw=f n it=fImn.w*]-*R^c.w nb* [he made as his monument for (his) father Amun]-
p.t Re, Lord of Heaven,
s^ch^c n=f sn.wt šps.wt stp.n hm=f Hnty-š causing to erect for him august flag masts, His
 Majesty having selected (them from) the *Hnty-š*,
st3 hr dw.w [n.w] T3[-ntr] [in 3]m.w dragging (the wood) upon the mountains [of] [the
n.w Rtnw /// /// /// *ht h3s.wt (...)* God's Land, [by the Asia]tics of Retenu /// /// ///
 wood of *h3s.wt (...)*

The left niche has suffered significant damage, but as the text on the right niche refers to Retenu and *Hnty-š*, Sethe has reconstructed the left niche to associate the *djam*-gold with foreign lands:

B. Inscription on the Left Niche

/// /// /// [*s^ch^c n=f sn.wt šps.wt k3i=sn* /// /// /// [causing to erect for him august flag masts,
rkn] n h.wt sb3.w tp.w=sn m d^cm [n.y their height reaching] the bellies of the stars, their
tp.yw h3s.wt] tips in *djam*-gold [of the best of the of *h3s.wt]*

This text explicitly chronicles the removal of the wood chosen by the king for the pair of flag masts of the Seventh Pylon from *Hnty-š*, which were further gilded with *djam*-gold. In turn, this inscription appears to be referring to a historical event of contact with foreign regions (*mimesis*). As wood does not grow to large heights in Egypt, it was common practice to source cedar from regions outside of Egypt for the making of these flag masts.⁴¹ Despite the lacunae, the inscription indicates that Thutmose III selected the wood while he was on campaign in Retenu, and it appears that this inscription thus dwells on the benefits of conflict with foreign lands, namely, the acquirement of exotic products.

A second text is a scene of Thutmose III from the western side of the doorway of the Seventh Pylon [18.06.66] (Fig. 10.9).⁴² The scene is damaged, but the bottom half of three figures are discernible. The text behind the king reads:

⁴¹ Arnold, *The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, 90.

⁴² KIU 2127; PM II², 169-170 (498 I, 2); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 569-570 (182 F); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 138-139 (182 F); Schwaller de Lubiez, *Karnak*, pl. 369; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2127).

(4) */// /// /// s[šm]=k t3.w b3k=k h3s.wt hk3=k* (4) */// /// ///* you [leading] the flat lands, you
Šm^c.w Mh.w mi R^c.w d.t working⁴³ the *h3s.wt*, (and) you ruling Upper
and Lower Egypt, like Re, forever.

This inscription contains the salient phrase: “you working the *h3s.wt*”. When the verb *b3k* is used, generally meaning “to work”, it has connotations of “to serve someone”, “to enslave”, as well as “to pay taxes”. Accordingly, the inscription may simply be describing the work produce or the actual *production* of the work produce of *h3s.wt*, though it could also be referring to the enslavement of the people of the *h3s.wt*.

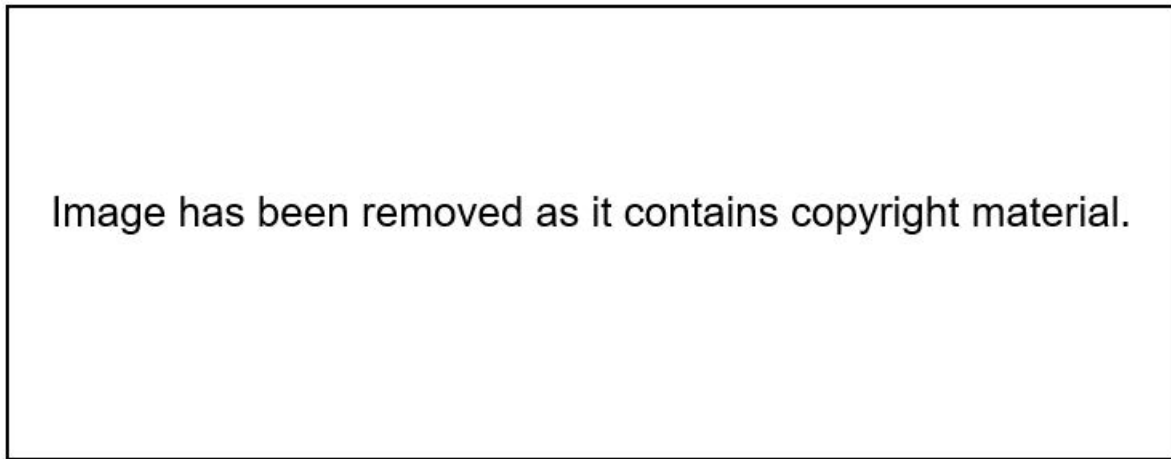


Figure 10.9 The placement of the caption from the doorway of the Seventh Pylon on [18.06.66].

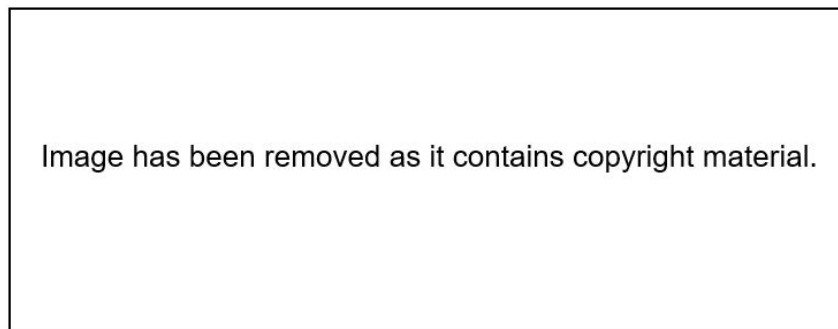


Figure 10.10 Spatial distribution of captions on the Seventh Pylon.

⁴³ Burkhardt et al translate this as “versklaven” though this is a very strong term to choose as *b3k* can simply mean “to work”. *Wb* I, 426-428; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 78.

10.5 Central Karnak

Central Karnak is another focal point for captions referring to foreign lands. These references are particularly found around the North Girdle Wall, the Wadjet Hall, Fifth Pylon, Granite Archway, North Court, South Court, and the Palace of Maat.

North Girdle Wall

In Room XLII against the North Girdle Wall [18.06.67], in the context of a Speech of Horus, a reference to the Hanebu is found.⁴⁴ The inscription is as follows:

a) (...) <i>di.n(=i) n(=k)</i>	a) (...) (I) have given to (you)
<i>whm hh m hb-sd</i>	the repeating of a million jubilees
<i>hr s.t Hr.w n.t nh.w</i>	upon the “Horus-throne-of-the-living”
<i>3w(.t)-ib=k hn(°) k3=k</i>	that you may rejoice together (with) your ka,
<i>sšm=k t3.w⁴⁵</i>	that you may lead the flat lands,
<i>b3k n=k h3s.wt</i>	that the <i>h3s.wt</i> may work for you,
<i>hk3.y=k idb.w H3.w-nb.w (...)</i>	so that you may rule the islands of the Hanebu
	(...)

The extracted passage entails the dominion of the king presented as a speech of Horus. It enumerates various types of relations, including “leading” (*sšm*), causing the *h3s.wt* to “work” (*b3k.w*), and “ruling” (*hk3.y*) the Hanebu. Overall, themes of ownership and the bestowment of these lands upon the Egyptian king by a deity are present in this caption.

A second text located along the area of the North Girdle Wall is found on the south wall of the House of Gold [18.06.68].⁴⁶ This scene depicts the sacred-river bark and refers to materials from foreign lands:

⁴⁴ PM II², 126 (457); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 572-573 (182 R.a); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 141-142 (182 R.a); Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 157; Alan Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh”, *JEA* 36 (1950), 4 (9); Barguet, *Temple*, 313.

⁴⁵ Though Burkhardt et al. translate this as a future: “du sollst die Flachländer führen...” “you will lead” (p. 142), Vercoutter translates it as a present “que tu conduises les (habitants des) plaines” (p. 157). A present tense is more suited to the context, as the speech opens with a present perfect “I gave to you...”. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 142 (182 R.a); Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 157.

⁴⁶ PM II², 104 (310); Traunecker, “Le ‘Château de l’Or’ de Thoutmosis III”, *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989), 89-111; Blyth, *Karnak*, 89-91.

A. (...) (3) <i>dd mdw (in Imn.w) stp.w n.y</i>	A. (...) (3) Words spoken (by Amun): “The
<i>Htyw /// /// ///</i>	choicest of the <i>Htyw /// /// ///</i>
(4) [<i>dd mdw</i>] (<i>in Imn.w</i>) <i>n.w š b3k(.w)</i>	(4) [Words spoken] (by Amun): “Cedar worked
<i>m /// /// ///</i>	with <i>/// /// ///</i>
(5) [<i>dd mdw</i>] (<i>in Imn.w</i>) <i>nbw n.y tp.(y)w</i>	(5) [Words spoken] (by Amun): “ <i>nbw</i> -gold of the
<i>h3s.wt m nht /// /// ///</i>	best (quality) of <i>h3s.wt</i> (won) in victory <i>/// /// ///</i>
(6) <i>hm=f di(=i) n=k [t3.w] nb.w h3s.wt</i>	(6) His Majesty (says): “(I) give to you all [flat
<i>nb.(w)t t3š /// /// ///</i>	lands] and all <i>h3s.wt</i> , the borders <i>/// /// ///</i>
B. (...) (3) <i>/// wi3 š n.y tp itrw</i>	B. (...) (3) <i>///</i> the great bark of the head of the river
(4) <i>/// š.w⁴⁷ m stp ///</i> (5) <i>/// mnw=f ist</i>	(4) <i>///</i> cedar of the choicest <i>///</i> (5) his monuments
<i>htp-ib n ///</i>	which are well disposed <i>///</i>
(6) <i>/// iri.n=f n=f iri=f di(.w) nh [d.t]</i>	(6) <i>///</i> he has made (it) for him, that he may make
	a living [forever]
(7) <i>/// [h]f[t] iyi.t hm=f m Rtn.w /// /// ///</i>	(7) <i>///</i> the coming of with His Majesty from Retenu
	<i>///</i>

A further reference to foreign lands is found above the eastern doorway of the House of Gold [18.06.69]⁴⁸:

(...) (2) <i>iri.n(=i) mnw nfr.w mdh</i> (3)	(...) (2) (I) made beautiful monuments, hewn (3)
<i>m stp.w n.w Htyw</i> (4) <i>n.w š b3k(.w) m</i>	from the choicest of the <i>Htyw</i> (4) of cedar, worked
(5) <i>dꜥm n.y tp.(yw) h3s.wt m</i> (6) <i>nht.w</i>	with (5) <i>djam</i> -gold of the best (quality) of the <i>h3s.wt</i>
(7) <i>/// /// ///</i>	(won) in the (6) victories (7) <i>/// /// ///</i>

These two captions detail the speeches of Amun and the Egyptian king. The topic revolves around materials acquired from foreign lands that were used at Karnak, particularly in the creation of the sacred bark and other monuments. This includes at least two cedars, plus that which is the “choicest of the *Htyw*” (see Tables 10.1 and 10.2). Another product qualified with *h3s.wt* is “*nbw*-gold of the best of *h3s.wt* (won) in victory”. As the text breaks off in both examples, it is difficult to associate the product with any particular region, but it is evident that the plunder acquired in “victory” (and thus perhaps a military conflict) was used to embellish the temple as permanent reminders of the Egyptians’ domination over the terrestrial world.

⁴⁷ The use of Gardiner Sign M.1 to qualify cedar is not uncommon, but the use of three trees appears to be an unusual feature. *Wb* I, 228.

⁴⁸ PM II², 104 (311); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 778 (215); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 241 (215).

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Choicest of the Terraces	<i>stp.w</i>	<i>n.y Htyw ///</i>	A. 3	1
Cedar	<i>ʕš</i>	<i>b3k(.w) m ///</i>	A. 4	1
<i>nbw</i> -gold	<i>nbw</i>	<i>n.y tp.(y)w h3s.wt</i>	A. 5	1
Flat Lands	<i>[t3.w]</i>	<i>nb.w</i>	A. 6	1
<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>h3s.wt</i>	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	A. 6	1
Cedar	<i>ʕš</i>	<i>m stp ///</i>	B. 4	1
Retenu	<i>Rtn.w</i>	<i>[lost]</i>	B. 7	1

Table 10.1 A comparison between the groups and qualifiers in [18.06.68].

Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
Terraces of Cedar	<i>Htyw</i>	<i>n.w ʕ3</i>	3-4	1
<i>djam</i> -gold	<i>dʕm</i>	<i>n.y tp(.yw) h3s.wt</i>	5	1

Table 10.2 A comparison between the products [18.06.69].

Finally, a reference to the Nine Bows is found across the doorjambs of Room XLI [18.06.70].⁴⁹

(2) (...) *hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt* (...)

(2) (...) who smites the Nine Bows (...)

This example repeats the titulary of the king twice across the doorway, denoting action against the designated enemies of Egypt. It is crucial to note that its placement ensures its visibility to any individual who enters the room (see Fig. 10.11)

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.11 The doorjambs of [18.06.70].

⁴⁹ PM II², 124 (440); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 173.

Wadjet Hall

Another caption is found on the papyrus column known as IV from the Colonnade of Thutmose I [18.06.71].⁵⁰ This text details the renovations that were undertaken on the colonnade by Thutmose III, with the addition of columns worked with *djam*-gold. It details the origins of these materials:

(...) (2) *hn(°) ini.ytn b3.w hm=i m b3k.t* (...) (2) and what the powers of my Majesty
h3s.wt nb(.wt) (...) brought as work produce (from) all *h3s.wt* (...)

The above text claims that the materials were sourced from the foreign lands as *b3k.t*. The use of the present perfect tense suggests a past (*mimesis*) event, in which various *h3s.wt* brought *b3k.t* to Egypt as part of their regular and stipulated obligations to Egypt.

Fifth Pylon

The two doorjambs of the Fifth Pylon refer to foreign lands beneath an image of the king [18.06.72]:⁵¹

Left jamb:

A. (1) */// w3s snb 3w.t-ib h3s.wt nb(.wt) r rd.wy ntr pn ///* (...) A. (1) */// dominion, health, and joy. All h3s.wt are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of this god ///* (...)

Right jamb:

B. (1) */// °nh dd w3s snb m3° nb t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb(.wt) r rd.wy ntr [pn] ///* (...) B. (1) */// all life, stability, dominion, health and truth. All flat lands and all h3s.wt are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of [this] god ///* (...)

⁵⁰ KIU 4515; PM II², 80; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 841-843 (237); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 278-279 (237); Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amontempels von Karnak*, 39-40; Pierre Lacau, "L'or dans l'architecture égyptienne", *ASAE* 53 (1956), 231-3; Barguet, *Temple*, 98, 103; Christiane Wallet-Lebrun, "Notes sur le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. 2. Les *w3dyt* thoutmosides entre les IV^e et V^e pylons", *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 317-333; Alain Fortier and Christian Loeben, "Un nouveau fragment d'une colonne de la salle-Wadjet", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 141-143; Carlotti and Gabolde, "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 280-282; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 500 (KIU 4515).

⁵¹ KIU 4706, 4709-4710; PM II², 85-86 (222e-f); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 595-596 (190.4); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 158 (190.4); Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), pl. XII, 3; Barguet, *Temple*, 110; Schwaller de Lubiez, *Karnak*, 113; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 504 (KIU 4706, 4709, 4710).

Though the inscriptions on the two door jambs appear to be mirrored, there is one minor difference: the left jamb excludes *t3.w nb.w*. Overall, however, these captions provide evidence of continuity from the reign of Hatshepsut, as a similar phrase is found repeated on the Chapelle Rouge: “all flat lands, all *h3s.wt*, (are under) the two feet (lit.: two legs) of Amun” on [18.05.13] and [18.05.14]. In addition, this section lacks the usual *di.n=i n=k* “I have given to you...”, and in turn, the emphasis has shifted from the *giving* of the lands by the god to the king, to the *assumption* of ownership and dominion by the king over these various territories.

Granite Archway of Thutmose III

The next group of captions originate from the Granite Archway of Thutmose III. The west side of the sanctuary [18.06.73] is situated between the Fifth and Sixth Pylons and measures 2 meters wide and 2.5 meters high.⁵² The remains of two registers are discernible, including the feet of the upper figure before the double plume of Amun, and below, an almost complete scene depicts Thutmose III presenting two jars of wine to the god. On the right side of the scene, the god states he gave the king all *h3s.wt*:

<p>A) (1) <i>dd mdw (in Imn.w) di.n(=i) n=k</i> <i>ns.yt t3.wy rnp.wt Itm.w t3.w nb.w h3s.wt</i> <i>nb(.wt) ///</i></p>	<p>A) (1) Words spoken (by Amun): “(I) have given to you the kingship of the Two Lands, the years of Atum, (and) all flat lands and all <i>h3s.wt</i> /// ”</p>
---	---

The usage of the present perfect tense reiterates the notion that the bestowment of the *h3s.wt* occurred in the past, most likely during the coronation of the king. The use of the typical qualifier of *h3s.wt* with *nb.wt* suggests a stereotypical or *topos* phrase.

The inscription on the eastern side of the doorway of the same archway is a monolith containing two vertical inscriptions [18.06.74]:⁵³

⁵² KIU 4724-4725; PM II², 86 (224); Barguet, *Temple*, pl. XVb (photo 53113), 111-113; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6340; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 123; Emmanuelle Arnaudiès-Montélimard, “L’arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l’avant-porte du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 121-3, pl. XI and XXVII; Luc Gabolde, “De la soi-disant „arche“ en granit de Thoutmosis III à Karnak”, *GM* 223 (2009), 50, fig. 2; Guillaume Charloux and J. F. Jet, “Recherches archéologiques dans la cour nord du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 293, pl. XXI, fig. 25a; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 505 (KIU 4724-4725).

⁵³ KIU 4726; PM II², 87 (230); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 845-846 (239B); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 281 (239B); Barguet, *Temple*, 111-113; Arnaudiès-Montélimard, “L’arche en granit de Thoutmosis III”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 133-135, pl. XIV; Gabolde, “De la soi-disant „arche“ en granit de Thoutmosis III”, *GM* 223 (2009), 43-52; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 505 (KIU 4726).

(2) */// /// /// inr (ḥd nfr) n.y rwd.t* (2) */// ///* (fine white) sandstone, worked in *djam-b3k(.w) m dꜥm n.y tp.yw ḥ3s.wt (...)* gold of the best (quality) of the *ḥ3s.wt (...)*

Notably, this exact phrase is repeated twice on the jambs of the same gateway, which depicts the king before the plumed god, Amun, with four lines of horizontal text below [18.06.75]:⁵⁴

South and north side:

(2) (...) *iri.tn=fsb3 ʕ3 (Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ.w)| ʕ3* (2) (...) that which he made was a large door
mr.wt m pr.w Imn.w (3) */// inr ḥd nfr n.y* (named) “(Menkheperre)| greatly-loved-in-the-
rwd.t b3k(.w) m dꜥm n.y tp.yw ḥ3s.wt house-of-Amun” (3) *///* in sandstone, worked *djam-*
 (...) gold of the best (quality) of the *ḥ3s.wt (...)*

These three inscriptions indicate that this gateway of Thutmose III was originally decorated with *djam*-gold directly sourced from *ḥ3s.wt*. As such, this repeated caption provides yet another example of utilising foreign materials as a way of expressing piety to the god and the Egyptian king’s power over the *ḥ3s.wt*.

Vestibule of Thutmose III

A pillar fragment from the Vestibule, Room Va [18.06.76], refers to the *ḥ3s.wt*:⁵⁵

(2) *t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) /// /// /// (...)* (2) All flat lands, all *ḥ3s.wt /// /// /// (...)*

Though mostly lost, it would appear that this may be a typical caption placing the *ḥ3s.wt* under the feet or sandals of the king.

North Court

In the second magazine of the North Court, there are inscriptions and images denoting foreign aromatics [18.06.77].⁵⁶

⁵⁴ KIU 4716, 4721; PM II², 86-87 (228b); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 845-846 (239A); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 280-281 (239A); Arnaudès-Montélimard, “L’arche en granit de Thoutmosis III”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 135-136, pl. XVI and XVII; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 505 (KIU 4721).

⁵⁵ KIU 5158; PM II², 91 (257 a); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* II (2008), 230.

⁵⁶ KIU 5726, 5751, 5754, and 5759; PM II², 93; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 853 (246); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 286 (246); Labib Habachi, “Preliminary Report on Kamose Stela and Other Inscribed Blocks Found Reused in the Foundations of Two Statues at Karnak”, *ASAE* 53 (1956), 196-198;

South Wall:

- (1) (...) [iri].n=f m mnw=f n it=f Imn.w (1) (...) he having [made] as his monument for his
[nb ns.wt t3.wy] father Amun, [Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands].
iri.tn=f pr.w-hd n.y ʿntyw that a treasury of myrrh was built
- (2) /// /// [r] iri.t nwd.w špss n mr.t (2) /// /// [for] the making of august ointments, as
wnn=f mn m hnm ntr (i)h.t iri=f ʿnh(.w) he desired, established in the fragrance of the
d.t divine offerings, that he may make a living,
forever.
- (3) stt hknw sft.w h3.tt n.t ʿš h3.tt Thnw (3) A jar of sacred oil and seftw-oil, unguent of
cedar, unguents of Tjehenu.

North Wall:

- (1) /// /// m tp.yw bi3.(yw)t n.t Pwn.t (1) /// /// with the best wonders of Punt.
- (2) /// /// ntr pn šps (3) ʿh.w m ʿntyw (2) /// /// this august god. (3) Heaps of myrrh
ʿndw m tp.yw n.y T3-ntr⁵⁷ (and) jars of the best (quality) of the God's Land.

This chamber, specifically designated as the “Treasury of Myrrh”, originally stored the incense and unguents used for the temple rituals (Table 10.3). The use of the term *bi3.(yw)t* in this context appears to have been used to illustrate the best products from Punt, and it is only these objects that are considered suitable for use in the temple rituals.⁵⁸

Location	Foreign Group / Region / Product	Nominal Reference	Qualifier	Line	No.
South Wall	Unguent of Cedar	h3.tt	n.t ʿš	3	1
South Wall	Unguent of Tjehenu	h3.tt	Thnw	3	1
North Wall	Wonders of Punt	bi3.(yw)t	n.t Pwn.t	1	1
North Wall	Heaps of Jars of Myrrh of the best (quality) of the God's Land	ʿntyw	m tp.yw n.y T3-ntr	2	1

Table 10.3 A comparison between the products [18.06.77].

Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8678, 8815-17, 8831-2; Pierre Lacau, “Deux magasins à encens du temple de Karnak”, *ASAE* 52 (1952), 194-196; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 530-531 (KIU 5726, 5751, 5754, and 5759).

⁵⁷ As discussed in Chapter 5.3, God's Land has connotations with Punt and fertile areas. Alessandra Nibbi, “Remarks on Two Stelae from Wadi Gasus”, *JEA* 62 (1976), 50-51.

⁵⁸ Gillen, “The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge”, *BACE* 16 (2005), 8.

South Court

On the east wall of the south court, another caption is found referring to the *h3s.w(t)* [18.06.78].⁵⁹ The scene depicts Thutmose III consecrating treasure to Amun, with rows of vases, braziers, and other gifts:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) [nsw.t d]s=f hrp(.w) wdhw ʕ3.t wr.t m-
ʕb mnw ʕš3.w(t) wr[(w)t] m hḏ</p> <p>(2) /// /// /// hkr.w im.w ntr hʕ.w m dʕm hr
ʕ3.t nb(.t)</p> <p>(3) /// /// /// [m]-ʕb in.w n.w h3s.w(t) nb.(w)t
ini.w m (4) /// /// ///</p> | <p>(1) [The king] him[self] is the one who controls
the very many offering tables along with very
many monuments in silver.</p> <p>(2) /// /// /// ornaments ... the flesh of the god in
djam-gold, upon every precious stone.</p> <p>(3) /// /// /// [together] with gifts of every
h3s.w(t), brought with (4) /// /// ///</p> |
|---|---|

This inscription provides evidence for an *in.w*-type of relationship between the *h3s.w(t)* and Egypt, of which gifts were given to the king. Though no other contextual information has survived, it would appear to be another caption describing the dedication of foreign materials at the temple.

Palace of Maat

A short text referring to foreign lands is found on the south wall of Room XX in the Palace of Maat [18.06.79].⁶⁰ The caption is in the format of a speech:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>[dd mdw in Imn.w] di.n(=i) n=k ns.yt t3.wy
h3s(.wt) nb.(w)t r b(w) hr nb idb.wy dm3 hr
tb.wy=k</p> | <p>[Words spoken by Amun:] “(I) have given to
you the kingship of the Two Lands, all
h3s(.wt) where you are, and the Two Banks are
bound together under your sandals.”</p> |
|---|--|

This *topos* inscription returns with the use of *di* and the present perfective tense, reiterating that the emphasis is on the giving of the land from the god to the Egyptian king.

⁵⁹ PM II², 95-96 (277); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 867-869 (255 B); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 295-296 (255 B); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5877-8; Henry George Fischer, “Further Remarks on the Prostrate Kings”, *PUMB* 21:2 (1957), 35-7, figs. 14, 15.

⁶⁰ PM II², 105-106 (323b); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 558-9 (180 B); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 131 (180 B).

Middle Kingdom Court

A final example of a caption from Central Karnak is an offering table, which was found in the courtyard of the Middle Kingdom [18.06.80] (Cairo JE 88803).⁶¹ This table contains a reference to the Nine Bows on the bottom line of the reverse side:

<i>nsw.t ds=f dꜥr mn.w pn ḥ3[.ty]-</i>	The king himself planned this monument, the heart of the
<i>bi.ty</i>	king of Lower Egypt,
<i>iri=f sšm.w m ḥḥ,y 3ḥ.t n it=f</i>	he made (it) as a guide in the search for beneficial
<i>Imn.w rdi(.w) ntr.y</i>	(offerings) for his father, Amun, who gave to him divinity,
<i>smn(.w) ḥꜥ(.w)=f ḥr s.t-Ḥr.w</i>	who established his appearances upon the Throne of
	Horus,
<i>rnn(.w) sw r ḥk3 psd.t pd.wt</i>	who raised him to be the ruler of the Nine Bows (...)

This reference to the Nine Bows may be an allusion to Thutmose III's title "who smites the Nine Bows"; however, instead of denoting action against the Nine Bows (see Section 10.1), it describes *control* over the traditional enemies of Egypt by acting as their ruler.

Summarising comments: captions from the Central Karnak

Overall, the captions from Central Karnak continue to adhere to the three themes of transactions, ownership or control, and the Nine Bows. Their locations are quite varied, though a focus around doorways is somewhat evident (see Fig. 10.12). Transactions can be used without political overtones, in which case the piety of the Egyptian king is at the forefront; in other cases, the use of the terms *b3k.w* and *in.w* can provide evidence for the Egyptian king's dominion over the "other".

⁶¹ PM II², 108; Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1948-1949)", *ASAE* 49 (1949), 257-258; Barguet, *Temple*, 155 (no. 5); Sébastien Biston-Moulin, "À propos de la table d'offrandes de Thoutmosis III Caire JE 88803", *Karnak* 13 (2010), 25-43.

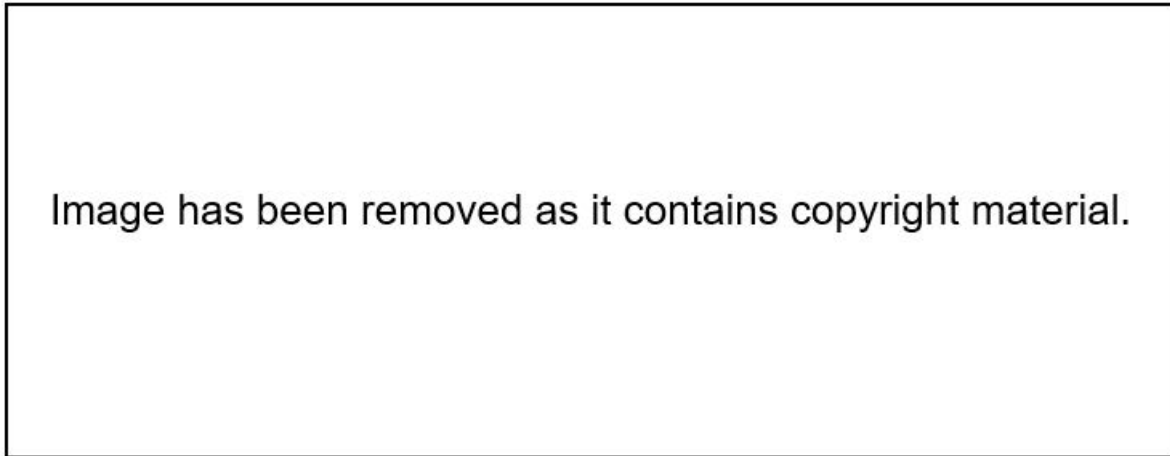


Figure 10.12 Spatial distribution of captions around Central Karnak. Some are a combination of both ownership and products.

10.6 Miscellaneous

The Netery-Menou

The *Netery-Menou*, created in the initial years of the reign of Hatshepsut (see Chapter 6.3.1, [18.05.02]), contains reconstructed scenes from the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III. Specifically, a fragmentary wall tableau depicts Thutmose II posthumously officiating before Amun [18.06.81].⁶² These seven blocks were published in 2005 and contain the remains of a caption referring to the Nine Bows behind Amun.⁶³ The inscription reads:

(13) */// /// = f p s d . t p d . w t d m 3 h r [t b . t y = k]* (13) *// /// the Nine Bows are bound together under*
(...) [your sandals] (...)

The above phrase, which emphasises the placement of the Nine Bows under the feet of the king, is found almost identically in the reign of Hatshepsut on a depiction of Thutmose II

⁶² Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 5-51 (50-51 esp), pl. VIII, VIII*.

⁶³ Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief*, 5; Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 14-21.

[18.05.06]. This may provide evidence for it being firstly inscribed during the reign of Hatshepsut before it was altered or finished by Thutmose III. Overall, the caption has been placed in a column of text behind the god, which suggests that it is another instance of a speech of a deity who gives the king control over all the enemies of Egypt upon his coronation.

The Temple of Ptah

Further examples of captions are found at the Temple of Ptah. The temple contains some three captions referring to foreign lands from the reign of Thutmose III throughout the complex (see Fig. 10.13). The first caption occurs within the south chapel on the north wall [18.06.82].⁶⁴ The scene depicts Thutmose III wearing the *shendyt*-kilt on the left before Hathor. Behind the goddess on the right is a column of text:

(...) (7) /// /// [*di*].*n(=i) n=k ʕnh* [*w3s*] (...) (7) /// /// (I) have [given] to you all life and
nb snb nb 3w.t-ib [*nb.t*] /// /// /// [*n*]*ht nb* [dominion], all health, and [all] joy /// /// /// every
r h3s.wt [*nb.wt mi Rʕ.w d.t*] (...) [vic]tory over [all] *h3s.wt*, [like Re, forever] (...)

The above is a speech of Hathor to Thutmose III detailing her bestowment of victories against the *h3s.wt* to Thutmose III. It contains another reiteration of the divine approval of Thutmose III to be king.

The next two inscriptions from the Temple of Ptah are found in the niches of the south wall [18.06.83]⁶⁵ and the north wall of the court [18.06.84].⁶⁶ These two captions refer to the cedar of the *Htyw*:

[18.06.83], south wall:

⁶⁴ KIU 2347; PM II², 201 (30a); Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)”, *ASAE* 3:2 (1902), 107; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique*, 262-263; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 442 (KIU 2347).

⁶⁵ KIU 262; PM II², 200 (19); Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique*, 196-197 (no. 135); Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak II. Relevé photographique*, 127, 134; Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)”, *ASAE* 3, 99; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre*, 363; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 376 (KIU 262).

⁶⁶ KIU 251; PM II², 199-200 (15); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 878-879 (259); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 302-303 (259); Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 98-99; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre*, 363; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique*, 194-195; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak II. Relevé photographique*, 126, 134; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 376 (KIU 251).

(1) (...) *sḥꜥ[.n=f] /// /// [m inr] ḥd* (1) (...) [He] (Thutmose III) erect[ed] /// /// [in]
nfr n.y rwd.t ʕ3.w=f m ʕš (2) *m3ꜥ n.y* fine white sandstone, its doors in real cedar (2) of
tp(.yw) n.y Htyw (...) the best (quality) of the *Htyw (...)*

[18.06.84], north wall:

(1) (...) *sḥꜥ.n=f ḥw.t Pth m m3.wt [m inr] ḥd nfr n.y rwd.t ʕ3.w=s m ʕš* (2) *m3ꜥ* anew [in] fine white sand[stone], its doors in true
n.y tp(.yw) Htyw (...) cedar (2) of the best (quality) of the *Htyw (...)*

The above captions are almost identical, with the exception of how the terraces are referred to from which the cedar was sourced. In [18.06.84], the direct genitive is used (*tp(.yw) Htyw*), whilst in the above, [18.06.83], the indirect genitive is evident (*tp(.yw) n.y Htyw*). Cedar from the Levant was clearly prized and used across Karnak for a number of building purposes.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.13 Spatial distribution of captions at the Temple of Ptah.

Lateran Obelisk

A caption is also found on the Lateran Obelisk [18.06.85].⁶⁷ This obelisk is famously the largest in the world, being preserved to a height of 33 metres, and it is located currently in the Piazza San Giovanni in Rome. The dedicatory inscription stated it was intended to stand “in the upper

⁶⁷ PM VII, 409 (1); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 583-585 (186); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 252-252; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 150-153 (186); James Henry Breasted, “The Obelisks of Thutmosis III”, *ÄZ* 39 (1901), 55-6; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 112-117.

court of the temple in the neighbourhood of Ipet-Sut”, though it was left unfinished until the reign of Thutmose IV. This suggests that the obelisk may have been situated in the vicinity of Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III, hence its inclusion. Today, its sandstone torus socle, constructed in the reign of Thutmose IV, still stands within a later temple of Ramesses II. The inscription known as the “back side” contains the titulary of Thutmose III:

<i>Hr.w k3-nḥt mri.y Rḥ.w</i>	Horus, Strong Bull, beloved by Re,
<i>nb.ty ʿ3 šf.yt m t3.w nb(.w)</i>	the Two Ladies, Great of Respect in all the Flat Lands,
<i>Hr.w nbw ʿ3 ḥpš</i>	Horus of Gold, Strong of Arm,
<i>ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt</i>	who smites the Nine Bows,
<i>nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ.w) (...)</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre) (...)

As a point of difference from the titulary in the Contra Temple (see Section 10.3), the titulary links the epithet “who smites the Nine Bows” to the prenomen or *nsw.t bi.ty* name of the king. This indicates that the placement of this phrase is fluid, though it continues to evoke strength and action against the enemies of Egypt through the use of active participles. The identical nature of this phrase to the reign of Thutmose I (see [18.03.01]) suggests continuity in the ideals of the early Eighteenth Dynasty to the reign of Thutmose III.

10.7 Non-Royal Monuments

During the reign of Thutmose III, a private monument referring to foreign lands at Karnak is found. This is a granite stelophorous statue of the Royal Butler, Neferperet, Cairo CG 42121 [18.06.86], which depicts him seated and grasping a round top stela.⁶⁸ Though the statue was discovered in the Karnak Cachette, the inscription on the back pillar indicates that it was created to receive offerings from the Funerary Temple of Thutmose III known as “Endowed

⁶⁸ PM², II, 144-145; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 555 (179.E.46), 557 (179.E.58), 603 (193 B), 1019-21 (304); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 128 (179.E.46), 129 (179.E.58), 162 (193.B), 390-392 (304); Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 69-70, pl. 71; Legrain, “Notes d’inspection. XXXVII-XXXVIII”, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 185 (no. 3), 187 (no. 3-4); Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 92-94 (no. 170); Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 123 (no. 402); Legrain, “Renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak”, *RecTrav* 27 (1905), 69; B. J. J. Harig, *Divine Households* (Leiden, 1997), 145-147; Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* II-III (Copenhagen, 1957), 592; Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958), 471-473, 483, 508, 661, pl. 159.5; E. B. Althoff, *Kronen und Kopfputz von Königsfrauen im Neuen Reich* (Hildesheim, 2009), 6 (no. 11 and 18), 149 (15.B); L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986), 64, 164, 184-185, 191, 193, 196 (18.19/3); The Royal Academy of Art, *5000 Years of Egyptian Art. The Diploma Galleries. Royal Academy of Art, London 22 June to 12 August [1962]* (London, 1962), 18, no. 54; Heike Guksch, *Königsdienst: Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1994), 59, 190 ((072)16).

with Life” on the West Bank. Though this statue may not have belonged initially at Karnak, it has been included as it is difficult to know if it was moved to Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III or later. Overall, this statue remains pertinent to the current study as it demonstrates references to foreign lands from a private monument designed to be situated at a temple in Thebes during the reign of Thutmose III. Statues of high officials were only allowed in the temple through explicit royal privilege, and the very presence of this statue in a temple implies that it was granted to Neferperet by Thutmose III as a favour.⁶⁹ Though there is always a question surrounding authorship, it is certain that the content would have reflected the values and attitudes of the wider Egyptian society towards foreigners at the time.⁷⁰

The stele itself, grasped by Neferperet, contains a reference to the Nine Bows:

D) (1) <i>rdi.t i3w n nb t3.wy</i>	(1) Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands,
<i>sn(.w) t3 n.y nsw.t kni nfr ntr pn</i>	who kisses the land of the brave king, this Good God,
(2) <i>rs-tp(.w) ptpt(.w)</i>	(2) who is watchful, who tramples,
<i>n hpš=f psd.t pd.wt</i>	because of his strong arm, the Nine Bows,
<i>šhm-ib</i> (3) <i>m s3 ph.w sw</i>	stout-hearted (3) behind (them), who attack him,
<i>ini(.w) dr.w tkk.w</i> (4) <i>t3š=f(...)</i>	who brings to an end those who attack (4) his border (...)

The stela acts as an encomium to the king by Neferperet, praising the king through a series of active participles. Though it is difficult to know what degree of influence Thutmose III had in the creation of this statue and the various inscriptions, it would appear that the qualities are those which Neferperet himself admired in his king. These include “vigilance” (*rs-tp(.w)*), “strength” (*hpš, dr.w*), one who “tramples” (*ptpt(.w)*), and “stout-heartedness” (*šhm-ib*) (see Table 10.4). Apart from these attributes, it is notable that the actions of the king appear to be *reactive*: “who brings to an end those who attack his border”. This phrase provides evidence for intertextuality, as it is found in the Annals (see [18.06.01], lines 7-8), and may be evidence for Neferperet’s interaction or knowledge of this text.

The back inscription on the pillar also indicates that Neferperet himself accompanied Thutmose III on one of his campaigns to the north:

⁶⁹ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 17.

⁷⁰ Boyo G. Ockinga, “Review: Guksch, Heike, *Königsdienst*: Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie (Heidelberg, 1994)”, *BiOr* 57:5-6 (2000), 560.

E) (1) *ini.n wb3 nsw.t* (2) *Nfr-pr.t* (1) What the royal butler (2) Neferperet, brought while
ist sw (3) *m šms.wt hm=f* (4) *hr* he was (3) in the following of His Majesty (4) in the
h3s.t Rtnw k3.w n.y D3hy (5) *idt 4* *h3s.t* of Retenu: cattle of Djahy, (5) four cows, two
idt n.t Km.t 2 (6) *k3 1 dmd 7* cows of Egypt, (6) one bull, total: 7;
hsmn im hr (7) *r rdi.t st r hw.t n.t* a bronze milk-jar (7) in order to give it to the Temple
hh.w (8) *m rnp.wt hnk.t ʿnh* (...) of Millions (8) of Years, “Endowed-with-Life” (...)

This brief explanatory statement provides the apropos context for the offerings of Neferperet to his king. These offerings have enhanced importance and value through their original procurement in foreign lands, namely, in the Levant (Djahy). Further information is imparted: not only is the livestock sourced from foreign regions, but Neferperet himself, whilst in the following of Thutmose III, selected them in order to give them to his king. As with other captions and texts detailed in the past chapters, foreign materials and products held a certain allure and class to the ancient Egyptians; a view which is evidentially not restricted to the Egyptian kings. The exotic nature of foreign products held a level of prestige that enhanced the level of piety associated with the giver.

Type	Verb	Translation	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Line	No.
Movement (re-active)	<i>šms</i>	to follow	<i>k3</i>	<i>Nsw.t</i>	<i>h3s.t nb.t</i>	C.2	1
	<i>ini dr.w</i>	to bring to an end	<i>nsw.t</i>	<i>tkkw</i>	<i>tš</i>	D.3-4.	1
	<i>ini.n</i>	to bring	<i>wb3 nsw.t</i>	<i>k3.w</i>	<i>D3hy</i>	E. 1-4.	1
Movement (pro-active)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Emotion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Physical	<i>sn</i>	to kiss	(Neferperet)	<i>t3</i>	<i>nsw.t kni</i>	D.1	1
	<i>ptpt</i>	to trample	(<i>nsw.t</i>)	<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>		D.2	1

Table 10.4 Verbs and attributes associated with the actor(s) in [18.06.86].

Most significantly, Neferperet’s account is a reflection of the values promoted by Thutmose III on his various monuments and inscriptions, including qualities such as physical strength, the value of foreign products, and the latter’s connection with piety.⁷¹ It supports the theory that institutionalised monuments can influence and shape cultural memory and identity on a societal level, rather than just the royal sphere. The notions and values of the Egyptian rulers are not self-contained but may have had the capacity to filter out and affect how the general population perceived themselves and other groups.

⁷¹ Ockinga, “Review: Guksch, Heike, Königsdienst”, *BiOr* 57:5-6 (2000), 560; Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 1-3.

10.8 Observations and Spatial Distribution of Captions in the Reign of Thutmose III

Captions are the most frequently attested type of references to foreign lands encountered in this study (see Table 10.5 for an overview). They are not restricted to being short microaggressive statements, though this type appears to be the most repetitive. Short texts that border scenes or describe the tableaux can also be categorised as captions because they provide *short* explanatory commentaries on the proceedings. The captions are repetitive in their phraseology, which suggests that they can, for the most part, be categorised as *topos* statements that reveal the Egyptians' perception of reality, which is anchored in the cultural context.⁷² In addition, the use of repetition is central to mnemotechnics (namely, the storage and renewal of memory) so that they can become identity-shaping for the kings and Egyptian society on a broader level.⁷³ Accordingly, the repetition of these captions is particularly crucial within the concept of cultural memory for the concretion of Egyptian identity.

The truly ideological nature of captions is demonstrated by their frequent inclusion in the titulary of the king and the speeches of deities. They are a tool to demonstrate the legitimacy of the king through divine authority, together with engendering and cultivating a system of values in connection with Egyptian kingship. This includes, in particular, ownership and dominance over the terrestrial world. They are a device through which the king can project himself as a successful and thus *legitimate* ruler. The repetitive nature and simplistic dualities of the captions encapsulate the essence of the message that the Egyptian king wished to communicate to his people, particularly in relation to expected roles: *maat* (=the king) continually overcoming and controlling *isfet* (= *h3s.wt* and the Nine Bows).

Other captions related to foreign lands detail the use of foreign products within the temple. These are varied, from cedar of the Levant being used for the creation of doors and flag masts, *djam*-gold from the southern countries for the embellishment of monuments, to incense from Punt and unguent from Tjehenu being used in the temple rituals. In these cases, foreign *products* become disassociated from the negative portrayal of foreign *peoples* and are thus rendered in a positive light. They are qualified, on a number of occasions, as “the best” (*tp.yw*): not only are these materials unavailable in Egypt, but those sourced are of the highest quality. In such a case, the king can provide evidence for his dedication to his god, together with being a subtle expression of the Egyptian king's power over the known world through the products

⁷² Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 10.

⁷³ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 72.

that he receives, which, in the majority of instances, are given to Egypt as part of *b3k.w* and *in.w*-relationships.

Regarding spatial distribution, captions are found throughout the temple, routinely placed around doorways and bordering scenes (see Figs. 10.14 and 10.15). They appear to penetrate further into the sacred areas of the temple than the images of foreign peoples and can be found in rooms that were probably inaccessible to most people. Curiously, when these captions are found in small chambers and rooms, they are often denoting the *contents* of that space, such as incense. The captions that are microaggressive and convey the strength of the Egyptian king against the *h3s.wt* or the Nine Bows are delegated to the more open areas, such as doorways of both processional ways, the pillared hall of the Akhmenu, and even the Contra Temple. Overall, these captions, whilst not necessarily eye-catching when compared to the smiting scenes, are repetitive and found throughout most areas of the temple. This would suggest that they are broadcasting values and ideas already well-known to the Egyptians and are simply a recapitulation of them.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10.14 Spatial distribution of captions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak from the reign of Thutmose III.

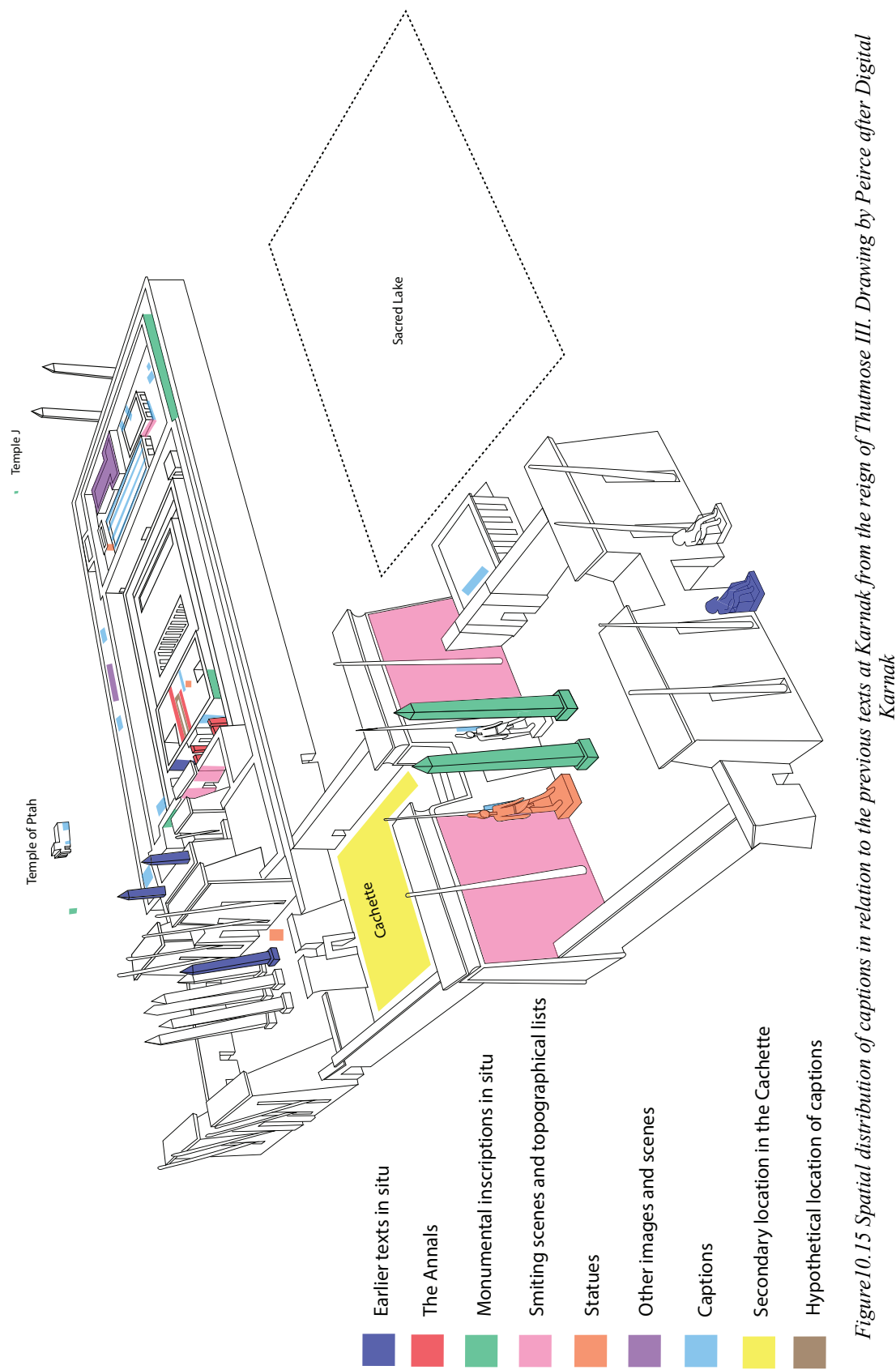


Figure 10.15 Spatial distribution of captions in relation to the previous texts at Karnak from the reign of Thutmose III. Drawing by Peirce after Digital Karnak

Code	Provenance	Dimensions	Current Location	Content
18.06.42	Akhmenu, Room XXIX	unknown	in situ	King offering sphinx ointment-jar, with ka bringing incense of Punt.
18.06.43	Akhmenu, Room XIII	unknown	in situ	The king consecrates offerings with Thoth. Reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.44	Akhmenu, Corridors V and VI	unknown	in situ	King bringing metals and minerals to Amun, reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.45	Akhmenu, SF 6	unknown	in situ	A reference to cedar oil of Tjehenu.
18.06.46	Akhmenu, Architraves A-A	unknown	in situ	Architrave sections referring to the rulers of <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.47	Akhmenu, Architraves G-G	unknown	in situ	Architrave section referring to ruler of <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.48	Akhmenu, Room XXII	unknown	in situ	Speech of Horus and Seth, reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.49	Akhmenu, Corridors V and VI	unknown	in situ	Speech of the Ennead, reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.50	Akhmenu, Corridors V and VI	unknown	in situ	Speech of Sodpu, reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.51	Akhmenu, Pillar I from Room XX	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.t.</i>
18.06.52	Akhmenu, Architraves B-B	unknown	in situ	An architrave section referring to smiting the Nine Bows.
18.06.53	Akhmenu, Architraves E-E	unknown	in situ	Architrave sections referring to smiting the Nine Bows.
18.06.54	Akhmenu, SF 6	unknown	in situ	Reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.55	Akhmenu, SF 8 and 9	unknown	in situ	Reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.56	Akhmenu, Pillar 9, below Architraves G-G	unknown	in situ	Reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.57	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum.	Block 108. Reference to <i>h3s.t.</i>
18.06.58	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 192. Reference to <i>h3s.t.</i>
18.06.59	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 224. Reference to <i>h3s.t.</i>
18.06.60	Third Pylon	unknown	Chapelle Rouge, Open Air Museum	Block 253. Reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.61	Second Pylon	L 2 m	Open Air Museum(?)	Thutmose III's benefactions to Amun on his bark shrine, reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.62	Grand Alabaster Shrine of Thutmose III, Chamber II, Jambs	unknown	in situ	Reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.63	Grand Alabaster Shrine of Thutmose III, Chamber II, W. Wall	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.64	Alabaster Chapel of Thutmose III, W. Face	unknown	Open Air Museum	Lintel of the chapel contains a reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>
18.06.65	Seventh Pylon, S. Face	unknown	in situ	Flag mast niches with reference to woods from Asia.
18.06.66	Seventh Pylon, W. Door	unknown	in situ	Thutmose III embraced by Amun. Reference to <i>h3s.wt.</i>

18.06.67	North Girdle Wall, Room XLII	unknown	in situ	Speech of Horus referring to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.68	House of Gold, S. Wall, Room D3N2	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.69	Room XV, north of the Granite Sanctuary	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.70	Room XLI, north of the Granite Sanctuary.	unknown	in situ	Reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.71	Colonnade of Thutmose I, Column IV	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.72	Fifth Pylon, gateway	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.73	Sixth Pylon, W. Side, archway	W 200 cm H 250 cm	in situ	Granite archway, reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.74	Sixth Pylon, E. Side, archway	H 300 cm	in situ	Granite archway, reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.75	Sixth Pylon, archway, jambs	H 360 cm W 130 cm	in situ	Sandstone jambs of the granite archway, reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.76	Vestibule of Thut. III, Room Va	H 57 cm	in situ(?)	Sandstone pillar, reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.77	North Court, Chapel 2	unknown	in situ	Reference to products from Tjehenu, Punt, and the God's Land.
18.06.78	South Court, E. Wall	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.79	Room XX, south of the Granite Sanctuary	unknown	in situ	Reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> .
18.06.80	Courtyard of the Middle Kingdom	H 22.5 cm W 31 cm L 71.5 cm	Cairo JE 88803	Offering table with reference to the Nine Bows on the reverse side.
18.06.81	Cachette	H 100 cm W 210 cm	Open Air Museum	Blocks from the Netery-Menou, reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.82	Temple of Ptah, S. Chapel, N. Wall	unknown	in situ	Scene of Thutmose III with a reference to <i>h3s.wt</i> in speech of Hathor.
18.06.83	Temple of Ptah, S. Wall of Court	H 2.7 m W 0.5 m	in situ	Reference to cedar of the terraces.
18.06.84	Temple of Ptah, portico, N. Wall	H 3 m W 0.5 m	in situ	Reference to cedar of the terraces.
18.06.85	E. Karnak	H 33 m	Piazza San Giovanni, Rome	Lateran Obelisk, reference to the Nine Bows.
18.06.86	Cachette‡	H 60 cm L 18 cm W 35.5 cm	Cairo CG 42121	Statue of Neferperet, reference to the Nine Bows and Djahy.

‡ This object was probably sourced from another temple on the West Bank and was not originally from Karnak.

Table 10.5 Overview of sources from the reign of Thutmose III discussed in this chapter.

Part Three

Findings and Discussion

Chapter 11

The Development of Representations of Foreigners and the Concretion of Egyptian Identity

“Thus, the Egyptian concept of ‘the other’, at least in foreign form,
provides considerable insight into the larger Egyptian worldview,
and into factors influencing the actuality and the symbolic rendition of
hierarchical relations within Egypt itself,
as well as between Egypt and foreigners.”
O’Connor, *“Never Had the Like Occurred”*.¹

In the course of the seven preceding chapters that have examined representations of foreigners at Karnak, much artistic, textual, and symbolic evidence was analysed. Through the reassessment of translations and pictorial sources, a significant plethora of data on the changing depiction of the “other” was extracted. In the following synthesis, this chapter offers observations in order to address the first two research questions, namely, how do the representations of foreigners, in art, textual, and symbolic sources, at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak develop during the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III? And what does the Karnak Temple reveal about Egyptian identity?

This evidence is divided into text type in order to discuss particular facets of the characteristics associated with foreigners, and by extension, Egyptian identity. Section 11.1 discusses the iconographical representations of foreigners in artistic sources, Section 11.2 tracks the textual references to foreigners, and Section 11.3 focuses on the development of the captions. Section 11.4 examines the symbolic representations of foreign lands in the form of the nine-bow motif on statuary, while Section 11.5 deliberates on the concept of Egyptian identity. This discussion is followed by a summation of the overarching results of the chapter.

11.1 The Development of Iconographic Representations of Foreigners

This section on iconography discusses how each foreigner type, as identified in Chapter 3.2, is depicted at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak over the period studied. It focuses on ethnic and cultural appearance through coiffures, headdresses, facial features, facial hair, clothing, items

¹ O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’”, *“Never Had the Like Occurred”*, 164.

of personal adornment, and weapons, followed by a comparison with representations of Egyptians in the same scenes.

11.1.1 The Nubians

The first preserved artistic depiction of a Nubian or southerner at Karnak dates to the reign of Hatshepsut [18.05.03]. The outline of the illustration represents a kneeling figure with their arms raised before their face with a short-bobbed hairstyle, short nose, and full lips (Fig. 11.1).

During the reign of Thutmose III, a number of representations of Nubians are encountered. In some cases, particularly the smiting scenes, the peoples have been depicted in an archaic manner, namely, after Old Kingdom representations of southerners. This includes braided and sectioned hair ending in curls, squared beards, full lips, nasolabial furrows, the ostrich feather (grasped in the hand and not attached to the headdress), short swords or daggers, together with circular and floral motifs on the clothing (see [18.06.17], [18.06.20], and [18.06.22]; Figs. 11.2, 11.4, 11.6, and 11.7).² The figures attached to the Nubian name rings, however, have been represented as southern Levantines (namely, with long hair and a fillet), as well as with squared beards, which are again associated with archaic representations of southern peoples (Figs. 11.3, 11.5, and 11.8). The only depiction that adheres to the contemporary representations of Nubians as found in the Theban Tombs in the Eighteenth Dynasty is [18.06.41] (Fig. 11.9). However, this image, which features a short-bobbed hairstyle, fillet, ostrich feather, and a band across the chest, has been varyingly identified as a “Libyan” and a Nubian.

Other artistic techniques have been utilised to articulate the inferior status of the southerners, from their small size (hierarchical proportion), the heavily lined faces and open mouths suggesting distress, to the application of lateral layering to denote a crowd.³ This latter technique denies the figures individuality and instead presents them as an anonymous “other” group. Another characteristic that defines the pictorial depictions of the southerners are their postures; they are either kneeling, cowering, bound, or completing activities. This suggests that they have the lowest hierarchical importance in the respective tableaux.

² Drenkhahn, *Darstellung von Negern in Ägypten*, 4-6; Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-Re*. vol. 2.2, blatt 2.

³ Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 178-183.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.1 The Nubian in [18.05.03].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.2 The kneeling Nubians in [18.06.17].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.3 A Nubian name ring in [18.06.17].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.4 The kneeling Nubians in [18.06.20].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

11.5 A Nubian name ring in [18.06.20].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.6 The kneeling northerners and southerners in [18.06.22].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

11.7 A close up of a southerner in [18.06.22].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

11.8 A Nubian name ring in [18.06.22].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.9 A Nubian (?) in [18.06.41].

Feature	Hatshepsut	Thutmose III
Short-bobbed hairstyle	*	*
Long-braided hairstyle with curls		*
Shoulder length hair brushed over shoulders		*
Fillet		*
Ostrich plume in headdress		*
Pronounced ala	*	*
Short noses	*	
Nasolabial furrows		*
Full lips	*	*
Clean-shaven faces	*	
Ostrich plume		*
Pointed beard		*
Squared beard		*
Hooked noses		*
Necklaces		
Band across torso		*
Bound arms		*
Ostrich feather in hand		*
Daggers or short swords		*
Plain short kilt	*	*
Long dress with floral and circular motifs		*

Table 11.1 Summary of the iconographic features associated with Nubians.

11.1.2 The Puntites

There were no artistic representations identified as Puntites found at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak dating from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III.

11.1.3 The Tjehenu (Westerners)

Representations of the Tjehenu are rarely encountered at Karnak (see Table 11.2). The first example of a depiction of a Tjehenu dates from the reign of Hatshepsut, which features a kneeling figure with their arms raised [18.05.03] (Fig. 11.10). This person has a pointed, slightly curled beard, and an aquiline nose with a prominent bridge. A possible image of a Tjehenu from the reign of Thutmose III [18.06.41] (Fig. 11.11) represents a non-descript figure with an ostrich plume in the hair. As is the case for the Nubians, the poses of the figures have been utilised to highlight their social standing in direct comparison with the Egyptians.

Feature	Hatshepsut	Thutmose III
Ostrich plume in headdress		*
Aquiline nose	*	
Pointed beards	*	

Table 11.2 Summary of the iconographic features associated with the Tjehenu.



Figure 11.10 The Tjehenu in [18.05.03]. Müller (1906), 152 (fig. 59).



Figure 11.11 The "Tjehenu" (?) in [18.06.41].

11.1.4 The Asiatics

11.1.4.2 The Southern Levantines

Like the Nubians, artistic depictions of southern Levantines are well-attested at Karnak when compared to other ethnic groups (see Table 11.3). The first example of a southern Levantine is of contentious date, and it may be contemporary with the reign of Amenhotep I [18.02.01] (Fig. 11.12). Though this gateway refers to places in the northern Levant, such as Tunip, they are represented as hybridised Egyptians with southern Levantine characteristics. This includes long hair, the eyeliner detail around the eyes, small beards, and a non-descript kilt. Unfortunately, as the smiting scene of Amenhotep I [18.02.03] has not yet been published, it is unfeasible to comment on the representations of the captive enemies, but as they have been described as "asiatiques", it is probable that they are also southern Levantine in appearance.⁴

In the reign of Thutmose III, there is an escalation in the number of representations of southern Levantines at Karnak, from name rings to smiting scenes (Figs. 11.13-11.20). These figures have beards of varying lengths, customarily full and pointed, with headbands tying back their long hair, and almond-shaped eyes with a slight slant (e.g. [18.06.21]). Associated weapons include daggers and the duck-bill axe, while they are attired in kilts with bands across the chest. Some figures are also adorned with necklaces with large circular pendants (see Fig. 11.18). In addition, as in the examples of the southern groups, emotional distress is illustrated through the use of open mouths and nasolabial furrows, while lateral layering denotes a crowd of a specific ethnic-type as opposed to distinct individuals.

⁴ Graindorge and Martinez, "Karnak avant Karnak", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 38.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.12 A southern Levantine from the Gate of Amenhotep I(?) in [18.02.01].

Figure 11.13 A name ring in [18.06.16].

Figure 11.14 The remains of the kneeling Levantines in [18.06.16].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.15 A name ring in the Chamber of Kings [18.06.18].

Figure 11.16 The kneeling southern Levantines in [18.06.19].

Figure 11.17 A name ring in [18.06.19].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.18 The kneeling southern Levantines in [18.06.21].

Figure 11.19 A close up of the southern Levantines in [18.06.21].

Figure 11.20 A name ring in [18.06.21].

Feature	Amenhotep I*	Thutmose III
Long hair brushed over shoulders (shoulder length)	*	*
Small, narrow beards	*	
Long, full beards		*
Fillet		*
Eyeline detail	*	
Hooked nose		*
Nasolabial furrows		*
Open mouth		*
Pendant necklaces		*
Bands across torso		*
Kilt	*	*
Duckbill axe		*
Dagger		*
* Date uncertain		

Table 11.3 Summary of the iconographic features associated with southern Levantines.

11.1.4.2 The Northern Levantines

The only somewhat certain example of a northern Levantine dates to the reign of Hatshepsut [18.05.02] (Fig. 11.21, Table 11.4). This illustration represents a kneeling figure with a headdress, hooked nose, and a full beard. Curiously, despite the prolonged and extensive military campaigns of Thutmose III to the northern Levant, the next attestation of a northern Levantine at Karnak does not occur until the reign of Amenhotep II.⁵

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.21 A northern Levantine in [18.05.02]. Müller (1906), 152 (fig. 59).

Feature	Hatshepsut
Headdress	*
Long full beards	*
Hooked nose	*

Table 11.4 Summary of the iconographic features associated with northern Levantines.

⁵ These are blocks depicting a battle with a chariot of Amenhotep II. See PM II², 74; Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 24; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 166-167 (582); Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1368 (407); Helck, *Übersetzung* (1961), 63 (407); Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records* I, 60 (407); Abdel Hamid Zayed, “Une représentation inédite des campagnes d’Aménophis II”, in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar I* (Cairo, 1985), 5-17; Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smiles His Enemies*, fig. 30; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 142 (fig. 9.1), 143 (fig. 9.2); Aidan Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo and New York, 2014), 175 (no. 3).

11.1.5 The Hanebu

There were no artistic representations identified as Hanebu found at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak dating from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III.

11.1.6 The Keftiu

There were no artistic representations identified as Keftiu found at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak dating from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III.

11.1.7 The Egyptians

The representations of the Egyptians within the scenes depicting foreigners are also pertinent and help to illustrate the features that were perceived as unique to the Egyptian culture or identifying as a group (see Table 11.5). The first example which may depict foreigners in the same scene as an Egyptian is probably [18.02.03], but as this has not been published, the subsequent specimens for discussion date to the reign of Thutmose III (Figs. 11.22-11.27).

The Thutmose III examples can be divided into two groups: smiting (Figs. 11.22-11.25) and supervising (Figs. 11.26-11.27). The smiting scenes invariably depict the king in a posture of action, with one foot flat upon the ground and the other with just the phalanges of the toes on the register line as he strikes the “smiting” pose. This representation is also effective at demonstrating the Egyptian king’s *physical* strength. These include prominent biceps brachii, a muscular abdomen including visible external obliques, the rectus abdominis, and linea alba. The legs have evident hamstring muscles (probably the semitendinosus), quadriceps femoris (specifically, the vastus lateralis), and finally, lateral peroneal muscles on the lower leg. In addition to this muscular physique, whilst in this pose, the king unfailingly wears the *shendyt*-kilt; the better-preserved examples also show the presence of cuffs around the arms, a broad collar around the neck, false beard, the Red Crown, and a mace. The supervising scene also depicts the king in royal regalia, though the emphasised muscular physique is notably absent. The non-royal Egyptian example (Fig. 11.27) depicts a nondescript figure in a plain kilt, band across the chest, and a short hairstyle with no facial hair.



Figure 11.22 The remains of the feet of the king in [18.06.16].



Figure 11.23 The remains of the leg of the king in [18.06.19].

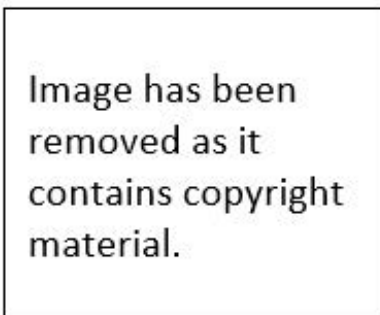


Figure 11.24 The remains of the king in [18.06.20].



Figure 11.25 The king in [18.06.21].



Figure 11.26 The king overseeing the mast scene in [18.06.41].



Figure 11.27 The non-royal Egyptian assisting in the mast scene in [18.06.41].

Feature	Thutmose III
Shoulder length hairstyle	*
Crown	*
Almond shaped eyes	*
Eyeliner detail	*
Straight nose	*
False beard	*
Exposed ears	*
Broad collar	*
Arm cuffs	*
<i>Shendyt</i> -kilt	*
Bull's tail	*
Wrap around kilt	*
Muscular physique	*
Mace	*

Table 11.5 Summary of the iconographic features associated with Egyptians.

11.1.8 Discussion of Iconography

There are a number of iconographical features consistent throughout each foreign group, indicating that there were specific delineations that were adhered to by the artists when depicting ethnic and cultural identities at Karnak. They reinforce the notion that identity is a social construction, whereby the artists extracted features that were believed to link a group together based upon appearance. The quantity and quality in which a group was represented appear to be a reflection of the degree of contact between Egypt and the respective other culture. For this reason, Egypt's neighbours, especially Nubia and the southern Levant, were the most common and detailed group depicted. Notably, it is only these two groups that are represented utilising lateral layering, which, in turn, suggests that to the Egyptians, these were the most important foreign groups.

In addition, the postures and poses of the foreign peoples within the artistic tableaux are also informative. In all cases, the foreigners demonstrate respect to the Egyptian king who is typically paramount within the scene as the largest and dominating figure. If these poses are studied more closely, they appear to provide evidence for a spectrum of obeisance shown towards the king. The poses of the figures vary depending upon the wider context of the scene, whereby *cowering* and complete abnegation is evident in the smiting scenes, kneeling with arms raised appears to be a deferential sign of respect, perhaps from a foreign diplomat to the Egyptian king, while standing with offerings may occur in offering scenes (see Figs. 11.28 - 11.30). There are no examples of foreigners standing on an equal level with the Egyptians; further, they are always completing activities or in these poses demonstrating respect, which

suggests that the artists were careful not to confer any specific degree of status or importance to the foreigners within the temple space.

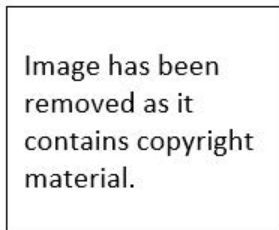


Figure 11.28 The cowering captives in [18.06.21].



Figure 11.29 The kneeling Nubian in [18.05.03].



Figure 11.30 The southern Levantine offering in [18.02.01].

If the images of foreigners at Karnak are compared to the tribute scenes found in the Theban Tombs, it is apparent that there was less experimentation and variation in the temple examples. There are no women or children, despite references to them in the Annals [18.06.01]-[18.06.05], and no comparable attempt to depict *individuality* via clothing, hairstyles, or facial features.⁶ The standardised and repetitive nature of the temple images suggests that they had a different purpose. They are not scenes like those from the nobles' tombs recording their contact with foreign peoples but appear to represent a much simpler duality: *maat* conquering *isfet*. Accordingly, the texts have a thinly veiled political purpose regarding the legitimacy of the king, but they also are a manifestation of cultural knowledge that can reify the stereotypes present in the group. This is particularly suggested by the choice to represent Nubians in an archaic manner in the reign of Thutmose III; though the scenes may have been influenced by historical events, the foreigners have been rendered in a simplified format (and in a *topos* manner) to adhere to the cultural traditions of the group to guarantee its continued relevance.

In light of these considerations, there appears to be a mechanism for creating a sense of cultural identity based on ethnic appearance at Karnak. The cultural identity is fashioned in art through the contrivance of contrast, with the Egyptian juxtaposed by the foreign “other”. Through such

⁶ To the author's knowledge, depictions of foreign women at Karnak first appear on the talatat of Amenhotep IV, in which a number of northern Levantine women are depicted wearing tiered dresses playing musical instruments. For example, PM II², 53; Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1937-1938)”, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 605, pls. cix-cxi; Vercoutter, *L'Égypte*, pl. xxix (198-200), 288-9; Donald B. Redford, “Reconstructing the Temples of a Heretical Pharaoh”, *Archaeology* 28:1 (1975), 21; Smith and Redford, *ATP* 1, 127, pls. 57, 70, 71.

an approach, the images are effective at communicating the *physical* characteristics that were associated with the Egyptians (by virtue of the king) and with foreign peoples. By carving these scenes onto the walls of Karnak, and by adhering to traditional and canonised forms of representing the “other”, these images have essentially achieved “artistic immortality”.⁷ The depictions of foreign peoples are able to transcend the limitations of time and have the capacity to generate and communicate a system of rules and knowledge that can bind a group together through such iconic forms.

11.2 The Development of Terminology Associated with Foreigners

Within textual sources, the Egyptians made strong characterisations of foreign peoples at Karnak, related primarily to the construction of boundaries and the associated identities of the peoples in these places. The results of this investigation have revealed a number of word pairings, descriptors, and qualifiers, together with verbs associated with particular foreign groups and the ancient Egyptians. This current section begins on a microscopic level, drawing out specific qualities attached to various foreign regions, such as Nubia and Punt, on a diachronic level. Following this, the section zooms out to examine the main nouns, verbs, and adjectives associated with foreigners and Egyptians throughout the entire corpus, and thus, determine how they have been used to establish a sense of Egyptian identity.

11.2.1 Terminology Associated with Nubia

Egyptian stereotypes predominantly present Nubia and their people in negative terms. Often evoking fluctuating boundaries, the Egyptians portrayed ancient Nubia through a perspective that diminished their state and people. As stated by Smith, “Nubia could not simply be referred to by its ancient name, Kush, but must always be ‘Wretched Kush’ ”.⁸ This is also the case at Karnak, but this technique of characterisation is more nuanced than one might expect (see Table 11.6). In the Second Intermediate Period, the southern groups are allies and the Egyptians recognise the authority of the Kushite ruler by labelling him as *ḥk3*. In the reign of Ahmose, “fear” (*šꜥt*) (of the Egyptian king) begins to be associated with Khenthennefer as a controlling mechanism. This technique is used in the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut (*nṛw*), during which time physical demonstrations of recognising Egyptian authority also come into play

⁷ Jan Assmann, *From Akhenaten to Moses: Ancient Egypt and Religious Change* (Cairo and New York, 2014), 86.

⁸ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 4-5.

(*w3h-tp*) in connection with the Nehesy. Curiously, the presumed inseparable pairing and the ethnic stereotype of *hs.t* with Kush is only documented at the site from the reign of Thutmose III, of which there are 11 noted occurrences. In tandem, terms implying violence, such as “trampling” (*titi*), are also integrated to highlight the Egyptians’ relationships with these peoples.

Accordingly, the manifestation of a distinct ethnic Nubian “other” evolves over the period studied, which appears to correlate with the degree of direct contact between Egypt and the south. In the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty, the references to Nubia have been used to evoke boundaries and power relations *in a general manner*. It is only in the reign of Thutmose III that the derogatory image of the southern peoples is forged at Karnak.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>Md3.w</i>	[17.09.01]	<i>pd.t n.t</i>	12, 13	2
<i>Kši/Kš</i>	[17.09.02]	<i>hnty.t r</i>	19	1
		<i>hk3 n.y</i>	20	1
		<i>h(3)b.n=f š3^c-r</i>	26	1
	[18.06.03]	<i>hs.t</i>	I. 29, 30, 36, 85, 92; II. 2, 8, 19	8
		<i>šm.w n.y</i>	I. 38	1
	[18.06.04]	<i>hs.t</i>	13	1
	[18.06.05]	<i>iw3.w n.y</i>	8	1
<i>Hn.t-ḥn-nfr</i>	[18.06.17]	<i>hs.t</i>	1	1
	[18.06.22]	<i>hs.t</i>	no. 1	1
<i>Nḥsy</i>	[17.09.02]	<i>hr ršw</i>	24	1
	[18.01.01]	<i>š^ct=f m</i>	13	1
	[18.06.13]	[<i>wr.w</i>] <i>n.w</i>	40	1
<i>T3-Nḥsy</i>	[17.09.03]	[lost]	x+5; z+3; w+7	3
	[18.06.03]	<i>t3y</i>	I. 30	1
		<i>hm.t hm.wt</i>	I. 38, 86, 92, 92; II. 2, 8	6
	[18.06.05]	[none]	7	1
<i>T3-Nḥst</i>	[18.05.02]	<i>m w3h-tp</i>	x+3	1
<i>Nḥst</i>	[18.06.17]	[none]	no. 101	1
	[18.06.22]	[none]	no. 101	1
<i>T3-Sty</i>	[18.05.05]	<i>nrw[=f] m</i>	10	1
	[18.06.22]	<i>Ddwn hnty</i>	2	1
	[18.06.50]	<i>nb</i>	2	1
<i>Twn.tyw-St.tyw</i>	[18.05.09]	<i>hr(=i) n=s</i>	Block 44, 5	1
	[18.06.06]	<i>dm3=i</i>	5	1
		<i>titi=k</i>	22	1
	[18.06.07]	<i>ini.n=k</i>	4	1
	[18.06.17]	<i>n.w Hnty-ḥn-nfr</i>	a	1
<i>Mntw</i>	[18.05.09]	[lost]	Block 44, 6	1
Total:				44

Table 11.6 Summary of the terminology associated with Nubia.

11.2.2 Terminology Associated with Punt

The textual references to Punt provide evidence for the construction of the “other” based on material objects. In this sense, products can become a synecdoche for a region or people. As Punt is not one of the traditional enemies of Egypt and there is no evidence for military conflict with them, the Egyptians have instead defined the identity of Punt through its valued products. Curiously, as Punt’s relationship with the Egyptians is of a trading nature, they have effectively been rendered in a positive light, with myrrh and “wonders” (*bi3.wyt*) affirming the king’s power or influence in the region without militaristic overtones. However, this relationship develops somewhat late in the period under study, as the ten references are found from the reign of Hatshepsut onwards, and the majority of instances relate to these products (Table 11.7). The goods are never described as *in.w* or *b3k.w*, which suggests that the Egyptians do not have complete influence in Punt at this time in the way they do in regions such as Nubia and the Levant (see 11.2.1 and 11.2.4, below).⁹

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>Pwn.t</i>	[18.05.08]	[lost]	3	1
		<i>idb.w</i>	25	1
		<i>ntyw</i>	27	1
	[18.06.03]	<i>h3s.t</i>	29	1
		<i>bi3[.wy]t in[.y]t</i>	91	1
	[18.06.17]	[none]	no. 48	1
	[18.06.22]	[none]	no. 48	1
	[18.06.44]	[lost]	1 (<i>Urk.</i> IV, 256 (B.4))	1
	[18.06.77]	<i>tp.yw bi3.(yw)t</i>	N. Wall, 1.	1
<i>Pwn.yt</i>	[18.06.42]	<i>ini(=i) n=k</i>	1	1
Total:				10

Table 11.7 Summary of the terminology associated with Punt.

11.2.3 Terminology Associated with Tjehenu (Westerners)

Though the region of the Tjehenu is considered one of the traditional boundaries of ancient Egypt, the references to *Tjhnw* are attested only six times at Karnak.¹⁰ This small number may suggest that the negative characterisation of the Tjehenu was not part of the ideological focus of the Egyptian rulers of the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty. This

⁹ It is notable that *in.w* is used in relation to Punt in the reign of Horemheb along the east wall of Court IV at Karnak, where Puntites are also depicted presenting offerings. See PM II², 183 (551); Helck, *Urk.* IV, 2127-2128 (3) (828); Helck, *Übersetzung*, 409 (828), pl. 88; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6023; Benedict Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records* VI (Warminster, 1995), 71.3 (828); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 407.

¹⁰ Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 4.

is not to say there was no contact or use of these peoples; they are found three times in the topographical lists of Thutmose III to establish the areas of Egyptian dominance, and there is a reference to the *in.w* of the Tjehenu in the reign of Hatshepsut.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>Tjnw</i>	[18.05.08]	<i>in.w n.w</i>	30	1
	[18.06.06]	<i>titi=k</i>	19	1
	[18.06.17]	[none]	no. 88	1
	[18.06.20]	[none]	no. 88	1
	[18.06.22]	[none]	no. 88	1
	[18.06.77]	<i>h3.tt n.t ʕš h3.tt n.t</i>	1	1
Total:				6

Table 11.8 Summary of the terminology associated with the Tjehenu.

11.2.4 Terminology Associated with the Levant

The references to regions in the Levant are prolific throughout the entire corpus and the most enlightening for the deliberate manufacturing of the “other” for political purposes. They show a variety of places and associated qualifications, which can vary from geographical attributes to the characterisations of the people as a whole. Table 11.9 has extracted some of these localities, which provide evidence for the concretion of a foreigner *topos*.

In the Second Intermediate Period, the northerners were represented as “other” through the application of the ethnonyms *ʕm.w* and *St.tyw*, while the opponent in the text on the Kamose Stela, Apophis, is assigned the title “Prince of Retenu”. In this period, the Asiatics are further qualified as *hs(.y)*. It appears plausible that this characterisation of the northerners (Hyksos) was undertaken in order to deny their right to rule and reinforce traditional power structures that existed in the Middle Kingdom. After the Hyksos expulsion, however, this highly stereotyped image of the northern foe fades: only two references to the *ʕm.w* are found from the reigns of Ahmose to Hatshepsut. *Stt* becomes the preferred term to refer to the Levantine region, and in these instances, it is mentioned in relation to foreign *products*.

Like the Nubian examples, a distinct shift occurs in the reign of Thutmose III. The term *ʕm.w* is again used to denote an ethnic group: all captives of the north are called *ʕm.w*. Though this encapsulating term is used to typify *all* northern peoples, the use of names of cities and regions indicates that the Egyptians had a particularly nuanced idea of the area to the north of Egypt. An assortment of nouns indicates large geographical regions, towns, and topographical spaces,

including *Rtnw*, *Stt*, *Rmnn*, and various renderings of the “terraces”.¹¹ These spaces are further qualified by geographical terms (e.g. *h3s.t*), characterisations (e.g. *hs.t*), the actions of the Egyptians against these peoples (e.g. *dn=s tp.w, titi*), as well as by their products that were foreign to the Egyptians (e.g. *š*). In sum, the Egyptian perception of the Asiatic ethnic “other” was not always negative and rigid; changing socio-political conditions determined which fundamental qualities would set these peoples apart from the Egyptians.¹²

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>Hnty-š</i>	[13.29.02]	š nfr n.y	10	1
		š m3 ^c nfr	12	1
	[18.06.13]	[š] n.y	34	1
	[18.06.65]	stp.n hm=f	a	1
<i>Htyw</i>	[18.01.01]	š m3 ^c n.y tp(.yw)	32	1
	[18.06.08]	š m3 ^c n.y tp(.yw)	5	1
	[18.06.10]	š m3 ^c n.y tp(.yw)	81, 83	2
	[18.06.61]	š	x+8	1
	[18.06.68]	stp.w n.y	3	1
	[18.06.69]	n.y š	3-4	1
	[18.06.83]	š m3 ^c n.y tp(.yw) n.y	1-2	1
	[18.06.84]	š m3 ^c n.y tp(.yw)	1-2	1
<i>Rmnn</i>	[18.06.03]	b3k n.y	I. 26, 46, 90, 96	4
		wr.w n.w	I. 26	1
	[18.06.04]	dw k3 n.y	17	1
		[lost]	23	1
	[18.06.05]	wr.w n.w	1	1
<i>šm.w</i>	[16.0E.01]	b3k(.w)	6	1
	[17.09.01]	t3 n.y	8	1
		btnw	14	1
	[17.09.02]	hs(.y)	11, 16	2
		šth(.w) n=i	12	1
		3k(.w)	15	1
		bt.n=sn	18	1
	[17.09.03]	[lost]	w+5; w+8	2
	[18.01.01]	[lost]	33	1
	[18.05.06]	[lost]	G. 12	1
	[18.06.05]	[none]	7	1
	[18.06.06]	dn=s tp.w	10	1
		n.w Rtnw	14	1
	[18.06.15]	n.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t	6	1
	[18.06.65]	n.w Rtnw	a	1
<i>St.tyw</i>	[17.09.01]	b3k.w	5	1
	[18.06.01]	ih(w)	92	1
<i>Stt</i>	[18.02.02]	hm.t	2	2
	[18.05.08]	hnm.wt	26	1

¹¹ The difference between *Htyw* and *Rmnn* appears to be divided into the following: *Htyw* or *Hnty-š* denotes a very specific locality “the terraces” in the Levant in which the best cedar was sourced. It is a *topographical and mountainous region* for sourcing cedar. *Rmnn*, in turn, appears to be a *political region* with a hierarchical system with chiefs who have an obligation to the Egyptian king, revealed by the use of the term *b3k.w* in association with this locality in the Annals. Consequently, as the texts clearly distinguish between these two regions, it is counterintuitive and unproductive to translate both as “Lebanon”. *Rmnn* is perhaps left untranslated as “Remenen” and *Htyw* as the “Terraces”.

¹² Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 204.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
		<i>mnt3.w n.w</i>	26	1
		[lost]	28	1
	[18.05.09]	[none]	Block 44, 6	1
	[18.06.06]	<i>di=i titi=k im(y).w</i>	14	1
	[18.06.07]	<i>m hfn.w m skr(.w)-ʕnh(.w)</i>	5	1
	[18.06.08]	<i>hm.t</i>	5	1
	[18.06.21]	<i>št3.w n.w ph.w</i>	11	1
<i>Rtnw</i>	[17.09.02]	<i>sr n.y</i>	4	1
		<i>in.w nb nfr n.y</i>	15	1
	[18.02.01]	<i>(i)h.t nb.t nfr.t imy.t</i>	Right, 3	1
	[18.06.01]	<i>m htr n</i>	2	1
		<i>wr.w n.w</i>	104, 107	2
		<i>h3s.t</i>	107	1
	[18.06.03]	<i>h3s.t</i>	I. 9, 15, 19, 93	4
		<i>wr.w n.w</i>	I. 10, 12, 34, 93, II. 4	5
	[18.06.05]	<i>h3s.t</i>	1	1
		<i>hs.t</i>	2	1
		<i>hr.t</i>	9	1
		<i>dr</i>	12	1
	[18.06.08]	<i>h3s.t</i>	9	1
	[18.06.10]	<i>h3s.t</i>	25	1
	[18.06.13]	<i>wr.w n.w</i>	40	1
	[18.06.14]	<i>d3.w hm=f r</i>	6	1
	[18.06.15]	<i>hs.t</i>	A	1
	[18.06.16]	<i>hr.t h3s.wt</i>	a	1
	[18.06.19]	<i>hr.t</i>	a	1
	[18.06.21]	<i>skr wr.w n.w</i>	1	1
	[18.06.40]	<i>hr.t</i>	2	1
		<i>smw gm.n hm=f hr</i>	B	1
	[18.06.61]	<i>hr.t</i>	x+7	1
	[18.06.68]	[lost]	B.7	1
	[18.06.86]	<i>h3s.t</i>	E.4	1
Total:				83

Table 11.9 Summary of the terminology associated with the Levant.

11.2.5 Terminology Associated with the Hanebu

The Hanebu are not defined by a particular character trait as they are generally qualified by *geographical* terms. Three (and a possible four) examples of the six total references to the Hanebu are qualified by *idb.w*: “islands”. This implies that the term describes a non-specific and variable reference for a northern locality *near a body of water*, and more specifically, one at the extremes of the known borders of the Egyptian realm (Table 11.10). Though not necessarily an ethnic stereotype, per se, the Hanebu appears to have been used as a device by the Egyptian ruling institution to evoke and illustrate the ever-fluctuating boundaries of the Egyptian empire.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>H3.w-nb.wt</i>	[18.01.01]	[none]	11	1
		<i>idb.w</i>	24	1
	[18.05.25]	<i>nbi.w=t r</i>	9	1
<i>H3.w-nb.w</i>	[18.05.06]	<i>idb.w</i>	G.11, I. 12	2
	[18.06.67]	<i>idb.w</i>	a	1
Total:				6

Table 11.10 Summary of the terminology associated with the Hanebu.

11.2.6 Terminology Associated with the Fenkhau

The term Fenkhau is attested ten times throughout the corpus. Half of the word pairings associated with the Fenkhau identify the locality as a “flat” (*t3.w*) area and denote a region inland (Table 11.11). The other preserved examples identify the Fenkhau as “mysterious” (*št3.t*) and their areas as a region to be “bound” (*dm3*). Character traits are absent in all references to the Fenkhau as *geographical* terms qualify them. This negates the importance of the peoples that inhabit these regions and instead presents the political mindset of expansion and the desire to control all frontiers. Like the Hanebu, it would thus appear that the Fenkhau was used in state ideology to demarcate the extremes of the Egyptian boundaries, though, in the case of the Fenkhau, it marks the northern *inland* frontiers.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>Fnhw</i>	[18.01.01]	<i>t3.w</i>	13	1
	[18.05.01]	<i>t3.w</i>	2	1
	[18.05.24]	<i>nb.t št3.t</i>	2	1
	[18.06.03]	[lost]	II.10	1
	[18.06.09]	<i>t3.w</i>	x+3	1
		<i>šn-wr</i>	x+4	1
	[18.06.10]	<i>t3.w</i>	34	1
	[18.06.15]	<i>t3.w</i>	2	1
	[18.06.21]	[lost]	3	1
		<i>dm3 hr tb.ty=k</i>	9	1
Total:				10

Table 11.11 Summary of the terminology associated with the Fenkhau.

11.2.7 Terminology Associated with Keftiu

The study of the terminology indicated that the evidence for Keftiu at Karnak is sufficiently lacking.¹³ There are only three attestations of this region, all dating from the reign of Thutmose

¹³ For a detailed study of the term Keftiu in other contexts, particularly the Theban Tombs, see Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 93-99.

III, and without artistic representations of this group, the evidence may suggest that there was no serious consciousness of this culture or that, as their relationship with the Egyptians was peaceful, there was no reason to represent them as manifestations of *isfet* at the state temple. Though the inscriptions do not suggest any particular homogenous trait that can identify the people of Keftiu as a specific ethnic group or distinct geographical region, the terminology used in combination with them does demonstrate that the Egyptians still wished to define them as “other”. This is reflected through one relating to products, namely, a “Keftiu” ship given by another foreign region, another revealing a *b3k.w*-relationship, and a third to the peoples showing respect (*šfsf.t*) to the Egyptian king.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>Kftyw</i>	[18.06.03]	ꜥš	I. 36	1
		<i>b3k n.y</i>	II. 18	1
	[18.06.06]	<i>hr šfsf.t=k</i>	16	1
Total:				3

Table 11.12 Summary of the terminology associated with the Keftiu.

11.2.8 Terminology Associated with the *h3s.t*

The term *h3s.t* was the most common across the site, with some 190 variations documented (see Table 11.13). In general, the term *h3s.t* is understood as a lexeme and topographical descriptor with a variable reference, often translated in modern texts as “foreign lands”, “foreign countries”, “desert”, and “hill-country”.¹⁴ It is used in sources when a region is referred to in a general way, but this region is not necessarily “foreign”.

As shown in Table 11.13, the most common qualifier of the term *h3s.t* was *nb.t*, which serves to highlight the vague and encompassing nature of the word. This is consistent throughout the period studied, though there are examples of action taken against this topographical region (e.g. *wꜥf*) together with products sourced from it, suggesting that it may have been recognised as a political entity (*b3k.w*, *in.w*). This latter use of the term is particularly evident in the reign of Thutmose III, in which the texts refer to the chiefs and rulers (*wr.w*, *hk3.w*) of the *h3s.wt*.

Furthermore, *h3s.t* was also used to qualify distinct cities and regions: Retenu, Tunip, Djahy, and Punt. Though unquestionably associated with foreign regions, these examples demonstrate that *h3s.t* does not *always* mean “foreign land” and to translate it as such would be a tautology.

¹⁴ *Wb* III, 234-235; O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’”, “*Never Had the Like Occurred*”, 155.

It would appear that the term *h3s.t*, at the most fundamental level, is a relative topographical descriptor meaning “desert” and a “mountainous region”. It is the “other” in terms of geography, wherein *t3.w* or flat land can articulate the alluvial plains of the Nile and *h3s.wt* marks those regions outside the Nile Valley, such as the desert, where chaos can ensue.¹⁵ As a whole, the *h3s.t* is an ideogram that divides the world into types of geography, and thus, even at its most basic level, it may demarcate, exclude and include, societies and regions on topography alone.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
<i>h3s.wt</i>	[16.04.01]	<i>bšt(.w)t</i>	7	1
	[16.05.01]	<i>wꜥf(.w) ... nb.(w)t</i>	7	1
		<i>nb.(w)t</i>	12	1
	[17.09.02]	<i>di.n=i</i>	25	1
		<i>kꜥf.n=i s.y hr</i>	27	1
	[18.01.01]	<i>ks.w</i>	4	1
	[18.01.02]	<i>[kh3 h(w)y.t] hr</i>	8	1
	[18.05.05]	<i>bšt.wt</i>	9, 14	2
		<i>nb.(w)t m w3h-tp</i>	15	1
	[18.05.07]	<i>tp.(y)w ... nb.(w)t</i>	7	1
		<i>nb.(w)t m <n>dt=i</i>	30	1
	[18.05.08]	<i>wr.w n.w</i>	7	1
		<i>nb(.wt) dmd</i>	25	1
	[18.05.09]	[lost]	Block 166, 3	1
		<i>nb.(w)t</i>	Block 44, 9; Block 287, 2	1
	[18.05.10]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	6	1
	[18.05.11]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	3	1
	[18.05.12]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	5	1
	[18.05.13]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	2	1
	[18.05.14]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	2	1
	[18.05.15]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	1	1
	[18.05.16]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	4	1
	[18.05.17]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	1	1
	[18.05.18]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	1	1
	[18.06.01]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (202), 16; <i>Urk.</i> (203), 5, 21, 90, 94-95	6
	[18.06.03]	<i>bšt.w(t)</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 3	1
	[18.06.04]	<i>[tp.yw n.w]</i>	16, 25	2
	[18.06.06]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	3, 4, 7	3
		= <i>sn</i>	13	1
	[18.06.07]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	3, 4	2
	[18.06.08]	<i>dꜥm n.y tp(.yw)</i>	6	1
		<i>n.(w)t D3hy</i>	9	1
	[18.06.09]	<i>bšt.ywt</i>	x+2	1

¹⁵ Notably, foreigners had to physically travel through the desert to reach Egypt, which may justify this link. This is reinforced by the famous Asiatic envoy scene in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Twelfth Dynasty, Middle Kingdom), in which the foreign delegation is placed within the bottom register of a desert hunting scene. Furthermore, scenes of the desert are represented with undulating “hilly” lines and as such mark the chaotic “outside”. For example: Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. II (Sydney, 1981), fig. 19; Naguib Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. VII (Sydney, 1987), fig. 3; Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 31, 194 (fig. 192), 195 (fig. 193); Woods, “Drawing the Bow”, *BACE* 26 (2016-2018), 107; Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art*, 111-130.

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
		<i>nb.w(t)</i>	x+3	1
	[18.06.10]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	17, 43, 83	3
		<i>in.w ʕ3 n.w</i>	39	1
		<i>tp.(y)w n.w</i>	68, 79	3
	[18.06.13]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	15, 17, 24; C	4
		<i>rs.(yw)t mht.(yw)t</i>	39	1
	[18.06.14]	<i>mh.ty</i>	6, 12	2
		<i>nb.(w)t</i>	6	1
		<i>=tn</i>	8, 12	2
	[18.06.16]	<i>Rtnw</i>	(a)	1
	[18.06.17]	<i>rs.ywt</i>	(a)	1
		<i>nb.wt</i>	(b)	1
	[18.06.19]	<i>Rtnw</i>	(a)	1
	[18.06.20]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	(a)	1
	[18.06.21]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	2, 5, 7	3
	[18.06.22]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	4-5, (a)	2
		<i>rs.ywt mh.ywt</i>	(a)	1
	[18.06.40]	<i>[mh.twt]</i>	1	1
	[18.06.43]	<i>rs.ywt</i>	E. 4, F. 4	2
	[18.06.46]	<i>hwi(.w) hk3.w</i>	a, b	2
	[18.06.47]	<i>hwi(.w) hk3.w</i>	a	1
	[18.06.48]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	b	1
	[18.06.49]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	2	1
	[18.06.50]	<i>nb.(wt)</i>	3	1
	[18.06.60]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	6	1
	[18.06.61]	<i>rs.ywt</i>	x+4	1
	[18.06.63]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	4	1
	[18.06.64]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	3	1
	[18.06.65]	<i>ht</i>	A	1
		<i>[tp(.yw)]</i>	B	1
	[18.06.66]	<i>b3k=k</i>	4	1
	[18.06.67]	<i>b3k.w n=k</i>	a	1
	[18.06.68]	<i>tp.(y)w</i>	A.5	1
		<i>nb.(w)t</i>	A.6	1
	[18.06.69]	<i>tp.(yw)</i>	4	1
	[18.06.71]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	2	1
	[18.06.72]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	A.1, B.1	2
	[18.06.73]	<i>nb.(wt)</i>	A.1, B.6	2
	[18.06.74]	<i>tp.yw</i>	2	1
	[18.06.75]	<i>tp.yw</i>	A.3, B.3	2
	[18.06.76]	<i>nb(.wt)</i>	2	1
	[18.06.78]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	3	1
	[18.06.79]	<i>nb.(w)t</i>	1	1
	[18.06.82]	<i>[nb.wt]</i>	7	1
<i>h3s.t</i>	[18.01.01]	<i>wʕfl(.w)... nb(.t)</i>	24	1
		<i>nb(.t)</i>	24	1
	[18.02.01]	<i>tn</i>	Left Jamb: 3	1
	[18.05.04]	<i>[lost]</i>	2	1
	[18.05.05]	<i>[none]</i>	10	1
	[18.05.06]	<i>b3k</i>	16	1
	[18.05.08]	<i>nb(.wt) špt.w</i>	4	1
		<i>[lost]</i>	5	1
		<i>tn</i>	28	1
		<i>r š3w.t</i>	29	1
	[18.06.01]	<i>tn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 94, 106	2
		<i>[lost]</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 95	1

Noun	Text	Qualifier	Line	No.
		[=s]	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 104	1
	[18.06.03]	<i>Tnp</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 5	1
	[18.06.03]	<i>tn</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 47, 86, 89, 90, 92, 93, 96; <i>Urk.</i> (207), 4, 6, 15, 16, 19	35
		<i>Rtnw</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 8, 15, 19, 93	4
		=f	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 13, 35, 91	5
		(i)h.t nb.t ndm.t n.y	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 16	1
		<i>Pwn.t</i>	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 29	1
		b3k n.y	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 35	1
		[D3]hy	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 36	1
		wt	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 85	1
		[none]	<i>Urk.</i> (207), 4, 17	2
	[18.06.05]	<i>Rtnw</i>	1	1
	[18.06.08]	<i>Rtnw</i>	9	1
	[18.06.09]	[lost]	x+4	1
	[18.06.10]	<i>Rtnw</i>	25	1
		kbhw	46	1
	[18.06.44]	nb	d	1
	[18.06.50]	[lost]	1	1
	[18.06.51]	nb(.t)	1	1
	[18.06.57]	nb.t	8	1
	[18.06.58]	nb.t	8	1
	[18.06.59]	nb.t	10	1
	[18.06.86]	nb.t	C.2	1
		<i>Rtnw</i>	E. 4	1
h3s.tyw	[16.04.01]	mki(.w) sy hn ^c	6	1
	[18.01.01]	hims(.t) w ^c	12	1
	[18.05.19]	[lost]	1	1
	[18.06.01]	nn n.y	<i>Urk.</i> (203), 79	1
	[18.06.03]	nn	<i>Urk.</i> (206), 40, 41	2
	[18.06.14]	[nn]	11	1
Total:				190

Table 11.13 Summary of the terminology associated with h3s.t.

11.2.9 Trends: Terminology Associated with the Foreigners

By examining the terminology in relation to foreign groups as a whole, it can be seen that the texts present a general idea of the “other”. This includes a distinct sense of *inferiority* in connection with foreigners, and thus they can be seen to adhere to the fundamental stereotype of a foreigner *topos*. Continually, foreign peoples at Karnak are presented as weak and the doomed opponents who are forever being subdued by the Egyptian king. They are often given little to no agency or hierarchical importance in the documents, acting as the foil through which to contrast and emphasise the deeds of the Egyptians.

Term	Translation	Second Intermediate Period	Early Eighteenth Dynasty	Hatshepsut	Thutmose III
Nouns					
<i>ḥ3s.t / ḥ3s.wt</i>	foreign land, desert, hill country	*	*	*	*
<i>rḳw.w</i>	enemies	*			*
<i>ʕ3m.w</i>	Asiatics	*	*	*	*
<i>wr</i>	prince, chief	*		*	*
<i>Nhsy</i>	Nubians	*			*
<i>Stt</i>	Asia		*	*	*
<i>psd.t pd.wt</i>	Nine Bows		*	*	*
<i>T3-Nhsy</i>	Lands of the Nubians			*	
<i><n> dt</i>	serfs			*	*
<i>ḥrw</i>	enemy				*
<i>šm3.w</i>	wanderers				*
<i>skr.w-ʕnh</i>	living captives				*
<i>ḥft.ty</i>	enemy				*
Verbs					
<i>mki</i>	to guard	*			
<i>ph.ww</i>	to attack	*			*
<i>btnw</i>	to defy, rebel	*	*		
<i>tkkw</i>	to attack	*			*
<i>ksw</i>	to bow		*	*	*
<i>ḥims(.t)</i>	to supplicate		*		*
<i>w3h-tp</i>	to bow (the head)			*	*
<i>nrw</i>	to fear, dread			*	*
<i>ḥm</i>	to retreat				*
<i>ifd</i>	to flee				*
<i>ḥ3ʕ</i>	to abandon				*
<i>sn t3</i>	to kiss the earth				*
<i>ḥry.t</i>	to dread				*
<i>sd3.w</i>	to tremble				*
Adjectives					
<i>bšt(.w)t</i>	rebellious	*		*	*
<i>hs.t</i>	feeble, weak, wretched	*			*
<i>ḥwr(w).t</i>	miserable	*			
<i>hs(.y) ʕ.wwy</i>	feeble of arms	*			
<i>whn ib</i>	wicked of heart	*			
<i>šʕt</i>	terror	*	*	*	*
<i>dm3</i>	bound			*	*
<i>špt.w</i>	discontent			*	
<i>mw.yt</i>	dying			*	
<i>dmd</i>	united			*	*
<i>bdš.w</i>	weakness				*
<i>ḥ3k.w-ib</i>	disaffected				*
<i>nbd.w-kd</i>	bad of character				*
<i>ddḥ</i>	imprisoned				*

Table 11.14 Terminology associated with foreigners across the corpus.

However, despite the pervasiveness of weakness associated with foreigners throughout the texts, by studying its development over a period, a more nuanced understanding of the qualities

associated with the “anti-Egyptian” can be achieved. As illustrated in Table 11.14, the verbs and adjectives regarding foreigners can be seen to shift. In the Second Intermediate Period, foreigners have some degree of agency, “attacking” (*ph.ww, tkkw*) and “rebellious” (*btnw*). They are “weak” (*hs.t, hs(.y) ʿ.wwy*), “wicked” (*whn ib*), and “miserable” (*hwr(w).t*). In the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the reign of Hatshepsut, the foreigners simply “bow” (*ksw*), fear the Egyptians (*šʿt*), and acknowledge Egyptian authority (*hims*). A change occurs in the sole reign of Thutmose III, in which the foreigners in the textual sources no longer have agency, “fleeing” (*ifd*), “retreating” (*hm*), and “abandoning” (*h3ʿ*). They are “bound” (*dm3*), “discontent” (*špt.w*), “dying” (*mw.yt*), and “bad of character” (*nbd.w-ḳd*). The picture that emerges from the selected vocabulary suggests that within Karnak, foreigners can represent the extreme “other” and are effectively manifestations of *isfet*. This image is not necessarily stable but can be influenced by the historical context and the concerns of the time.

11.2.10 Trends: Terminology Associated with the Egyptians

The representations of the Egyptians within the sources compiled from Karnak are focused around one individual in particular: the Egyptian king. As the role model and ruler of the Egyptian people, he or she embodies the values and qualities of the “divine paradigm” and is the one to whom others aspire to.¹⁶ He acts as the gods have commanded, and thus, what the king does is considered as the ideal and correct behaviour. The importance of this concept cannot be overstated, as it is through this “perfect” ruler that the starkest of contrasts between foreigners and Egyptians can be extracted.

While the terminology as a whole represents the foreigners as “bad”, the portrayal of the Egyptians is “good”. Intriguingly, there is significantly more consistency in the characterisation of the Egyptian king than in that of the foreigners (see Table 11.15). However, the representation of the Egyptian king, like those of the foreigners, does appear to shift and develop over time in connection to contemporary concerns. For example, during the Second Intermediate Period, the verbs associated with the Egyptians are a mix of offensive and defensive actions; the Thebans are “guarding” (*mki*) and “protecting” (*shwi*) Egypt from a variety of threats. By the reign of Kamose, the verbs are almost all offensive, with numerous references to “slaughter” and (causing) “terror” (*šʿt*), “plundering” (*h3ḳ*), and “destruction” (*hb3*). The Thebans are “happy” (*w3d*), “brave” (*ḳni*), “victorious” (*nht*), and “fortunate” (*mʿr*).

¹⁶ David O’Connor and David P. Silverman, “Introduction”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden and New York, 1995), XIX.

Term	Translation	Second Intermediate Period	Early Eighteenth Dynasty	Hatshepsut	Thutmose III
Nouns					
<i>nsw.t</i>	king	*	*	*	*
<i>ity</i>	sovereign	*	*	*	*
<i>s3 R^c.w</i>	Son of Re	*	*	*	*
<i>ntr nfr</i>	Good God	*	*	*	*
<i>hk3</i>	ruler	*	*	*	*
Verbs					
<i>kj^c</i>	to capture	*			*
<i>shwi</i>	to protect	*			
<i>mki</i>	to guard	*			
<i>shr/hr</i>	to overthrow	*		*	*
<i>š^c.(y)t</i>	to slaughter	*			*
<i>w^cf</i>	to subdue	*	*		*
<i>nhm</i>	to rescue	*			*
<i>hb3</i>	to destroy	*			*
<i>sm3</i>	to kill	*			*
<i>hwi</i>	to smite	*	*	*	*
<i>iti</i>	to seize	*	*	*	*
<i>h3k</i>	to plunder	*			*
<i>hnd</i>	to tread	*			*
<i>d3r/dr</i>	to subjugate		*		*
<i>dn</i>	to cut, kill			*	*
<i>wšn</i>	to wring the neck			*	
<i>rth</i>	to restrain			*	
<i>shm</i>	to prevail			*	*
<i>sksk</i>	to destroy				*
<i>titi</i>	to trample				*
<i>h3yt</i>	to slaughter				*
<i>skr</i>	to strike, smite				*
Adjectives					
<i>nht</i>	mighty, victorious	*	*	*	*
<i>nfr</i>	perfect	*	*	*	*
<i>snd(.w)</i>	feared	*	*	*	*
<i>w3d.wy</i>	fortunate, happy	*			
<i>ib=i 3w(.w); 3w-ib</i>	happy	*	*	*	*
<i>m^cr</i>	fortunate,	*			
<i>wsr-ib</i>	confidence	*			
<i>kni</i>	brave	*			*
<i>hmhm.t</i>	war cry	*	*	*	*
<i>tm3-^c.w</i>	strong of arm			*	*
<i>dw3</i>	praised, adored			*	*
<i>ʿ3 hpš</i>	great of strength				*

Table 11.15 Terminology associated with the Egyptians across the corpus.

In the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the actions of the Egyptian king continue to be offensive and active: “seizing” (*iti*), “smiting” (*hwi*), and “subduing” (*d3r*). With the increase in texts from the reign of Hatshepsut onwards, there is also, as one might anticipate, a larger vocabulary encountered, such as the unique *wšn*, meaning “to wring the neck”. Expectedly, by the sole

reign of Thutmose III wherein Egyptian imperialistic values were in full force, the verbs associated with the king are proactive and are especially characterised by violent actions, including “to destroy” (*sksk*), “to trample” (*titi*), “to slaughter” (*h3yt*), and “to strike” (*sḳr*).

The notion that the king is the sole individual from whom all contrasts are made within the context of cultural memory and tradition is particularly evident in the consistency of the nouns and adjectives that are associated with this Egyptian ruler. Throughout the period studied, the king is continually denoted as “happy” (*ib=i 3w(.w); 3w-ib*), “perfect” (*nfr*), “strong” (*wsr*, *ph.ty*, *hpš*), and “victorious” (*nḥt*). The verbs, in turn, appear to reflect *individual* differences, perhaps related to the Self Memory System (SMS) and the goals of the memory maker, while the nouns and adjectives demarcate the *institution* of kingship itself.¹⁷ As a whole, the texts appear to be perpetuating a particular Egyptian ideal that is the diametrically opposite to the “other” as modelled on conceptions of *maat* and *isfet*.

11.2.11 Discussion of Terminology

The textual sources can be seen to focus on more foreign groups than others. Like with the images of foreign peoples, two groups stand out: the Levantines and the Nubians, with the former the most frequently attested out of all the groups. However, the textual sources can be seen to provide more insight into a greater variety of foreign groups and as such, delivers a more nuanced understanding of the Egyptian worldview. In particular, the Hanebu and Fenkhau were seen to be qualified by geographical terms as they have an ideological connection with boundaries, while Punt, the Tjehenu, and the Keftiu, who are referred to by their products, may be seen as evidence for cultural contact. However, as these latter three foreign regions and people are also under-represented, it could be evidence that relationships considered peaceful were excluded from the *maat-isfet* dichotomy that pervades the texts at Karnak.

The stark contrasts evoked in the textual sources indicate that ethnic stereotypes of foreign peoples can be used to concrete and disseminate a specific perception of ancient Egyptian identity. This construction of Egyptian identity is heavily based on the ideology of kingship and represents the “ideal” rather than the “real”, while its connection to foreigners suggests, that at some level, there was a “need for identity”.¹⁸ The focus on the king has evoked a

¹⁷ Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *JML* 53 (2005), 594-628.

¹⁸ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

supernatural identity, a symbolic creation of a particular role relating to the traditions and the social expectations of the group and *not necessarily of a specific person*.¹⁹ Not only is the foreigner demarcated as belonging to a separate group, but they belong, to some extent, to a “symmetrical anti-culture”: the values and qualities of the foreigner are often the complete *opposite* to the Egyptians, articulating a dichotomising and self-conscious sense of difference.²⁰ As articulated by O’Connor, “perfection grows from its antithesis”.²¹

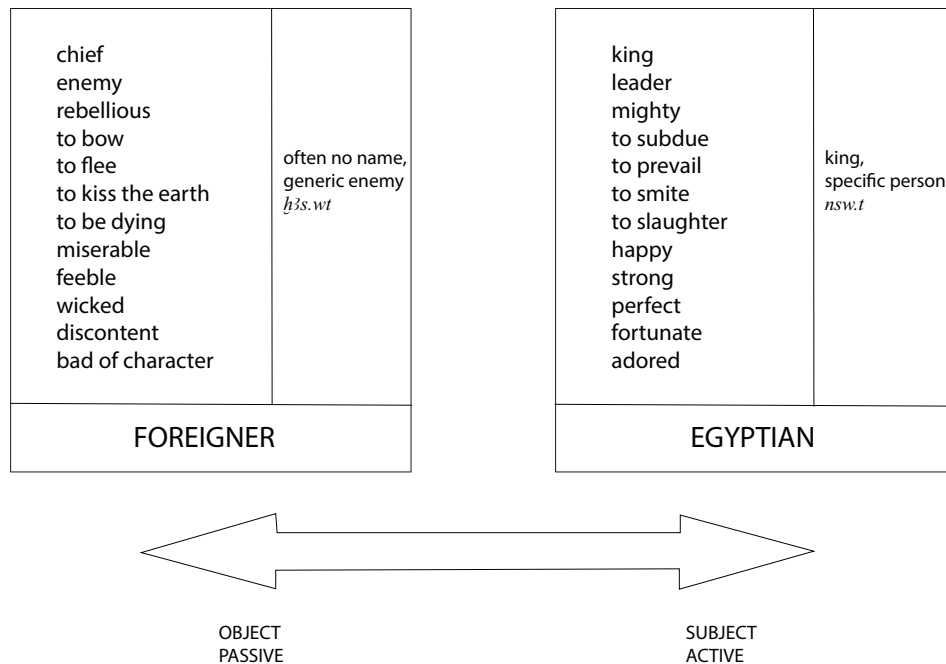


Figure 11.31 The contrasts and characterisations between foreigners and Egyptians as established through terminology.

As shown in Figure 11.31, the characterisation of the king and the foreigners are essentially achieved using the concept of opposition. Distinct terminologies, together with grammar and semantics, serves to elevate the Egyptian king at the expense of the “other”. The foreign enemy is generic and nameless, while a specific and hierarchically important person leads the Egyptians. If the foreigners flee, they are subdued by the Egyptians; if the foreigners are miserable, the Egyptians are happy. If the foreigners are passive, the Egyptians are active. As a whole, the impression is the establishment of a foreigner *topos*, a specific type of “other”, which can reify the power structures of the dominant Egyptian king through diametrical opposites.

¹⁹ Wendrich, “Identity and Personhood”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 201.

²⁰ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 23

²¹ O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’”, “*Never Had the Like Occurred*”, 178.

11.3 The Development of *Topos*-Phrases in Captions

A fundamental focus of this research has been to examine captions across the site of Karnak, namely, short, often stereotypical, inscriptions that evoked general ideas regarding the Egyptians' relationships with foreign lands. Though captions are often dismissed from a qualitative perspective as they are brief and repetitive, from a *quantitative* standpoint their sheer number reveals a reusable text that cultivates and stabilises the self-image of the group.²² Captions that related to foreign products were often *mimetic*, in the sense that they appeared to be a reflection of the historical reality of the interconnections between Egypt and foreign peoples. Short texts that contained hostile slights were deemed microaggressive and were the most commonly documented across the site. These captions sought to illustrate the dominance of the Egyptian king at the expense of the *h3s.t* and the Nine Bows, and accordingly, were a key component of the ideological pattern of establishing a foreigner *topos*. These set-phrases highlights the roles of Egyptian kingship and the values that the institution wished to promote that the general population could aspire to, and which typically serve to establish social cohesion, unity, and its continual maintenance.²³ The following sections discuss two types of recurring phrases: those discussing the *h3s.wt* (Section 11.3.1) and those denoting the Nine Bows (*psd.t pd.wt*) (Section 11.3.2).

11.3.1 Development of *Topos*-Phrases relating to the *h3s.t*

The phrase “all flat lands and all *h3s.wt* being under his sandals” is a memorable caption that frequently occurs at Karnak and across miscellaneous sites in Egypt. At first glance, the phrase may be considered deictic, in that the person it is referring to (i.e. the specific king) is *context* based.²⁴ However, the endurance of the phrase and its repetition over the period studied reinforces that it is not contextually bound and is instead directed at the institution of kingship (see Table 11.16). In this sense, this phrase may be considered ideational when applying models of systemic semantics, in that it encapsulates concepts and structures reality according to the perspective promoted by the institution.²⁵ In the case of the *topos*-captions at Karnak, their view of reality appears to be related to the fundamental concept of *maat* overcoming *isfet* and aims to reinforce the symbolic deeds that are expected of each king. This is reflected by

²² Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 131.

²³ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 148.

²⁴ Saeed, *Semantics*⁴, 123.

²⁵ For a detailed description on Systemic Linguistics and semantics see Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in Late Egyptian Stories*, 76-79; for ideational analysis see *ibid*, 84-88.

the *giving* of the *h3s.wt* to the king by the god (the sensor) and provides a coherent image of the king, as a force of *maat*, dominating over the “other” (*isfet*). The structure of the phrase is also notable, as the “phenomenon” is the *h3s.wt* (general, vague) and the actor or matter, the sandals, is a *specific* thing, namely, the sandals of the Egyptian king (see Figure 11.32). The focus, in turn, appears to be on the king rather than the obstacles that he needs to overcome.

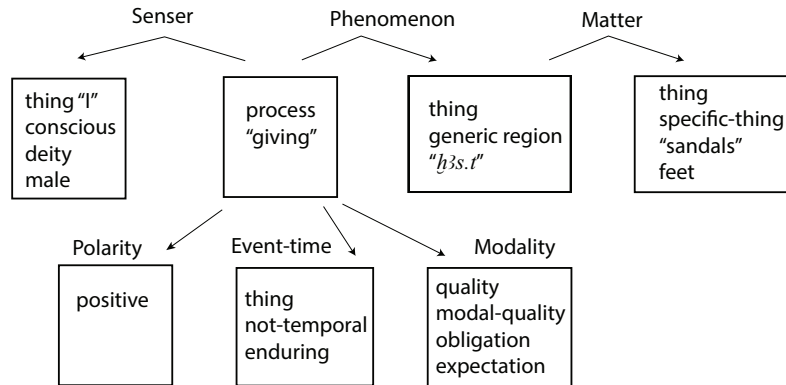


Figure 11.32 Ideational representation for “I have given to you all *h3s.t* under your sandals”.

Captions of set-phrases preserved in the reign of Ahmose communicate the actions of the *h3s.wt* and the Egyptian king, thus lending agency to both groups. For example, the *h3s.wt* bow (*ksw*) and Ahmose subdues (*wꜥf*) them. In the reign of Hatshepsut, the base formula of the “giving” of the *h3s.wt* is found, and further, it becomes a *paired expression* with *t3.w*: “(I) have given to you all the flat lands and all the *h3s.wt*”. Other actions can supplement this, such as placing these foreign lands, occasionally united (*dmd*), under the sandals (*tb.ty*) or legs (*rd.wy*) of the king/god. The reign of Thutmose III introduces a variety of phrases that are more complex, with some fourteen distinct examples. Continuing from the reign of Hatshepsut, the phrase of the god giving the responsibility of the *h3s.wt* to the king is again found: “(I) have given to you all flat lands and all *h3s.wt*”. This phrase has a number of variations, from *h3s.wt* under the sandals of the king (*hr tb.wy=f*), under the legs of the Good God (*rd.wy ntr nfr pn*), and the legs of Amun (*rd.wy Imn.w*).

These shifts in phraseology provide insight into the values supplementary to the primary obligation of the king to keep chaotic forces at bay. In the reign of Ahmose, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, the king appears to reflect on his role in this war (“who subdues”), as well as on a desire for his authority to be respected (“bowing”). In the reign of Hatshepsut, most examples refer to the “giving” of the lands, accentuating the transference of the duties of kingship from the god to the king, and as a result of this, the phrases are one of the devices through which she could proclaim her royal power. In the sole reign of Thutmose III, the

warrior ethos is at the forefront, with values of “bravery” (*kn.t*), “victory” (*nht*), physical “strength”, and prowess in battle (*hwi*) being expressed. In sum, these captions can provide insight into the changing values of the Egyptians in direct contrast with the “other”. In addition, short texts appear to encapsulate assumed cultural knowledge and the expectations of the group. In this case, the essential message of the captions remains constant: the Egyptian king is expected to unite and control the *h3s.wt*.

Reign	Transliteration	Translation	No.
Ahmose	<i>iw n=f h3s.wt ks.w</i>	The <i>h3s.wt</i> bow to him.	1
	<i>wf(.w) h3s.t nb(.t)</i>	who subdues every <i>h3s.t</i> .	1
Hatshepsut	<i>nn rkw (n)=i m t3.w nb h3s.wt nb.(w)t m dt=i</i>	No one is my opponent in all the flat lands (and) all <i>h3s.wt</i> are my serfs.	1
	<i>h3s.wt nb.(wt) dmd hr.w tb.ty(=i)</i>	All <i>h3s.wt</i> united under (my) sandals.	1
	<i>di.n(=i) n=t t3.w nb(.w) h3s.wt nb(.wt)</i>	(I) have given to you all the flat lands and all the <i>h3s.wt</i> .	1
	<i>t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t rd.wy Imn.w</i>	All lands, all <i>h3s.wt</i> , (are under) the two feet (lit.: two legs) of Amun.	2
	<i>dn(.w) tp.w h3s.wt bst.wt</i>	Who cuts the heads off the rebellious <i>h3s.wt</i> .	1
	<i>h3s.wt nb.(w)t bst.wt hr tb.ty=i</i>	All rebellious <i>h3s.wt</i> are under my sandals.	1
	<i>di=i n=k kn.t nht r h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	I give to you bravery and victory against all <i>h3s.wt</i> .	1
Thutmose III	<i>di=f kn.t nht h3s.wt nb.(wt) hr tb.ty=k</i>	He gives bravery and victory and all <i>h3s.wt</i> under your sandals.	1
	<i>wr.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t dmd(.w) m hf=k</i>	The princes of all <i>h3s.wt</i> are united in your grasp.	1
	<i>p^c.t nb.t rhy.wt n.t H3-nb.w nb.t hnm.t nb rd.wy ntr pn nfr</i>	All the patricians, all the commonfolk, all the Hanebu, all mankind, are at the feet of this good god.	2
	<i>ini.n=k h3s.(wt) nb.(wt) stt t3.w nb Fnhw dm3 hr tb.ty=k</i>	You brought all <i>h3s.wt</i> , the mysteries of all flat lands, the Fenhwa are bound together under your sandals.	1
	<i>di.n(=i) n=k h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	(I) have given to you all <i>h3s.wt</i> .	1
	<i>di(=i) n=k kn.t nb.t snb nb 3w-ib.t nb(.t) t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb(.wt) hr tb.ty=f</i>	(I) give to you all bravery, all health, all joy, all flat lands, and all <i>h3s.wt</i> under his sandals.	1
	<i>di(=i) n=n t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i>	(I) give to you all flat lands and all <i>h3s.wt</i> .	2
	<i>t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t rd.wy ntr nfr pn</i>	All flat lands and all <i>h3s.wt</i> are at the feet of this Good God.	3
	<i>hwi(.w) hk3.w h3s.wt</i>	who smites the rulers of <i>h3s.wt</i>	3
	<i>sm3.n(=i) n=k t3.wy m htp.w t3.w nb(.w) h3s.t nb.t hr tb.ty=k</i>	(I) having united for you the Two Lands in peace, and all the flat lands and every <i>h3s.wt</i> .	3
	<i>t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb(.wt) /// /// ///</i>	All flat lands, all <i>h3s.wt</i> /// /// ///	1
	<i>/// /// /// [n]ht nb r h3s.wt [nb.wt mi R^c.w d.t]</i>	/// /// /// every [vic]tory over [all] <i>h3s.wt</i> , [like Re, forever].	1
	<i>di.n(=i) n=k ns.yt t3.wy h3s(.wt) nb.(w)t r b(w) hr nb idb.wy dm3 hr tb.ty=k</i>	(I) have given to you the kingship of the Two Lands, all <i>h3s(.wt)</i> where you are, and the Two Banks are bound together under your sandals.	1
Total:			31

Table 11.16 The development of stereotypical phrases referring to the *h3s.t*.

11.3.2 Development of *Topos*-Phrases relating to the Nine Bows

The structure of captions referring to the Nine Bows reiterates an ideological focus on the obligations of kingship in relation to the “other” and consequently, they contain a number of similarities to those referring to the *h3s.wt*. From a semantic and ideational perspective, the combination of a vague entity (the Nine Bows) with a defined matter and sensor (the king or the sandals of the king), emphasises the deeds of the king as opposed to the object. This deed is not restricted temporally, articulating the *enduring* nature of this facet of kingship, while the modality continues to relate to the obligations and expectations of kingship (see Figs. 11.33 and 11.34). Curiously, there is less emphasis in the Nine Bow captions of the god *giving* them to the Egyptian king; it appears to be a deed contained within the institution of kingship itself (see Table 11.17).

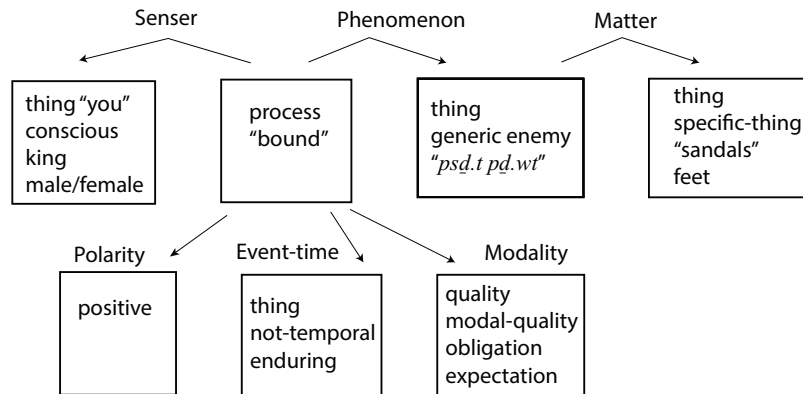


Figure 11.33 Ideational representation for “the Nine Bows are bound together under your sandals”.

The first textual example is found on the side of the obelisk of Thutmose I [18.03.01]. This example has been used as an epithet within the titulary of the king, “who smites the Nine Bows” (*hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt*). Variations occur in the reign of Hatshepsut, in which emotions and actions are encountered: “fear” (*snd*), “adoration” (*dw3*), and “wringing the neck” (*wšn*). The formula seen in the *h3s.t* captions is also utilised, in which the Nine Bows are bound under the sandals of the king (*psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=t*). In the sole reign of Thutmose III, the two most common phrases encountered include the “smiting” of the Nine Bows as an epithet of the king, as well as the general statement of the Nine Bows being “bound” under the king’s sandals (*psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=k/f*).

As a whole, there is a shift in the phraseology as seen in the *h3s.wt*-examples, which appears to shed light on the changing perception of the role of the king and the Egyptians interactions

with foreign lands. Though there is less data than the *h3s.wt*-captions, it is clear that in the reign of Hatshepsut other avenues are explored, as the texts include the example of “praise” (*dw3*) and there is no “smiting” (*hwi*) found; it would appear that respect and acknowledgement of authority is particularly pertinent at this point in Egyptian history. In the sole reign of Thutmose III after the death of Hatshepsut, there is no such parallel found, and a distinct focus on fear and physical actions, and thus, interactions of a military nature. Overall, these phrases denoting the Nine Bows relate particularly to the *maintenance* of unity through physical action, and as such, is a set-phrase that can work in tandem with the *h3s.wt* captions to promote the roles of the king in terms of control, unity, and the maintenance of the Egyptian empire.

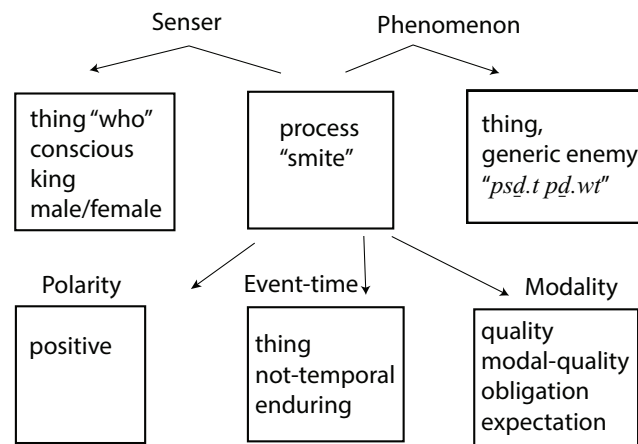


Figure 11.34 Ideational representation for “who smites the Nine Bows”.

Reign	Transliteration	Translation	No.
Thutmose I	<i>hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt</i>	Who smites the Nine Bows	1
Hatshepsut	<i>psd.t pd.wt nn nhw ir.w</i>	The Nine Bows are without loss thereof	1
	<i>wšn.n=s psd.t pd.wt</i>	She wrings the necks of the Nine Bows	1
	<i>rth.t=f n=t psd.t pd.wt</i>	He restrains for you the Nine Bows	1
	<i>dw3 tn psd.t pd.wt</i>	The Nine Bows praise you	1
	<i>snd.t m psd.t pd.wt m rn.t</i>	Fear of you is among the Nine Bows in your name	1
	<i>psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=t/=s</i>	The Nine Bows are bound under your sandals	2
Thutmose III	<i>dī=i hmhm.t hm=k ht psd.t pd.wt</i>	I placed the fame of your Majesty throughout the Nine Bows	1
	<i>psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=k/f</i>	The Nine Bows are bound together under your/his sandals	3
	<i>hry.t=i m ib.w psd.t pd.wt</i>	My terror is in the hearts of the Nine Bows	1
	<i>hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt</i>	Who smites the Nine Bows	6
	<i>snd=k m psd.t pd.wt</i>	Fear of you is in the Nine Bows	1
	<i>hk3 psd.t pd.wt</i>	Ruler of the Nine Bows	1
	<i>skr(.w) psd.t pd.wt</i>	who strikes the Nine Bows	1
Total:			22

Table 11.17 The development of stereotypical phrases referring to *psd.t pd.wt*.

11.4 The Development of Symbols: The Nine-Bow Motif on Statuary

The nine-bow motif, a symbolic rendition of the “many” and immediate enemies of Egypt, was frequently found at Karnak on statuary, engraved on the dais of a throne, physically and literally under the king’s feet or legs. This category alone accounted for 29 sources of the corpus, namely, some 21%, and as such, the nine-bow motif on statuary is more commonly encountered than captions referring to the *psd.t pd.wt*. In all examples, the motif is only associated with the *king*, even if there are other people or deities present on the statue. The exclusivity of the motif to the Egyptian ruler is particularly important, while the continuous use of the same “style” of portraiture, representing the ideal youthful king, ensures that the image has longevity and is binding to the Egyptian people.²⁶

This royal tradition of portraiture represents the ideal at Karnak from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, with a focus on striding and seated statues of the king adorned in various regalia. In the early examples considered in this thesis, the king has a muscular yet slightly sturdy physique, typical of the statuary styles of the Second Intermediate Period. Although the statues themselves are carved with great attention to detail, often the craftsmanship of the nine-bow motif was substandard, particularly when contrasted against the quality of the statue itself (Figs. 11.35-11.38). The engraving of the nine-bow motif becomes more refined throughout the period studied, with the most clearly defined examples appearing in the sole reign of Thutmose III. In addition, the reign of Thutmose III sees the addition of the motif to other types of statuary, such as kneeling and offering (Figs. 11.39-11.42). In all examples, the king has a lean and muscular physique, illustrated by, for example, lateral peroneal muscles and a defined abdomen. As a whole, the proliferation of statues with the motif from the reign of Thutmose III (with some 16 examples), together with its polished carving implies that the concept of the Nine Bows became especially important to the ideology of kingship during this period. This is further emphasised by the inclusion of the *psd.t pd.wt* in the titulary of Thutmose III.

Overall, the iconic representation of the motif with the statue personifies the role of the Egyptian ruler. Its exclusivity to statuary of the king encapsulates that it was an expectation of the Egyptian ruler to control foreign peoples and other lands considered as being within the

²⁶ Jan Assmann, “Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture”, in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1 (Boston, 1996), 78; Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 131.

framework of the Nine Bows. As a symbol and motif, the nine bows is fundamentally an example of *cultural knowledge*; it is only through being included in the Egyptian culture that this concept of the “other” and the need to control them is clearly expressed and communicated. Accordingly, the nine-bow motif, through its functioning exclusivity to Egyptians, suggests that the cultural identity of the group, and more specifically, cultural knowledge that binds the group together, can be manifested via these statues.²⁷

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.35 The nine bows on [13.30.02].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.36 The nine bows on [13.30.03].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.37 The nine bows on [13.0B.01].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.38 The nine bows on [17.02.01].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.39 The nine bows on [18.06.28].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.40 The nine bows on [18.06.30].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.41 The nine bows on [18.06.35].

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11.42 The nine bows on [18.06.36].

²⁷ Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 131.

11.5 Perceptions of Egyptian Identity as Contrasted by the “Other”

Accordingly, what does the Karnak Temple reveal about Egyptian identity as a whole? It is beyond doubt that identity is not based solely on geographical location, topographical landscape, physiognomy, ethnicity, and attire, but behaviours and actions towards others, titles, names, status, religion, shared cultural knowledge and history, and even products can be a source of identity.²⁸ A key facet for identity-forming texts within the framework of cultural memory is the use of traditional and canonised documents, which advocates particular values and qualities for the wider group through reconstructing the past and altering it to suit current contexts. Within these canonised sources, it became transparent that the king, when compared against the “other”, marks the quintessential, divine ideal, and as such, concepts of identity at the temple were not necessarily real but manufactured to strive towards this perfect *male* self within the realm of state ideology. The king, as the figurehead of an institution and not necessarily as an individual, encapsulates the traditions of the broader group and the values which people should aspire to. Accordingly, the Egyptian king is in a unique position to *establish* and promote a particular conception of Egyptian identity.

Correspondingly, as ideas of Egyptian identity were modelled on the king, the appearance of the ideal Egyptian was marked by a smooth and ageless face, the only facial hair being the false beard. He has a straight nose, almond-shaped eyes with eyeliner detail, and medium-sized lips.²⁹ This figure also has royal regalia in terms of crowns and other accoutrements, though other depictions of non-royals show Egyptians could also have short, round coiffures. The king has an athletic figure which expresses a perception of an *active* individual who is fit, strong, and able to defeat enemies in war. His size also illustrates his *hierarchical* importance over others. In terms of character, the Egyptians were described as pious, brave, strong, victorious, and happy. Within this framework, the warrior ethos was particularly promoted as a key aspect of Egyptian identity. However, murder, stealing, and other violent actions were only ever endorsed in the context of conflict, especially encounters of a military variety, against the foreign “other”. Finally, *shared* Egyptian history and cultural knowledge could *bond* a group together, especially concepts such as the Nine Bows. A bona fide Egyptian was a strong, fit individual who could defeat his enemies, whilst also continually *controlling* the “other”. By

²⁸ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 107; Wendrich, “Identity and Personhood”, *Egyptian Archaeology*, 209.

²⁹ The straight nose, as pointed out by Laboury, appears to be a particular marker of Egyptian royal portraiture. Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 650-652.

adhering to or participating in these behaviours, an individual can establish a sense of belonging to the broader Egyptian culture.

11.6 Summary

The sources analysed, as a whole, show a clear development over the period studied and that a specific decorum existed when portraying foreigners at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. Though there are significant gaps in the data related to the state of the preservation of the temple, the evidence appears to indicate that the Eighteenth Dynasty played a significant role in terms of *how* foreigners were referred to at the sacred space. The Second Intermediate Period relied on stele and statues, and as far as we can tell today, the Eighteenth Dynasty introduced the decoration of larger architectural elements with smiting scenes in the reign of Amenhotep I, obelisk inscriptions in the reign of Thutmose I, captions in the reign of Hatshepsut, and large pictorial depictions and topographical lists in the reign of Thutmose III.³⁰ It is entirely possible that these developments are evidence for the *creation* of a stereotype or *topos*. It was only through their repetition and consistent use that it would later become the norm to carve smiting scenes on pylon walls, to add name rings to statue bases, and engrave captions on the columns of the Hypostyle Hall. As products of cultural memory, stereotypical representations of foreigners would, in turn, continue to play a role in the manifestation of Egyptian identity for millennia to come.

However, the most poignant of the questions that this study aims to address is whether Karnak, as the state temple, had the capacity to communicate to the wider population these concepts of Egyptian identity. It has all the characteristics of cultural memory, as the site preserved and promoted institutionalised versions of the past that were heavily mediated and shaped by tradition. However, was the temple accessible? Who was the potential audience and who would subscribe to the ideals promoted by the Egyptian king at Karnak? These questions are to be addressed in the following chapter.

³⁰ Topographical lists may have even occurred earlier, as demonstrated by the fragments from North Karnak in the reign of Thutmose I. Jacquet-Gordon, "Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I", *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 41-46.

Chapter 12

Spatial Distribution of References to Foreigners

“Monumental discourse was indeed one
of virtue (...), of eternity, and of political belonging.
As such, it was the most important means of organizing cultural memory in Egypt.”
Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*.¹

As discussed in Chapter 11, ideas and concepts regarding Egyptian identity can be elucidated from representations of the ethnic “other” at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. However, this is not yet sufficient to support the hypothesis that Karnak was capable of propagating an awareness of Egyptian identity to the broader Egyptian population as a *lieu de mémoire*. Though it can be assumed Karnak *stored* memory or was a repository of cultural knowledge, was it able to become a place of *functional* memory that was used and was cohered to by the group?² This chapter seeks to address such queries through the third research question, namely: to what extent was the Karnak Temple capable of disseminating this information? It aspires to establish the correlation at Karnak between the placement of a text, its intended audience, and most importantly, its capacity to transmit information. The following chapter is broken down into general trends of spatial distribution which are presented in Section 12.1. This is followed by case studies to determine the accessibility of different text types, including smiting scenes, long inscriptions, and captions (Section 12.2). Section 12.3 discusses spatial distribution, accessibility, and the potential audience, while Section 12.4 dwells on issues of literacy. The chapter finishes with a summary of the findings in Section 12.5 to assist in answering the defined research question.

12.1 General Trends of Spatial Distribution

12.1.1 Spatial Distribution from a Statistical Perspective

The entire corpus is composed of 136 items from the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the reign of Thutmose III (see Figs. 12.1 and 12.2).³ A significant portion was unearthed

¹ Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 150.

² Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 121; Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (New York, 2011), 130.

³ From a statistical perspective, the Annals [18.06.01]–[18.06.05] have been considered as one text, to remove the modern and arbitrary division of the inscription into “pieces”, while the Oracle Text [18.05.09] of Hatshepsut has been counted as four to reflect better the number of *blocks* that actually refer to foreign lands. Accordingly, the following statistics have been based on the number of 135 (namely, 136 - 4 (extra

from a secondary provenance (37.04%). This includes within the fill of the Third Pylon built by Amenhotep III, which contained some 29 objects (21.48%) detailing references to the foreign lands. The Cachette, the cache of objects buried in the First Court in the Ptolemaic Period, provided an additional 16 artefacts (11.85%).

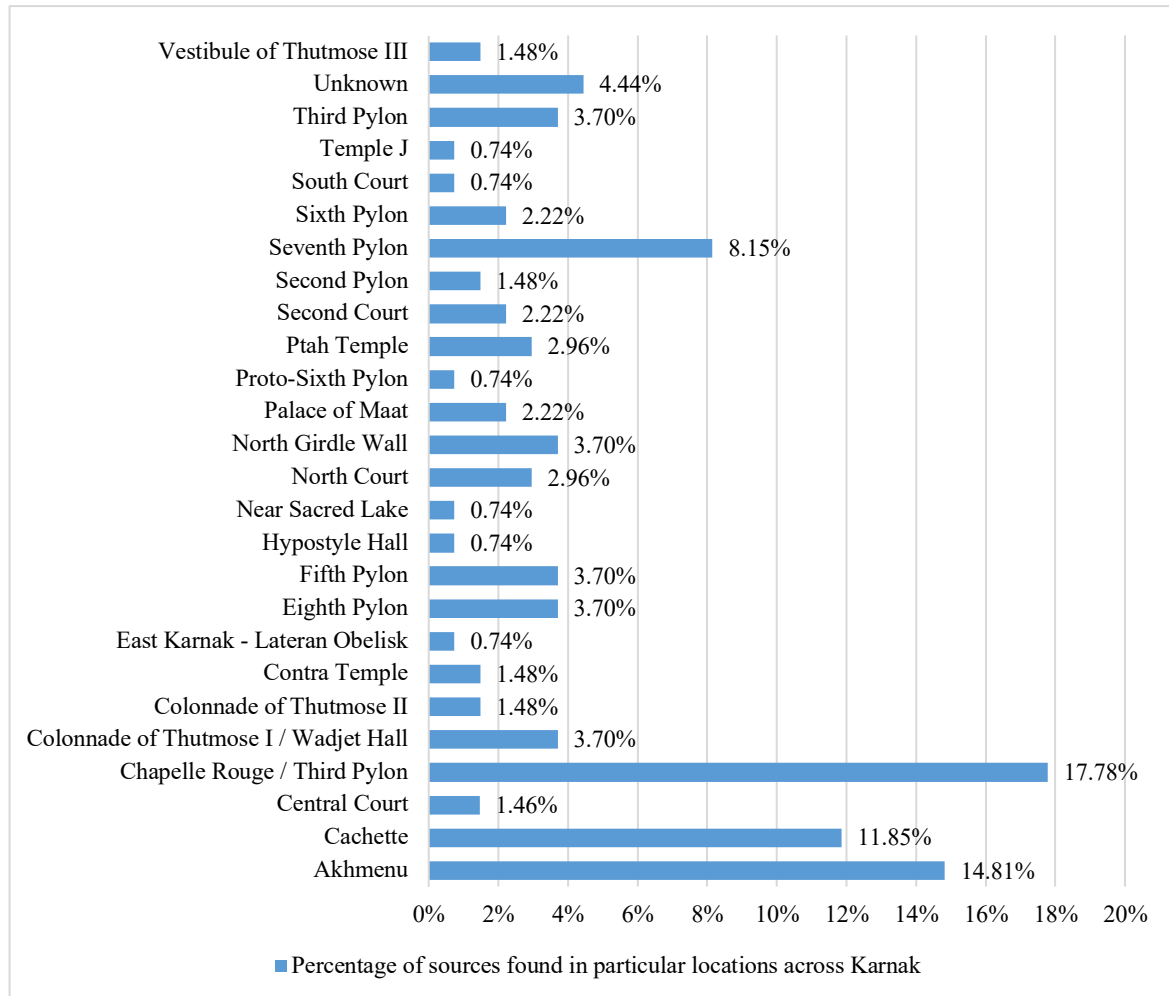


Figure 12.1 A breakdown of the spatial distribution by provenance over the corpus.

The scenes, statues, and stele in situ, however, provide crucial information regarding the placement of references to foreigners. Focal points around the site include the Seventh Pylon and the Second Court, which together had 14 examples (10.37%), and the Akhmenu with 20 examples (14.81%). Other notable clusters include the Colonnade of Thutmose I/Wadjet Hall which has some 5 objects (3.70%) containing references to foreign lands, the Eighth Pylon (5 examples, 3.70%), and the rooms along the North Girdle Wall (5 examples, 3.70%). This data appears to demonstrate, from a quantitative perspective, that references to foreigners are

pieces of the Annals) + 3 (extra blocks of the Oracle Text) = 135). However, it is hoped that the reader remains aware that 24 blocks are from the Chapelle Rouge, which has conflated the results significantly.

predominantly found along the east-west and north-south processional ways and hence the more open and accessible areas of the temple. However, as the statistical side is somewhat based upon arbitrary and subjective divisions, these trends can be elucidated in a more comprehensive manner through a spatial distribution map. As shown in Fig. 12.2, when this is accomplished, it becomes evident that not only are the texts found along the processional way but more specifically, that they are across the *gateways* (Fig. 12.2).

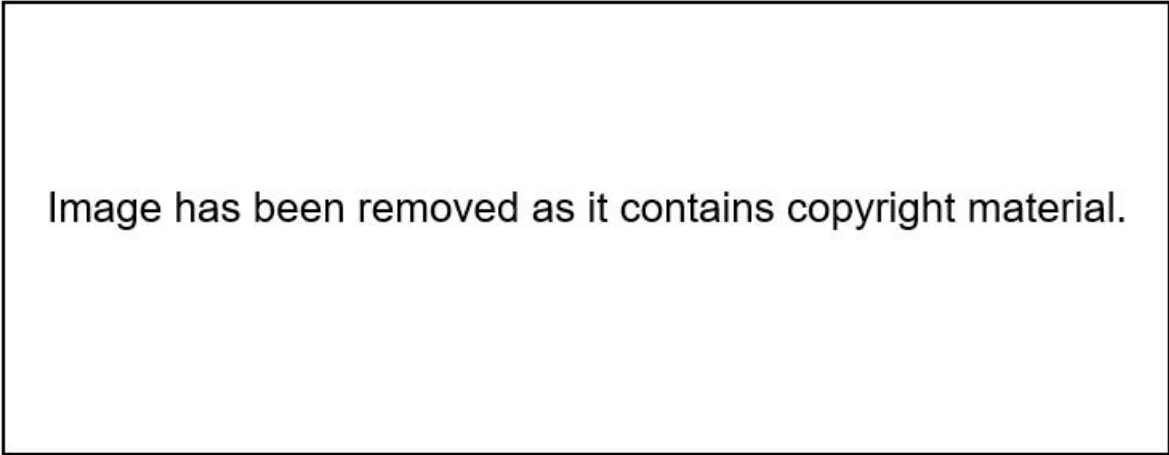


Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 12.2 Spatial distribution for the entire corpus for artefacts in situ or where their provenance can be determined. This does not include the Cachette, Third Pylon, or Second Pylon in order to reflect how it may have looked in the reign of Thutmose III.

12.1.2 Spatial Distribution from a Diachronic Perspective

From a diachronic perspective, it is not until the Eighteenth Dynasty where firm conclusions regarding spatial distribution can be drawn. However, as the Second Intermediate Period

examples are primarily statues and stele, one may assume that they were placed in public spaces against walls or near entranceways.⁴ The Amenhotep I specimens appear to have been centred around the gateways towards the Middle Kingdom Court; the presence of the mud-brick enclosure wall would suggest that they were not visible from the outside. The texts from the reign of Thutmose I include the statue with the nine-bow motif discovered south of the Fifth Pylon [18.03.02] and the obelisk before the south-west face of the Fourth Pylon [18.03.01]. The obelisk occupies what was then the main entranceway to the sacred complex, and at the time, doubtless the most open and approachable area of the temple.

For the reign of Thutmose II, the colossal statue of the king was discovered in front of the south-west face of the Eighth Pylon [18.04.02]. As discussed in Chapter 5.2, Gabolde proposed that this statue, together with its counterpart in the pair, may have initially been placed before the Grand Pylon of Thutmose II, and as such, before the main entrance to the temple.⁵ The possible relocation of these statues to the Eighth Pylon would suggest that in both instances it was deliberately located in areas with the highest visibility, namely, near the entrances to the temple.

A significant quantity of texts from the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III has remained in situ, or their original location can be deduced. Hatshepsut's rule likewise reflects a focus on the entrance quarters to the temple, namely, with her pair of obelisks in the Wadjet Hall behind the Fourth Pylon ([18.05.07] and [18.05.08]) and the scenes of Thutmose I and Thutmose II on the interior north-east face of the Eighth Pylon ([18.05.05] and [18.05.06]). Other texts are found further inside the temple, namely, in the North Court and the Chapelle Rouge in the Palace of Maat. The blocks referring to foreign lands have primarily been reconstructed as existing on the *exterior* face of the Chapelle, and presumably the more accessible parts of the shrine, though this visibility is somewhat questionable (see Chapter 6.4). As a whole, however, it appears a shift occurred during the reign of Hatshepsut regarding the placement of references to foreigners, as the chosen location for these texts is in the *enclosed* areas of the temple in the vicinity of the Central Bark Shrine.

In the sole reign of Thutmose III, a plethora of references to foreigners are spread across the site. The most prominent examples are the smiting scenes and name rings which were added

⁴ Such an approach to the placement of stele and statues is evident in later periods, particularly in the area around the Seventh Pylon in the reign of Thutmose III.

⁵ Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 21.

to the Sixth and Seventh Pylons. The smiting scenes on the Sixth Pylon were only on the *exterior* (west) face of the monument, while those on the Seventh Pylon graced both the north and south sides of the gateway. In addition, the Seventh Pylon appears to have been a particular focal point for references to foreign lands, as it contains depictions of the king smiting enemies, captions along the doorways, together with statues with the nine-bow motif before the gateway itself. However, like his predecessors before him, the majority of references to foreign lands are along the east-west processional way. The Annals of Thutmose III ([18.06.01]-[18.06.05]) was carved onto the walls of the Vestibule of Thutmose III, and a stela was erected in the North Court, and before the dismantlement of the Chapelle Rouge, Thutmose III also incorporated his own texts to the monument. The Akhmenu on the eastern side of the complex was decorated with references to foreigners across the architraves and walls, which were centred around the western half of this monument, namely, towards the entrance of the Festival Temple. Finally, references were found along the North Girdle Wall and at the Temple of Ptah.

Diachronically, references to foreigners can be seen to be placed at the entrance quarters to the temple. The closest the inscriptions are placed to the heart of the temple is before the Middle Kingdom Court and in the vicinity of where Amenhotep I carved his smiting scenes and placed his bark shrine. Over time, as the temple expanded, the references to foreigners began to accumulate along the east-west processional way and moved further away from this central region of the space. In the reign of Hatshepsut, with the construction of the Eighth Pylon, the north-west processional way likewise began to amass references, which reached a crescendo in the reign of Thutmose III.

12.2 Patterns of Spatial Distribution

The second aspect of spatial distribution analysis seeks to address the placement of specific types of scenes. In the scholarly literature, “emblematic” or stereotypical scenes, particularly smiting scenes, are assumed to have been placed on the exterior faces of the temple.⁶ By extension, references to foreigners “are excluded from the inner programme of the roofed, rear-lying parts of the temple”.⁷ This section seeks to determine if this rule is universal and applicable to all text types, by considering patterns of placement for smiting scenes (Section 12.2.1), longer inscriptions (Section 12.2.2), and captions (Section 12.2.3).⁸

⁶ For example, O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’ ”, *“Never Had the Like Occurred”*, 171; McCarthy, “The Function of ‘Emblematic’ Scenes”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 67-68.

⁷ O’Connor, “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’ ”, *“Never Had the Like Occurred”*, 171.

⁸ This excludes statues with the nine-bow motif as most were found in secondary locations.

12.2.1 Spatial Distribution of Smiting Scenes

At Karnak, the observation that smiting scenes are typically located on the exterior walls is supported to a certain extent (Fig. 12.3). The first smiting scene at Karnak dates from the reign of Amenhotep I [18.02.03]. This example was added to the exterior (west) facing wall on the proto-Sixth Pylon, which was blocked by a mud-brick enclosure wall. The next smiting scenes date from the reign of Thutmose III, from the Sixth and Seventh Pylons. The Sixth Pylon features two smiting scenes on the north and south wings, facing the exterior side of the temple only (i.e. the western face), whilst the Seventh Pylon has four smiting scenes, decorated on both sides of the gate on the exterior and interior sides (i.e. the northern and southern faces). Curiously, however, these smiting scenes are not found on the most exterior and outermost sections of the temple but are rather generally carved into the gateways of the inner courtyards.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 12.3 Spatial distribution of smiting scenes as at the end of the reign of Thutmose III.

12.2.2 Spatial Distribution of Larger Texts

Larger texts include stele, obelisks, and other lengthy inscriptions such as the Annals (Fig. 12.4). Unlike the smiting scenes, the larger texts are found to exist closer to the sacred heart of the temple, namely, the Holy of the Holies. Though some are scattered along the processional ways and placed before the pylons, a number are found along the east-west axis of the temple, before and around the Palace of Maat, or along the corridors.




Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 12.4 Spatial distribution of longer texts as at the end of the reign of Thutmose III.

12.2.3 Spatial Distribution of Captions

Captions account for the majority of the corpus and were found on gateways, pillars, obelisks, architraves, interior walls, and niches (Fig. 12.5). Along the east-west processional way, there are references from the Colonnade of Thutmose I, the gateways of the Fifth and Sixth Pylons,

the North and South Courts, and the chambers along the North Girdle Wall. Others were predominantly found in the Akhmenu, including the architraves and various interior walls, as well as in the Contra Temple at the eastern side of the complex. Along the southern processional way, small captions are found on the flag mast niches of the Seventh Pylon.




Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 12.5 Spatial distribution of captions as at the end of the reign of Thutmose III.

12.2.4 Observations on Spatial Distribution

The references to foreigners with clear provenances can be seen to be placed along the processional ways, and diachronically, as the temple expands, the references can also be seen to move further away from the inner sanctum. This can be seen in tandem with the concept of accessibility in the ancient Egyptian temple: “the nearer to the exterior a zone was located, the

larger the number of people who were authorized to enter it”.⁹ However, the notion that references to foreigners *only* occur in the open and exterior spaces of the temple is untenable when the captions and longer inscriptions are also taken into account. Though the texts, as a whole, are undoubtedly found along the processional ways, bordering gateways and pylons, longer inscriptions and captions can *also* be placed in the interior and roofed sections of the temple. In addition, there is also a clear division between the location of *texts* and *images*. Images, which generally require larger spaces, are often found on exterior walls and pylons. Texts, on the other hand, particularly captions, can fill small spaces, including the lintels of doorways, architraves, and niches, and accordingly, they can often penetrate further into the temple.

Taking all the above into consideration, there appears to be a direct correlation between the architectural technique of isolating the Holy of the Holies and the references to foreign lands.¹⁰ More specifically, the closer one approaches the Holy of the Holies, the references to foreign lands can be seen to diminish in number and size. This is probably related to the need to segregate the cult statue from profane and chaotic forces (namely, foreign lands), as well as the ritual and ideological need of the king to overcome *isfet*.¹¹ The rulers and builders of Karnak had the difficult task of negotiating between these two requirements.

It would thus appear that there was a spectrum of profanity by which to refer to foreigners. *Images* of foreign *peoples* appear to have been considered the most profane and could not be represented in the immediate vicinity of the inner sanctum. On the other end of the spectrum, the captions and depictions that list foreign *products* were not tainted and were deemed acceptable to be shown in the presence of the god Amun (for example, Thutmose III offering Tjehenu oil to Amun in [18.06.45]). As a consequence, *textual references* or even depictions of *foreign products* could penetrate this barrier that separated the sacred and the profane and be placed closer to the Holy of the Holies.¹²

⁹ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 32.

¹⁰ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 30-32.

¹¹ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 30-32; McCarthy, “The Function of ‘Emblematic’ Scenes”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 67.

¹² It is notable that by the reign of Ramesses III in the Twentieth Dynasty at Karnak, there *are* references to foreign lands in the dark and interior rooms of his temple/bark shrine. See PM II², 31 (88 and 89), 32 (96 and 103); The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume I. Ramses III’s Temple with the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part I and II* (Chicago, 1936), pl. 56 (A and B), 57, 58, 59 (A and B), 60 (B), 61, 68, 73 (F).

12.3 Accessibility and Potential Audience

The location of references to foreigners towards the restricted areas of the temple does raise significant questions regarding the potential audiences for the texts and the ability of the content of these inscriptions to influence conceptions of Egyptian identity. In general, if these texts at Karnak were to act as functional memories, it would require a group of people to have had direct access to these spaces, to see and read the inscriptions, and engage with the values and ideas that were presented.¹³ Baines has argued that not only were the ancient Egyptian temples inaccessible to most, but the majority of the scenes found on temple walls were placed too high to be readable by the general public.¹⁴ This is particularly illustrated by the Chapelle Rouge, which, as was demonstrated in Chapter 6.4 (Fig. 6.11), some of the blocks referring to the *ḥ3s.wt* were simply unreadable from ground level. However, in other cases, all that is often required to view these scenes is *perspective*: the smiting scenes of Thutmose III are clearer from a distance. Most significantly, texts that refer to foreign lands along the gateways of the processional way are often at the ideal height for visibility (see Fig. 12.6).



Figure 12.6 Passing through the gateway of the Sixth Pylon towards the Central Bark Shrine, the name rings are immediately visible in [18.06.16]. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

¹³ Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 121; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 130.
¹⁴ Baines, “Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity”, *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century*, 349.

Considering the high density of references along the gateways of the processional ways, it would appear that the intended audience were those who would travel along these routes on a somewhat frequent basis. The most obvious potential audience is the temple personnel who would have seen these scenes on and before the walls at Karnak on a day-to-day basis.¹⁵ In the New Kingdom, the priestly staff was a dynamic and fluid entity, composed of phyles and rostered high officials.¹⁶ The latter group typically only worked at the temple part-time in month-long periods, undertaking duties in other civil positions for the remainder of the year; naturally, this system allows for a greater range of people to have had access to the sacred space.¹⁷ In addition, in the reign of Ramesses III in the Twentieth Dynasty, the entire temple staff of Karnak was listed as 81,322 people.¹⁸ The number of people working at the Temple of Amun in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, whether as priests or administrators, is unlikely to have been insignificant.

Out of all the temple personnel, the priests had the greatest levels of accessibility. Within this priesthood, a hierarchical system existed that conferred various degrees of accessibility within the sacred space.¹⁹ For example, the priest who held a particularly high status was the *hm-ntr*, “Servant of the God” who had permission to enter the Holy of the Holies.²⁰ Lector priests, *hr.y-ḥ3b(.t)*, carried the ritual books and recited the rituals, and presumably were allowed closer to the sanctuary of the god with these important duties.²¹ *Wꜥb*-priests who played a secondary role in temple rituals and were thus part of the “lower clergy” were not allowed to enter the sanctuary but could access the more open areas of the temple proper towards the enclosure wall.²² As none of the inscriptions studied in this thesis have survived from the sanctuary of the god, it is possible that all of these priests, from the upper and lower tiers of the “clergy”, had access to the scenes with references to foreigners at Karnak.

Furthermore, apart from the phyles of priests, women were often employed in large numbers to work at temples in the Eighteenth Dynasty; not as priests but as musicians and singers.²³ These women were often the wives and daughters of the high officials, priests, and even of the

¹⁵ Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt*, 47.

¹⁶ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 166.

¹⁷ Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals”, *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 9, 15; Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca and London, 2000), 69.

¹⁸ Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 52-53.

¹⁹ Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 57.

²⁰ Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals”, *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 11.

²¹ Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals”, *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 12.

²² Shafer, “Temples, Priests, and Rituals”, *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 11; Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 70.

²³ Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 145-148; Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 65-70.

workmen at Deir el-Medina.²⁴ In Karnak, as evident on the blocks of the Chapelle Rouge, women would shake the sistra, sing, and dance during processions and other temple rituals.²⁵

Accordingly, within the daily activity of the temple, the processional way appears to have been a particular focal point and used by the priests, staff, and musicians.²⁶ Not only was it the route travelled by the priests as they made their way to the cult image in the morning rites and perhaps left the temple for the day after the evening ritual, but it was also the route for more sacred activities: the divine procession.²⁷ The procession of the divine bark was a religious activity that occurred on a fairly high frequency: there are fifty-four feast days known from the reign of Thutmose III during which the procession with the cult statue would have left the temple.²⁸

Curiously, if one applies the route of the processional bark to the spatial distribution of references to foreign lands, it suggests that the greatest opportunity for glimpsing most of these texts was during these ceremonial ambulations on the Festival Days (Fig. 12.7). This route of the bark was not restricted to the east-west processional way; as reconstructed by Sullivan, after passing through the east-west processional way and exiting the Fourth Pylon, the bark may have *turned south* to travel through the southern processional way.²⁹ As the bark itself left the Central Bark Shrine, which is where the inscriptions generally cease, the references to foreign lands appear to be architectonically defined by the route that the bark would enter and exit the temple.³⁰ However, it must be kept in mind that these references in question do not occur in isolation and that other ceremonial scenes would also have caught the eye of the bark carriers and participants of the processions. Accordingly, the temple staff who participated in these ceremonial ambulations are certain to have had access to many of the texts discussed in this study.

As a whole, the placement of the references to foreign lands, though undoubtedly in areas of restricted - but not exclusive - access appears to be directed on a secondary level (the primary audience being the deity) towards the elite classes and the temple personnel, a group of which was constantly fluid and ever-changing. Men and women in high numbers were employed at

²⁴ Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 145.

²⁵ Block 66. KIU 1282; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge d'Hatshepsout I*, pl. 64; Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 146.

²⁶ Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 77; Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt*, 47.

²⁷ Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 77-94; Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt*, 167-170.

²⁸ Sullivan, "Visualising the size and movement of the portable festival barks", *BMSAES* 19 (2012), 8-12; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*², 270; Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 92.

²⁹ Sullivan, "Visualising the size and movement of the portable festival barks", *BMSAES* 19 (2012), 11.

³⁰ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 32.

the temple on a rotating basis, allowing for a greater number of people to undertake religious duties. Accordingly, Baines' claim that the temple was inaccessible to most is misleading, and by understanding the priestly system and their respective degree of accessibility, most of whom were drawn from the elite classes, there is every possibility that the information on the walls at the temple could be accessed and *disseminated*.³¹ However, in some cases, the texts probably had an apotropaic function, and their very existence, in this case, confirms and enhances their efficiency. In addition, if the texts upon the walls at Karnak were actually interacted with by this elite group, it may be possible that the texts, at some point, transcended from memory acting in a storage capacity to *functional* memory.³² This change is crucial, as in the latter format, the group can actively draw and reify aspects of their collective *identity* from the texts at Karnak.³³ In such examples, the performative aspect of the documents may have played a larger role than anticipated.

Sacred Lake

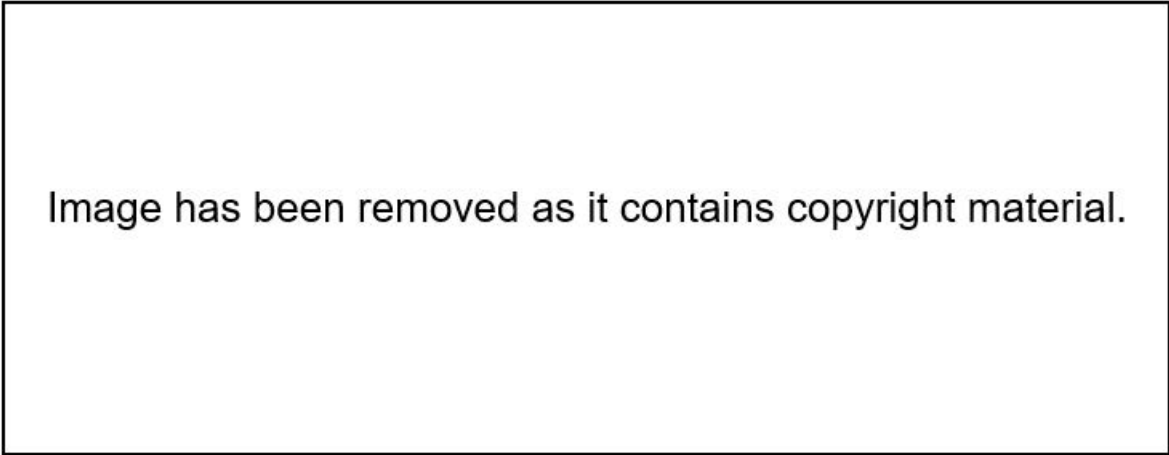


Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 12.7 The possible route of the bark procession (after Sullivan, 2012) during the reign of Thutmose III, compared with the overall spatial distribution of the references to foreign lands.

12.4 The Question of Literacy

A further caveat of concern is literacy: if the temple staff had access to the scenes, were they able to *read* them? The male priestly staff and scribes, as part of the elite, are generally

³¹ Baines, "Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity", *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century*, 349.

³² Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 121.

³³ Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 121; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 130.

considered to have had a high degree of literacy and as such, the knowledge required to engage with the textual sources.³⁴ Curiously, elitism is actually a characteristic of the audience of cultural memory in the ancient world, as it was often only the upper echelons of society that had the required knowledge to read written documents.³⁵

On the other hand, there is no compelling evidence to argue that *women* were ever taught how to read and write, and thus not all those who travelled through Karnak can be considered as literate.³⁶ However, even though Baines has dismissed the possibility that the illiterate had a passing knowledge of signs, Goldwasser has argued that the iconic nature of hieroglyphs creates the potential for “foreigners and the illiterate” to comprehend some of the basic meanings.³⁷ As such, words such as *h3s.t* and the *psd.t pd.wt*, which account for the majority of the corpus, may have been somewhat recognised by the illiterate. This is reinforced by the location of such basic captions in the Contra Temple open to the general public; one must assume they were included in the decorative program of this space as there was an expectation that the content could be communicated to others. Literacy does not appear to be a restricting factor in the ability of the *basic* messages surrounding the ethnic “other” to be disseminated and received. It is also important to note that the use of a variety of mediums, from text to image, increases the ability of the temple to communicate these ideas.³⁸

12.5 Summary

The spatial distribution of the texts at Karnak reveal a concentration along the processional ways and imply that they were meant to be seen and read. Though literacy is required for a deeper understanding of the texts, it is not necessarily a hindrance for the temple to communicate general ideas to the broader group. This is revealed through the use of highly symbolic terms for foreign lands and the “other”, which increases the possible audience who could engage with the messages communicated through the inscriptions. This audience was probably restricted to the king, the elite, priests, temple personnel, female singers, and dancers. While the temple was “restricted” perhaps, this audience is more eclectic than is commonly recognised.

³⁴ Baines and Eyre, “Four Notes on Literacy”, *GM* 61 (1983), 65-96; Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 178.

³⁵ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, *Cultural Memory Studies*, 116.

³⁶ Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 111-114.

³⁷ Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes*, 23; Baines, “Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity”, *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century*, 350-351.

³⁸ Assmann, *From Akhenaten to Moses*, 84.

Accordingly, the temple seems to have been particularly capable of disseminating information to this very specific and mostly elite audience. While the temple was not necessarily open and completely accessible to Egyptian society as a whole, nor was it entirely confined and closed off from the world. The placement of references to foreign lands in the more open areas of the temple, together with their placement along the processional ways, suggest that at the very least those who participated in processions and worked at the temple had access, most of whom were part of the *literate* elite classes. This is particularly crucial, as Kemp has argued that the ideological scenes in temple spaces are a reflection of the same values that the elite and the king subscribed to.³⁹ Consequently, it is probable that the scenes and inscriptions at Karnak are *confirming* values already widespread in the community and may have acted as a frame of reference for the ideal behaviours of the broader Egyptian society in connection with the “other”. Though not necessarily *constructing* a conception of Egyptian identity, Karnak was at the very least capable of *confirming*, reifying, and perhaps altering values and ideals already subscribed to amongst the elite classes as a functional memory.

³⁹ Barry J. Kemp, “Why empires rise. Review feature, Askut in Nubia”, *CAJ* 7 (1997), 127.

Chapter 13

Conclusion

“As when a scout,
Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
All night; at last by break of cheerful dawn
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land”.
Milton, *Paradise Lost*. Book III, lines 543-548.¹

This study aspired to determine if representations of the “other” at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak could shed light on the construction of Egyptian identity. In order to achieve this, the research accumulated data from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III and examined them within the framework of cultural memory and identity. Three main research questions were presented, including:

1. How do the representations of foreigners, in art, textual, and symbolic sources, at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak develop during the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III?
2. What does the Karnak Temple reveal about Egyptian identity?
3. To what extent was the Karnak Temple capable of disseminating this information?

This chapter provides the overall findings of this thesis in direct reference to the research questions presented above. This is followed by remarks on the limitations of the study and directions for further research.

13.1 An Overview of the Research

Part One acted as the introduction to the thesis (Chapters 1 to 3) navigating previous scholarly contributions to the study of Karnak and foreigners to highlight the research gap. It also presented the methodological approaches utilised to study the material, including the close reading of sources through grammatical analysis, semantics, narratology, and art historical methods. The texts were subsequently understood as aspects of collective identity according to Assmann’s theory of cultural memory.

¹ John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1674) (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003), 66-67.

Part Two of the study presented the data for the representations of foreigners at the temple. Chapter 4 detailed sources from the Second Intermediate Period, Chapter 5 the examples from the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose II, and Chapter 6 the texts from the regency and co-rule of Hatshepsut. Chapters 7 to 10 presented the multitude of references to foreigners from the reign of Thutmose III, divided into various text types including the Annals, stele and monumental inscriptions, iconography, and captions.

Part Three discussed the overall findings and results of the study. Chapter 11 combined the results from the seven preceding chapters and discussed trends in iconography, terminology, captions, and symbols, together with how each type contributed to a certain perception or quality of Egyptian identity. Finally, Chapter 12 studied spatial distribution at the temple in order to determine if the placement of the scenes were accessible in order to have the capacity to disseminate information.

13.2 Key Findings

The results of this research demonstrated that ideas of Egyptian identity can be elucidated from representations of the “other”. Through the study of images, textual examples, and symbols, this thesis drew from a variety of resources to demonstrate different facets of Egyptian identity from the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the reign of Thutmose III. The thesis tracked changes to how foreigners were used and represented, such as during the Second Intermediate Period when statues with the nine-bow motif were prolific, but the lengthy texts on stele provided key characterisations and contrasts. The “other” was the Asiatics of the north, and they were depicted in negative terms in order to promote the strength and bravery of the Egyptian *warrior* king. At this point in time, these contrasts were fundamental to Kamose’s right to kingship and, further, for him to justify war and conflict with the north. After Egypt was unified in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the number of representations of foreigners declined. Instead, the “other” became an anonymous group, a general enemy, and a foil through which the Egyptian king could demonstrate his duty to uphold *maat*.

A distinct and notable shift occurred in the sole reign of Thutmose III. The king deliberately singled out the Levantines and the Nubians as the ultimate enemies. No longer were they a literary or artistic device, but now they became tangible rulers and cultures that were key to the warrior ethos that was promoted by Thutmose III. Though based on historical events (*mimetic*), the foreigners were never truly depicted as individuals and were stereotyped as ethnic groups.

Artistic depictions of foreigners were designed to illustrate their weakness through size, facial expressions and posture, while the muscular physique of the Egyptian king ensured that the strong image of Thutmose III remained at the forefront. The Annals and other stele provided detailed accounts of the brave feats of the king against a multitude of enemies in the north and south, who not only fled from the Egyptians but were forced to pay homage to the king in the form of *in.w* and *b3k.w*. As a whole and across the almost four hundred years studied, the depictions of foreign peoples at the Temple of Karnak were found to be generalised and highly stereotyped, often based upon representations of foreigners or motifs that dated back to the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom. Through the reifying of this perception of foreign lands, the texts at Karnak promoted what the Egyptians perceived as negative qualities to emphasise *Egyptian* values that adhered to the pervasive ideologies of kingship and the ever-present need for *maat* to prevail over *isfet*.

The study on spatial distribution had one main goal, namely, to determine to what extent Karnak was able to disseminate information regarding conceptions of Egyptian identity in terms of accessibility and visibility. Through the use of spatial distribution maps, it was shown that the majority of the references to foreigners were placed along the processional ways and were architectonically organised by the route of the sacred bark. Their location along the processional way, and often in the more open courts of the temple, suggests that Karnak had a significantly higher chance of disseminating information to the wider Egyptian population through the elite classes than has been previously acknowledged.

13.3 Research Limitations and Possible Areas of Research

Apart from those limitations acknowledged in the introduction (see Chapter 1.4), other shortcomings have arisen as the research has progressed. Though beyond the research limits imposed upon this thesis, as demonstrated in Chapter 12, though it would appear Karnak had some degree of accessibility if a number of conditions are met, the *mechanics* of the *dissemination* of ideas of cultural memory and identity was not investigated. As stated by Assmann, *writing* is only one way of preserving cultural memory: ritual, music, and the oral tradition may be the missing links for the dissemination of the content in the temple.² It would be a stimulating avenue to explore if Karnak *did* influence the inculcation and dissemination of Egyptian identity. In order to undertake this, the monuments, tombs, and other data for the

² Assmann, *From Akhenaten to Moses*, 82.

wider Egyptian society at Thebes could be examined for similarities, intertextualities, and consistencies across an extended period.³ New methodologies and approaches of data analysis, however, are needed in order to consider the influence of the oral tradition in future studies.

Furthermore, in light of Gabolde's recent publication of the Middle Kingdom Temple, it would be an interesting exercise to extend the corpus as it currently stands back in time to the genesis of the temple itself.⁴ Such an approach may be able to identify the impact of the Hyksos Period on the texts at Karnak, together with, perhaps, recognising the *genesis* of what has become "stereotypical" or fixed representation of foreigners, especially those in the form of captions, at Karnak in the Eighteenth Dynasty. As a whole, it is hoped that the study of representations of foreigners in temples, and not just at Karnak, continues, as they hold a rich plethora of data that can provide significant insight into how the ancient Egyptians structured reality in diametrical opposites, namely, against the "other".

13.4 Concluding Remarks

In sum, the data gathered on foreigners from the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak provides evidence to show that depictions of the "other" could act as devices to accentuate Egyptian characteristics within the framework of cultural memory. Monumental texts, as canonised documents, were found to encapsulate the traditions and cultural knowledge of the wider group and could be utilised as a device to forge a sense of belonging through an inclusive or exclusive identity for generations to come. As heavily mediated documents, it became apparent that in the context of sacred spaces, the Egyptians were not necessarily recording genuine and objective renditions of their relations, wars, and trade with foreigners, but instead using them to reflect on their own cultural identity.

³ This would be beneficial, as it is known that some Theban Tombs mimicked monumental decoration, such as name rings. For example, the name rings from the Tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) have the same iconographic details as those dating to the reign of Amenhotep II at Karnak. PM I², 191 (9); Norman de Garis Davies, *The tomb of Ken-amūn at Thebes*, vol. 2 (New York, 1930), pl. XI(A); PM II², 83 (213); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 55, pl. 89; Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 111-112 (fig. 37); Mariette, *Karnak*, 54, pl. 27 (a); Gabolde, "Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation", *Karnak* 14 (2013), 393-395; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 502 (KIU 4565).

⁴ Gabolde, *Karnak, Amon-Rê* (2018).

Bibliography

- Abbas, M. R., “The Triumph Scene and Text of Merenptah at Karnak”, *Karnak* 15 (2015), 243-252.
- Abd-Elkareem, A., Asran, M., and El Shater, A., “Damage Blocks Granite of Philip Arrhidaeus Compartment and its Source and Treatment, Karnak, Egypt”, *EJARS* 7:2 (2017), 111-121.
- Adam, S. and El-Shaboury, F., “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 35-52.
- Aldred, C., *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty 1570 to 1320 B.C.* (London, 1961).
- Allam, S., “Le traité égypto-hittite de paix et d’alliance entre les rois Ramsès II et Khattouchili III (d’après l’inscription hiéroglyphique au temple de Karnak)”, *JEH* 4:1 (2011), 1-39.
- Altenmüller, H., “Königsplastik”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LÄ* III (Wiesbaden, 1980), 577-610.
- Althoff, E. B., *Kronen und Kopfputz von Königsfrauen im Neuen Reich* (Hildesheim, 2009).
- Anthony, F. B., *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550 - 1372 BC)* (London and New York, 2017).
- Arnaudès-Montélimard, E., “Un reposoir de barque en calcite édifié par Thoutmosis III dans le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *Karnak* 11 (2003), 159-234.
- Arnaudès-Montélimard, E., “L’arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l’avant-porte du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 107-190.
- Arnold, D., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (London and New York, 2003).
- Arnold, S., “Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms”, in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2005), 31-85.
- Arnold, D., “The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 135-146.
- Assmann, A., *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (New York, 2011).

- Assmann, J., "Krieg und Frieden im alten Ägypten: Ramses II. und die Schlacht bei Kadesch", *Mannheimer Forum* 83/84 (1983), 175-231.
- Assmann, J., *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992).
- Assmann, J., "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 125-133.
- Assmann, J., "Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Volume I (Boston, 1996), 55-81.
- Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca, 2001).
- Assmann, J., *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, Third Edition (Munich, 2003).
- Assmann, J., *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. R. Livingstone (Stanford, 2006).
- Assmann, J., "Communicative and Cultural Memory", in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin and New York, 2008), 108-118.
- Assmann, J., *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York, 2011).
- Assmann, J., *From Akhenaten to Moses: Ancient Egypt and Religious Change* (Cairo and New York, 2014).
- Aston, B. G., Harrell, J. A., and Shaw, I., "Stone", in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 5-77.
- Atwood, M., *The Blind Assassin* (New York, 2000).
- Azim, M., "La fouille de la cour du VIII^e pylône", *Karnak* 6 (1980), 91-127.
- Azim, M., *Karnak et sa topographie*. Volume 2: *Les relevés anciens du temple d'Amon-Rê de 1589 aux années 1820* (Paris, 2012).
- Azim, M. and Réveillac, G., *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2004).
- Badawy, A., "Min, the Cosmic Fertility God of Egypt", *MIO* 7:2 (1959), 163-179.

- Badawy, A., *A History of Egyptian Architecture: The Empire (The New Kingdom) from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth Dynasty 1580-1085 B.C.*, vol. III (Berkley and Los Angeles, 1968).
- Baikie, J., *The Story of the Pharaohs* (London, 1908).
- Baikie, J., *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the End of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, vol. 2 (London and New York, 1929).
- Bailleul-LeSuer, R., “Catalog No. 12: Fowling Throw Stick”, in R. Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 2012), 150.
- Bailleul-LeSuer, R., “Catalog No. 21: Plaque Showing a Falcon”, in R. Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 2012), 173.
- Baines, J., “The Inundation Stela of Sobekhotep VIII”, *AcOr(B)* 36 (1974), 39-54.
- Baines, J., “Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity”, in J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz (eds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (Winona Lake, 1996), 338-384.
- Baines, J., “On the evolution, purpose, and forms of Egyptian annals”, in E. M. Engel, V. Müller, U. Hartung (eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer* (Wiesbaden, 2008), 19-40.
- Baines, J. and Eyre, C. J., “Four Notes on Literacy”, *GM* 61 (1983), 65-96.
- Bal, M., *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Third Edition (Toronto, 2009).
- Baligh, R. O. K., *Tuthmosis I* (PhD Thesis: Yale University, 1997).
- Bar, M., “Visual Objects in Context”, *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 5 (2004), 617-629.
- Barbotin, C., *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 2008).
- Barguet, P., “La structure du temple Ipet-sout d’Amon à Karnak du Moyen Empire à Aménophis II”, *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 145-155.
- Barguet, P., *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak: essai d’exégèse* (Cairo, 1962).
- Barguet, P., “Karnak, métropole religieuse de l’Égypte. L’œuvre architecturale des pharaons à la XVIIIe dynastie”, *Archéologia* 15 (1967), 58-67.

- Beaux, N., *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III: plantes et animaux du “Jardin botanique” de Karnak* (Leuven, 1990).
- von Beckerath, J., *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit* (PhD Thesis: Universität München, 1964).
- von Beckerath, J., *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1997).
- von Beckerath, J., *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1999).
- Bergson, H., *Matter and Memory*, in J. H. Muirhead (ed.), trans. N. M. Paul and W. S. Palmer (London and New York, 1929).
- Berlin, A., *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield, 1983).
- Berridge, G., “Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?”, in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore and London, 2002), 212-224.
- Bianchi, R. S., *Daily Life of the Nubians* (Westport and London, 2004).
- Bierbrier, M. L., *Who was Who in Egyptology?*, Fourth Edition (London, 2012).
- Bietak, M., “Connections Between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris”, in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 19-28.
- Bietak, M., “The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab’a)”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 87-140.
- Binder, S., “Reviewed Work(s): Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament, vol. 66 by Silke Hallmann”, *JAOS* 129:2 (2009), 347-349.
- Birch, S., “Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak”, *TRSL* 2 (1847), 317-373.
- Bisson de la Roque, F., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1929)* (Cairo, 1930).
- Biston-Moulin, S., “À propos de la table d’offrandes de Thoutmosis III Caire JE 88803”, *Karnak* 13 (2010), 25-43.
- Biston-Moulin, S., “De Sésostris Ier à Kamosis”, *ENiM* 4 (2011), 81-90.
- Biston-Moulin, S., “Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVIIe dynastie”, *ENiM* 5 (2012), 61-71.

- Biston-Moulin, S., “L’épithète *ḥq3 m3 (.t)* et l’activité architecturale du début du règne autonome de Thoutmosis III”, in A. Gasse, F. Servajean, C. Thiers (eds), *Ægypto et ad Ægyptum: Recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier* (Montpellier, 2012), 81-102.
- Biston-Moulin, S., “Remarques sur la transformation des épithètes *nfr ḥpr(.w)* dans les cartouches du nom de naissance de Thoutmosis III”, *ZÄS* 139:1 (2012), 19-27.
- Biston-Moulin, S., “À propos de deux documents d’Ahmosis à Karnak. Karnak Varia (§ 1-2)”, *Karnak* 15 (2015), 39-49.
- Biston-Moulin, S., *Glossaire des inscriptions de Karnak I. Le vocabulaire* (Montpellier, 2017).
- Biston-Moulin, S. and Thiers, C., *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (Cairo, 2016).
- Biston-Moulin, S. and Thiers, C., *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak II. Relevé photographique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (Cairo, 2016).
- Biston-Moulin, S. and Thiers, C., *Le Centre franco-égyptien d’étude des temples de Karnak. Livre du cinquantième 1967-2017* (Luxor, 2017).
- Biston-Moulin, S., Thiers, S., and Zignani, P., “Erster archäologischer Nachweis für Pharao Senachtenre Ahmose”, *Antike Welt* 3/12 (2012), 4.
- Björkman, G., *Kings at Karnak: A Study of the Treatment of Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom* (Uppsala, 1971).
- Bleiberg, E., “Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107-110.
- Bleiberg, E., “The King’s Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: An Examination of Inw”, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 155-167.
- Bleiberg, E., “Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom”, *BES* 7 (1986), 5-14.
- Blyth, E., *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (New York, 2006).
- Bonfante, G., “The name of the Phoenicians”, *Classical Philology* 36:1 (1941), 1-20.
- Bonnet, C., “Excavations at the Nubian royal town of Kerma: 1975–91”, *Antiquity* 66:252 (1992), 611-625.
- Bontty, M. M., “The Haunebu”, *GM* 145 (1995), 45-58.

- Booth, C., *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: A Study in Non-Stereotypical Artistic Representations* (Oxford, 2005).
- Borchardt, L., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahū-Re. vol. 2.2: Die Wandbilder: Abbildungsblätter* (Leipzig, 1913).
- Borchardt, L., *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak* (Leipzig, 1905).
- Bourriau, J., "The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC)", in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 172-206.
- Brand, P. J., "Photo Essay: The Seti I Reliefs Inside the Hypostyle Hall of the Amen Temple at Karnak", *KMT* 9:3 (1998), 58-61.
- Brand, P. J., "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period", *JARCE* 36 (1999), 113-134.
- Brand, P. J., *Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 2000).
- Brand, P. J., "The Date of the War Scenes at Karnak and the History of the Late Nineteenth Dynasty", in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 51-84.
- Breasted, J. H., "The Length and Season of Thutmosis III's First Campaign", *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 123-129.
- Breasted, J. H., "Ramesses II and the princes in the Karnak reliefs of Seti I", *ZÄS* 37 (1889), 130-39.
- Breasted, J. H., "The Obelisks of Thutmosis III", *ÄZ* 39 (1901), 55-61.
- Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. Volume II: The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago, 1906).
- Breuer, J. and Freud, S., *Studies on Hysteria*, trans. J. Strachey (ed.) (New York, 1955).
- Broadhurst, C., "An Artistic Interpretation of Sety I's War Reliefs", *JEA* 75 (1989), 229-234.
- Brock, L. P., "Art, industry and the Aegeans in the tomb of Amenmose", *ÄgLev* 10 (2000), 129-137.
- Brugsch, H., *Recueil de monuments égyptiens: dessinés sur lieux et publiés sous les auspices de son Altesse le vice-roi d'Égypte Mohammed-Said-Pacha*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1862-1863).

- Brugsch, H., *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum. Altaegyptische Inschriften. Sechste Abtheilung*, vols. 5-6 (Leipzig, 1991).
- Bryan, B., "Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV", *JARCE* 24 (1987), 3-20.
- Bryan, B., "The Disjunction of Text and Image in Egyptian Art", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), 161-168.
- Bryan, B., "The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period", in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 207-264.
- Bryan, B., "The Egyptian Perspective on Mitanni", in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (eds), *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (Baltimore and London, 2002), 71-84.
- Buchberger, H., "Zum Ausländer in der altägyptischen Literatur: Eine Kritik", *WdO* 20/21 (1989/1990), 5-34.
- Burgos, F. and Larché, F., *La chapelle rouge: le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout: Facsimilés et photographies des scènes* (Paris, 2006).
- Burgos, F. and Larché, F., *La chapelle rouge d'Hatshepsout*, Volume II (Paris, 2008).
- Burkhardt, A., Blumenthal, E., Müller, I., and Reineke, W.F., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5-16* (Berlin, 1984).
- Capart, J. and Werbrouck, M., *Thèbes. La gloire d'un grand passé* (Bruxelles, 1925).
- Carlotti, J. F., "Contribution à l'étude métrologique de quelques monuments du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak", *Karnak* 10 (1995), 65-127.
- Carlotti, J. F., "Mise au point sur les dimensions et la localisation de la chapelle d'Hatchepsout à Karnak", *Karnak* 10 (1995), 141-166.
- Carlotti, J. F., *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (Paris, 2001).
- Carlotti, J. F., *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, texte* (Paris, 2001).
- Carlotti, J. F., Czerny, E., and Gabolde, L., "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès de la «Cour du Moyen Empire»", *Karnak* 13 (2010), 111-193.
- Carlotti, J. F. and Gabolde, L., "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 255-338.

Černý, J., "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents", *JEA* 31 (1945), 29-53.

Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak, Le, (CFEETK) website, available from: <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/>. Last accessed 1/2019.

Champollion, J., *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux sous la direction de Champollion-le-jeune, et les descriptions autographes qu'il en a rédigées* (Paris, 1845).

Champollion, J., *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux*, vol. II (Paris, 1889).

Charloux, G., "The Middle Kingdom Temple of Amun at Karnak", *EA* 27 (2005), 20-24.

Charloux, G., and Jet, J. F., "Recherches archéologiques dans la cour nord du VI^e pylône", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 285-326.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (mars-mai 1926)", *ASAE* 26 (1926), 119-130.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1927-1928)", *ASAE* 28 (1928), 114-128.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1935-1936)", *ASAE* 36 (1936), 131-157.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1937-1938)", *ASAE* 38 (1938), 567-608.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1947-1948)", *ASAE* 47 (1947), 147-161.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1947-1948 [sic] 1946-1947)", *ASAE* 47 (1947), 161-183.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1948-1949)", *ASAE* 49 (1949), 241-267.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak", *ASAE* 51 (1951), 549-572.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1951-1952", *ASAE* 52 (1952), 229-242.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1952-1953", *ASAE* 53 (1955), 7-19.

Chevrier, H., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1953-1954", *ASAE* 53 (1955), 21-42.

Cline, E. H., "Egyptian and Near Eastern Imports at Late Bronze Age Mycenae", in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 91-115.

- Collier, S., *The Crowns of Pharaoh: The Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (PhD Thesis: University of California Los Angeles, 1996).
- Conway, M. A., "Memory and the Self", *JML* 53 (2005), 594-628.
- Cooney, K., *The Woman Who Would be King* (New York, 2014).
- Cooper, J., "The Geographic and Cosmographic Expression *T3-ntr*", *BACE* 22 (2011), 47-66.
- Cooper, J., "A Record of a Red Sea Sojourn at Beni Hassan: The Journeys of Amen/Amemhat and Relative Place-Names", *BACE* 25 (2014), 31-50.
- Creasman, P. P., "Hatshepsut and the Politics of Punt", *AAR* 31 (2014), 395-405.
- Cumming, B., *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, vol. I (Warminster, 1982).
- Darnell, J. C., "Articular Km.t/Kmy and Partitive KHME", *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 69-81.
- Dautzenberg, N., "SeneferibRe Sesostri IV. - ein König der 17. Dynastie?", *GM* 129 (1992), 43-48.
- Davies, B. G., *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, vol. VI (Warminster, 1995).
- Davies, No. de G., *Five Theban Tombs: (Being Those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Dagi, Nehemawäy and Tati)* (London, 1913).
- Davies, No. de G., *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York, 1917).
- Davies, No. de G., "The Egyptian Expedition: The Graphic Work of the Expedition", *BMMA* 21:3-2 (1926), 35-49.
- Davies, No. de G., *The tomb of Ken-amün at Thebes* (New York, 1930).
- Davies, No. de G., "Foreigners in the Tomb of Amenemḥab (No. 85)", *JEA* 20:3/4 (1934), 189-192.
- Davies, No. de G., *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes* (North Stratford, 1944).
- Davies, No. de G. and Davies, Ni. de G., *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmosē, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226)* (London, 1933).
- Davies, Ni. de G. and Gardiner, A., *The Tomb of Huy: Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (No. 40)* (London, 1926).

- Davies, Ni. de G. and Gardiner, A., *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1936).
- Davies, V., “The Treatment of Foreigners in Seti’s Battle Reliefs”, *JEA* 98 (2012), 73-85.
- Davies, W. V., *A Royal Statue Reattributed* (London, 1981).
- Davies, W. V., “The Origin of the Blue Crown”, *JEA* 68 (1982), 69-76.
- Davies, W. V., “Kurgus 2002: the inscriptions and rock-drawings”, *Sudan and Nubia* 7 (2003), 55-57.
- Davies, W. V., “Egypt and Nubia: Conflict with the Kingdom of Kush”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 49-59.
- Davies, W. V., “Egyptian rock-inscriptions at Tombos and the Dal Cataract: the epigraphic survey, season 2017”, *Sudan and Nubia* 22 (2018), 46-54.
- Debono, F., “Rapport préliminaire sur les résultats de l’étude des objets de la fouille des installations du Moyen Empire et ‘Hyksôs’ à l’est du Lac Sacré de Karnak”, *Karnak* 7 (1982), 377-383.
- De Buck, A., *Egyptian Reading Book* (Leiden, 1948).
- Decker, W. and Herb, M., *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*, 2 vols. (Leiden and New York, 1994).
- Degrève, A., “La campagne asiatique de l’an 1 de Séthi Ier représentée sur le mur extérieur nord de la salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon à Karnak”, *RdE* 57 (2006), 47-64.
- Delange, É., *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du moyen empire* (Paris, 1987).
- Delange, É., *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire: la Chambre des Ancêtres, les Annales de Thoutmosis III, le décor de palais de Séthi Ier* (Paris, 2015).
- Derchain, P., “Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representations of Private Life”, *RAIN* 15 (1976), 7-10.
- Desjardins, E., “Considérations sur une suite de travaux de M. Mariette, relatifs à la topographie de Karnak, aux textes qui y ont été récemment découverts et à l’explication des fameuses listes géographiques de Thoutmès III”, *CRAIBL* 20 (1877), 21-25.
- Dessoudeix, M., *Lettres égyptiennes, I: La naissance du Nouvel Empire de Kamosis à Thoutmosis II* (Arles, 2010).

- Dessoudeix, M., *Lettres égyptiennes, II: L'apogée du Nouvel Empire, Hatshepsout, Thoutmosis III, Amenhotep II et Thoutmosis IV* (Arles, 2012).
- Di Biase-Dyson, C., *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Leiden and Boston, 2013).
- Digital Karnak Project by University of California, Los Angeles (archived in 2016), available from: <<http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.
- Description de l'Égypte: ou, Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, Second Edition (Paris, 1822).
- Dodson, A. and Hilton, D., *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2010).
- Dodson, A., *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo and New York, 2014).
- Dorman, P. F., "The Career of Senenmut", in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 107-133.
- Dorman, P. F., *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (New York, 2009).
- Drenkhahn, R., *Darstellung von Neger in Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1967).
- Dümichen, J., *Altägyptische Kalenderinschriften: in den Jahren 1863-1865 an Ort und Stelle gesammelt und mit erläuterndem Text*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1866).
- Dümichen, J., *Historische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler: in den Jahren 1863-1865 an Ort und Stelle gesammelt und mit erläuterndem Text*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1867-1869).
- Eaton-Krauss, M., *The Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 2008).
- Edel, E., "Die afrikanischen Namen in der Völkerliste Ramses' II. auf der Westmauer des Tempels von Luxor (Simons, Liste XXI) und ihre Parallelen in anderen afrikanischen Völkerlisten", *SAK* 4 (1976), 81-101.
- Elsner, J., "Significant Details: Systems, Certainties and the Art-Historian as Detective", *Antiquity* 64 (1990), 950-952.
- Engberg, R. M., *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (Chicago, 1939).

- English, M. C. W., and Visser, T. A. W., “Exploring the repetition paradox: the effects of learning context and massed repetition on memory”, *Psychon Bull Rev* 21 (2014), 1026-1032.
- Epigraphic Survey, The, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume I. Ramses III's Temple with the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part I and II* (Chicago, 1936).
- Erman, A. and Grapow, H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1926-1963).
- Ertman, E. L., “Akhenaten's Use of Bound Foreign Prisoners in Chariot Scenes: A Commemoration of Specific Events or the King Victorious?”, *ASAE* 73 (1998), 51-60.
- Evans, L., *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art: Representations of the Natural World in Memphite Tomb Scenes* (Oxford, 2010).
- Evers, H., *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. II (Munich, 1929).
- Faulkner, R. O., “The Battle of Megiddo”, *JEA* 28 (1942), 2-15.
- Faulkner, R. O., “The Wars of Sethos I”, *JEA* 33 (1947), 34-39.
- Faulkner, R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962).
- Faulkner, R. O., *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (New York, 1972).
- Fazzini, R. A., “Karnak, precinct of Mut”, in K. A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1999), 397-400.
- Fischer, H. G., “Further Remarks on the Prostrate Kings”, *PUMB.* 21:2 (1957), 35-40.
- Fischer, H. G., “An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues”, *MMJ* 10 (1975), 9-21.
- Fortier, A. and Loeben, C., “Un nouveau fragment d'une colonne de la salle-Wadjyt”, *Karnak* 9 (1993), 133-143.
- Foster, K. P., Ritner, R. K., and Foster, B. R., “Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption”, *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14.
- Freud, S., *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. K. Jones (Letchworth, 1939).
- Freud, S., “Leonardo Da Vinci and A Memory of His Childhood”, in P. Gay (ed.), *The Freud Reader* (New York and London, 1989), 443-481.

- Gaballa, G. A., "Minor war scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak", *JEA* 55 (1969), 82-88.
- Gaballa, G. A., *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz am Rhein, 1976).
- Gabolde, L., *Le règne de Thoutmosis II et celui de ses successeurs immédiats jusqu'à la fin de la régence d'Hatchepsout* (PhD Thesis: Université de Lyon II, 1987).
- Gabolde, L., "À propos de deux obélisques de Thoutmosis II, dédiés à son père Thoutmosis I et érigés sous le règne d'Hatshepsout-pharaon à l'ouest du IV^e pylône", *Karnak* 8 (1987), 143-158.
- Gabolde, L., "Un fragment de stèle au nom d'Ahmès-Néfertary provenant de Karnak", *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 161-171.
- Gabolde, L., "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 9 (1993), 1-82.
- Gabolde, L., *Le «Grand Château d'Amon» de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak* (Paris, 1998).
- Gabolde, L., "Les obélisques d'Hatchepsout à Karnak", *Egypte* 17 (2000), 41-50.
- Gabolde, L., "Compléments sur les obélisques et la 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 417-468.
- Gabolde, L., *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 2005).
- Gabolde, L., "Une troisième stèle de Kamosis?", *Kyphi* 4 (2005), 35-42.
- Gabolde, L., "An Atlas of the Obelisks of Karnak in Preparation", *EA* 31 (2007), 33-35.
- Gabolde, L., "Un assemblage au nom d'Amenemhat I^{er} dans les magasins du temple de Louxor", in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (London, 2009), 103-108.
- Gabolde, L., "De la soi-disant „arche“ en granit de Thoutmosis III à Karnak", *GM* 223 (2009), 43-52.
- Gabolde, L., "Le parvis et la porte du IV^e pylône: considérations sur une chapelle et des obélisques", in C. Zivie-Coche and I. Guérmeur (eds), *Parcourir l'éternité, Hommages Jean Yoyotte, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Turnhout, 2012), 459-481.
- Gabolde, L., "Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation", *Karnak* 14 (2013), 383-399.

- Gabolde, L., "Hatshepsut at Karnak: A Woman under God's Commands", in J. M. Galán, B. M. Bryan, and P. F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (Chicago, 2014), 33-48.
- Gabolde, L., "Thebes: East Bank (Karnak and Luxor)", in A. Oppenheim, Do. Arnold, Di. Arnold, and K. Yamamoto, *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom* (New Haven and London, 2015), 316.
- Gabolde, L., "Les marques de carriers mises au jour lors des fouilles des substructures situées à l'est du VI^e pylône", *Karnak* 16 (2017), 179-209.
- Gabolde, L., *Karnak, Amon-Rê: la genèse d'un temple, la naissance d'un dieu* (Cairo, 2018).
- Gabolde, L. and Gabolde, M., "Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III", *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 44-111.
- Gabolde, L. and Goyon, J. C., "Une stèle en granit noir remployée sur le parvis de la chapelle d'«Osiris-qui-inaugure-l'arbre-iched»", *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 5-23.
- Gabolde, L. and Rondot, V., "Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout remployée à Karnak-Nord", *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 117-215.
- Gale, R., Gasson, P., Hepper, N., and Killen, G., "Wood", in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 334-371.
- Gardiner, A. H., "Kjj-bw 'foreigners' ", *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 160.
- Gardiner, A. H., "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 95-110.
- Gardiner, A. H., "Ramesside Texts Relating to the Taxation and Transport of Corn", *JEA* 27 (1941), 19-73.
- Gardiner, A. H., *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. I (London, 1947).
- Gardiner, A. H., "The Baptism of Pharaoh", *JEA* 36 (1950), 3-12.
- Gardiner, A. H., "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun", *JEA* 38 (1952), 6-23.
- Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, Third Edition (Oxford, 1957).
- Gauthier, H., *Le livre des rois d'Égypte. Recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique*, MIFAO 18 (Cairo, 1912).

- Giddy, L., "Digging Diary 2001", *EA* 20 (2002), 29-33.
- Gillen, T., "The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge", *BACE* 16 (2005), 7-28.
- Gilroy, T., "Outlandish outlanders: Foreigners and caricature in Egyptian art", *GM* 191 (2002), 35-52.
- Giménez, J., "Integration of Foreigners in Egypt: The Relief of Amenhotep II Shooting Arrows at a Copper Ingot and Related Scenes", *JEA* 10 (2017), 109-123.
- Giveon, R. "Phönizier", in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LÄ* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982), 1039-40.
- Goebs, K., "Crowns", in D. B. Redford (ed.), *OEA* I (Oxford, 2001), 321-326.
- Goedicke, H., *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore, 2000).
- Goldwasser, O., *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden, 2002).
- Golenishchev, V., "Offener Brief an Herrn Professor H. Brugsch", *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 145-148.
- Golvin, J. C., "La restauration antique du passage du IIIe pylône", *Karnak* 8 (1985), 189-206.
- Golvin, J. C., "Hatchepsout et les obélisques de Karnak", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 34-41.
- Gorringe, H. H., *Egyptian Obelisks* (New York, 1882).
- Goyon, J. C., "Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (colonnes 110 à 112)", *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 89-156.
- Goyon J. C., "Le cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris", *RdE* 20 (1968), 63-96.
- Graindorge, C., "Les monuments d'Amenhotep Ier à Karnak", *Egypte* 16 (2000), 25-36.
- Graindorge, C., "Der Tempel des Amun-Re von Karnak zu Beginn der 18. Dynastie", in H. Beinlich (ed.), *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 83-90.
- Graindorge, C. and Martinez, P., "Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Aménophis Ier et les premières liturgies amoniennes", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 36-64.
- Graindorge, C. and Martinez, P., "Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments d'Aménophis I à Karnak", *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169-182.

- Grapow, H., *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neues Reiches* (Berlin, 1947).
- Green, L., "Toiletries and Cosmetics", in D. B. Redford (ed.), *OEA III* (Oxford, 2001), 412-417.
- Greenwalt, K. A., *The School as a Site of Memory* (PhD Thesis: University of Minnesota, 2007).
- Griffith, F. Ll., "The Carnarvon Tablets I and II", in G. Herbert and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911* (London, 1912), 36-37.
- Grimal, N., Adly, E., and Arnaudière, A., "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 2004-2005", *Orientalia NS* 75 (2006), 189-286.
- Grimal, N., "Nouveaux fragments des Annales de Thoutmosis III à Karnak", in U. Rössler-Köhler (ed.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, SDAIK 16 (2009), 105-120.
- Gruen, E. S., "Introduction", in E. S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2011), 1-10.
- Guksch, H., *Königsdienst: Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1994).
- Gundlach, R., "Der Obelisk Thutmosis I. Textthematik und Funktion", in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (Bamberg, 1979), 192-226.
- Gundlach, R., "Der Obelisk Thutmosis' I. in Karnak und seine Bedeutung für den Tempel des Amun-Re", in R. Preys (ed.), *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: structuring religion. Leuven, 28. September - 1. Oktober 2005* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 133-149.
- Habachi, L., "La libération de l'Égypte de l'occupation Hyksôs", *RC* 33:175 (1955), 52-58.
- Habachi, L., "Preliminary Report on Kamose Stela and Other Inscribed Blocks Found Reused in the Foundations of Two Statues at Karnak", *ASAE* 53 (1956), 195-202.
- Habachi, L., "Two Graffiti at Sehêl from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut", *JNES* 16:2 (1957), 88-104.
- Habachi, L., "A High Inundation in the Temple of Amenre at Karnak in the Thirteenth Dynasty", *SAK* 1 (1974), 207-214.
- Habachi, L., *The Second Stela of Kamose* (Glückstadt, 1972).

- Habachi, L., *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past*, in C. C. Van Siclen III (ed.) (London, 1977).
- Habachi, L., “Devotion of Tuthmosis III to his predecessors: a propos a meeting of Sesotris I with his Courtiers”, in P Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. I (Cairo, 1985), 349-359.
- Halbwachs, M., *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. A. Coser (ed.) (London, 1992).
- Hall, H. R., “Head of a Monarch of the Tuthmosid House, in the British Museum”, *JEA* 13:3/4 (1927), 133-34.
- Hallmann, S., *Die Tributszenen des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 2006).
- Hamann, R., *Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte* (Berlin, 1944).
- Hammad, M., “Découverte d’une stèle du roi Kamose”, *CdE* 30 (1955), 198-208.
- Hannig, R., *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch: die Sprache der Pharaonen (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz, 2006).
- Hannig, R., and Vomberg, P., *Kulturhandbuch Ägyptens: Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen* (Mainz, 1999).
- Hari, R., *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet: ou, La fin d’une dynastie* (Geneva, 1965).
- Harig, B. J. J., *Divine Households* (Leiden, 1997).
- Haring, B., “Libyans in the Theban Region, 20th Dynasty”, in J. Leclant (ed.), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti*, vol. II (Turin, 1993), 159-165.
- Harris, S., *Metaphors They Lived by in Ancient Egypt: Analysing the Prophecy of Neferty and the Admonitions of Ipuwer* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2017).
- Hart, G., *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London and New York, 1986).
- Harvey, S. P., *The Cults of Ahmose at Abydos* (PhD Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1998).
- Hegazy, E. S. and Martinez, P., “Le ‘palais de Maat’ et la ‘place favorite d’Amon’ ”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 54-63.
- Heinz, S. C., *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna, 2001).
- Helck, W., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV (17-22)* (Berlin, 1955-1957).

- Helck, W., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22* (Berlin, 1961).
- Helck, W., “Fremdvölkerdarstellung”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LÄ II* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 315-321.
- Helck, W., *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, Second Edition (Wiesbaden, 1983).
- Hill, M., *Royal Bronze Statuary from Ancient Egypt: With Special Attention to the Kneeling Pose* (Boston, 2004).
- Holladay, Jr., J. S., “The Eastern Nile Delta During the Hyksos and Pre-Hyksos Periods: Towards a Systemic/Socioeconomic Understanding”, in E. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 183-252.
- Horn, S., *The Relations Between Egypt and Asia During the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 1951).
- Hornemann, B., *Types of ancient Egyptian statuary*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen, 1951-1966).
- Hsu, S. W., “Captured, Defeated, Tied and Fallen: Images of Enemies in Ancient Egypt”, *GM* 252 (2017), 71-87.
- Jacquet, J., “Fouilles de Karnak-Nord, cinquième campagne, 1972”, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 207-216.
- Jacquet-Gordon, H., “Fragments of a Topographical List Dating to the Reign of Tuthmosis I”, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 41-46.
- Jambon, E., “Les fouilles de Georges Legrain dans la cachette de Karnak (1903-1907). Nouvelles données sur la chronologie des découvertes et le destin des objets”, *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 239-279.
- Jansen-Winkel, K., “Die ägyptische ‘Königsnovelle’ als Texttyp”, *WZKM* 83 (1993), 101-116.
- Janzen, M. D., *The Iconography of Humiliation: The Depiction and Treatment of Bound Foreigners in New Kingdom Egypt* (PhD Thesis: University of Memphis, 2013).
- Jeremias, A., *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906).
- Johnson, W. R., *An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes: A Late Amarna Antecedent of the Ramesside Battle Narrative Tradition* (PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 1992).

- Kadish, G. E., "Karnak", in D. B. Redford (ed.), *OEA II* (Oxford, 2001), 222-226.
- Kanawati, N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. II (Sydney, 1981).
- Kanawati, N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. VII (Sydney, 1987).
- Kansteiner, W., "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 179-197.
- Kantor, H. J., "Narration in Egyptian Art", *AJA* 61:1 (1957), 44-54.
- Karnak Cachette Website, available from: <<http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/>>. Last accessed: 1/2019.
- Keller, C. A., "The Joint Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III", in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 96-98.
- Kemp, B., "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), 7-58.
- Kemp, B. J., "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c. 2686-1552 BC", in B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 71-182.
- Kemp, B., "Why empires rise. Review feature, Askut in Nubia", *CAJ* 7 (1997), 125-131.
- Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, Second Edition (Glasgow, 2006).
- Kitchen, K. A., "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists: An Historical Resource with 'Literary' Histories", in P. J. Brand and L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden, 2009), 129-135.
- Krzyszkowska, O. and Morkot, R., "Ivory and Related Materials", in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 320-331.
- Laboury, D., *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique* (Liège, 1998).
- Laboury, D., "Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification of the Statuary of Thutmose III", in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 260-291.

- Laboury, D., “Archaeological and Textual Evidence for the Function of the ‘Botanical Garden’ of Karnak in the Initiation Ritual”, in P. Dorman and B. M. Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop* (Chicago, 2007), 27-34.
- Laboury, D., “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, in J. M. Galán, B. M. Bryan, and P. F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (Chicago, 2014), 49-91.
- Lacau, P., *Catalogue général Nos 34001-34064. Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1926).
- Lacau, P., “Une stèle du roi Kamosis”, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 245-271.
- Lacau, P., “Deux magasins à encens du temple de Karnak”, *ASAE* 52 (1952), 185-198.
- Lacau, P., “L’érection du mât devant Amon-Min”, *CdE* 55 (1953), 13-22.
- Lacau, P., “L’or dans l’architecture égyptienne”, *ASAE* 53 (1956), 221-250.
- Lacau, P. and Chevrier, H., *Une chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956).
- Lacau, P. and Chevrier, H., *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977).
- Lacovara, P., *The World of Ancient Egypt: A Daily Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, 2017).
- Lange, K. and Hirmer, M., *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years* (London and New York, 1968).
- Larché, F., “Nouvelles observations sur les monuments du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire dans la zone centrale du temple d’Amon”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 407-592.
- Larché, F., “A Reconstruction of Senwosret I’s Portico and Some Structures of Amenhotep I at Karnak”, in P. Brand and L. Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (Leiden, 2009), 137-173.
- Laskowski, P., “Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 183-237.
- Lauffray, J., “Le secteur Nord-Est du temple jubilaire de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. État des lieux et commentaire architectural”, *Kêmi* 19 (1969), 179-218.
- Lauffray, J., *Karnak d’Égypte. Domaine du divin. Dix ans de recherches archéologiques et de travaux de maintenance en coopération avec l’Égypte* (Paris, 1979).

- Lauffray, J., "Les travaux du Centre Franco-Egyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak de 1972 à 1977", *Karnak* 6 (1980), 1-65.
- Lauffray, J., "Les 'talatat' du IXe pylône de Karnak et le Teny-Menou (assemblage et première reconstruction d'une paroi du temple d'Aton dans le musée de Louqsor)", *Karnak* 6 (1980), 67-89.
- Leclant, J., "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte", *Orientalia NS* 24:3 (1955), 296-317.
- Legrain, G., "Notes prises à Karnak. V-VIII", *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 61-65.
- Legrain, G., "Sur un fragment d'obélisque trouvé à Karnak", *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 195-196.
- Legrain, G., "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 25 septembre au 31 octobre 1901", *ASAE* 2 (1901), 265-280.
- Legrain, G., "Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)", *ASAE* 3 (1902), 97-114.
- Legrain, G., "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", *ASAE* 4 (1903), 1-40.
- Legrain, G., "Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903", *ASAE* 5 (1904), 1-43.
- Legrain, G., "Les récentes découvertes de Karnak", *BIE* 5 (1904), 111-119.
- Legrain, G., "Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)", *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 218-224.
- Legrain, G., "Fouilles et recherches à Karnak", *BIE* 6 (1905), 109-27.
- Legrain, G., "Notes d'inspection XXVII", *ASAE* 6 (1905), 192.
- Legrain, G., "Renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak", *RecTrav* 27 (1905), 61-82.
- Legrain, G., "Notes d'inspection. XXX-XXXVI", *ASAE* 7 (1906), 33-57.
- Legrain, G., "Notes d'inspection. XXXVII-XXXVIII", *ASAE* 7 (1906), 183-192.
- Legrain, G., *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1906).
- Legrain, G., "La grande stèle de Toutankhamanou à Karnak", *RecTrav* 29 (1907), 163-173.
- Legrain, G., "Sur une stèle de Senousrit IV", *RecTrav* 30 (1908), 15-16.

- Legrain, G., *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire: monuments de la XVIIe et de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Cairo, 1908).
- Legrain, G., “Au pylône d’Harmhabi à Karnak (Xe pylône)”, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 13-44.
- Legrain, G., *Les temples de Karnak* (Paris, 1929).
- Lepsius, K. R., *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums: Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1842).
- Lepsius, K. R., *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, trans. L. Horner and J. B. Horner (London, 1853).
- Lepsius, K. R., *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 13 vols. (Leipzig, 1849-1859).
- Le Saout, F., “Fragments divers provenant de la cour du VIIIe pylône”, *Karnak* 7 (1982), 265-266.
- Le Saout, F., “Un magasin à onguents de Karnak et le problème du nom de Tyr: mise au point”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 325-338.
- Le Saout, F., Ma’arouf, A. H., and Zimmer, T., “Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: varia 1”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 293-323.
- Letellier, B. and Larché, F., *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV*, *ÉtudÉg* 12, 3 vols. (2013).
- Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume II: The New Kingdom* (Los Angeles, 2006).
- Lilyquist, C., *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III* (New Haven and London, 2003).
- Lilyquist, C., “Egypt and the Near East: Evidence of Contact in the Material World”, in C. H. Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London, 2005), 60-74.
- Lindblad, I., *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty* (Stockholm, 1984).
- Liverani, M., *Prestige and Interest: Historical Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* (Padova, 1990).
- Lloyd, A. B., “Triremes and the Saïte Navy”, *JEA* 58 (1972), 268-279.
- Loprieno, A., *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988).

- Luiselli, M. M., "The Ancient Egyptian Scene of 'Pharaoh Smiting His Enemies': An Attempt to Visualize Cultural Memory?", in M. Bommas (ed.), *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies* (London and New York, 2011), 10-25.
- Lushington, E. L., "The Victories of Seti I, Recorded in the Great Temple at Karnak", *TSBA* 6 (1878), 509-534.
- Manley, B., "Some Images of the King and Queen Together in the Stele of Ahmose I", *TrabEg* 1 (2002), 35-44.
- Mariette, A., *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1872).
- Mariette, A., *Les listes géographiques des pylônes de Karnak comprenant la Palestine, l'Ethiopie, le pays de Somâl (Band I): Texte* (Leipzig, 1875).
- Mariette, A., *Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak* (Leipzig, 1875).
- Martin, K., *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens : Untersuchungen zu Ursprung und Geschichte der altägyptischen Obeliskens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Hildesheim, 1977).
- Martin, K., "Krummstab", in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *LÄ III* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 821-822.
- Martinez, P., "Les listes topographiques égyptiennes: essai d'interprétation", *BSEG* 17 (1993), 73-82.
- Martinez, P., "Le VIIIe Pylône et l'axe royal du domaine d'Amon", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 64-71.
- Martinez, P., "Une expédition pacifique au lointain pays de Pount", *DossArch* 187 (1993), 84-93.
- Maspero, G., "Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III", *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 94-101.
- Maspero, G., *L'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1887).
- Maspero, G., *Histoire ancienne des peuples d'Orient classique. II: Les premières mêlées des peuples* (Paris, 1897).
- Maspero, G., "La consécration du nouvel temple de Ptah thébain par Thoutmôsis III", *CRAIBL* 1 (1900), 113-123.
- Maspero, G., *Art in Egypt* (London, 1912).

- Maspero, G., *Essais sur l'art égyptien* (Paris, 1912).
- Maspero, G., *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1915).
- Masquelier-Loorius, J., “The Akh-menu of Thutmosis III at Karnak. The Sokarian Rooms”, in G. Rosati, M. C. Guidotti (eds), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists: Florence, Italy 23-30 August 2015* (Oxford, 2017), 394-398.
- Mathieu, B., *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Fifth Edition (Cairo, 2010).
- Matić, U., “ ‘Minoans’, Kftjw and the ‘Islands in the Middle of W3d Wr’: Beyond Ethnicity”, *ÄgLev* 24 (2014), 275-292.
- Matić, U., “ ‘They were like lions roaring upon the mountain-crests’: Soundscapes of war in New Kingdom Egypt”, in I. Incordino, S. Mainieri, E. D’Itria, M. Diletta Pubblico, F. Michele Rega, A. Salsano (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2017. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Symposium* (Oxford, 2018), 103-115.
- McCarthy, H. L., “The Function of ‘Emblematic’ Scenes of the King’s Domination of Foreign Enemies and Narrative Battle Scenes in Ramesses II’s Nubian Temples”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 59-74.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), website, available from: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/>. Last accessed 1/2019.
- Meyer, E., *Bericht über eine Expedition nach Ägypten zur Erforschung der Darstellung der Fremdvölker* (Berlin, 1913).
- Michaelian, K., “Is External Memory Memory? Biological Memory and Extended Mind”, *Consciousness and Cognition* 21 (2012), 1154-1165.
- Michaux-Colombot, D., “Pitfall Concepts in the Round of ‘Nubia’: Ta-Sety, Nehesy, Medja, Maga and Punt Revisited”, in J. A. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* (Leuven and Paris, 2014), 507-522.
- Millet, N. B., “A Fragment of the Hatshepsut Punt Relief”, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 55-57.
- Milton, J., *Paradise Lost* (1674) (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003).
- Minas-Nerpel, M. and Meyer, M. de, “Raising the Pole for Min in the Temple of Isis at Shanhur”, *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 150-166.

- Minault-Gout, A. “À propos des listes des pays du sud au Nouvel Empire”, in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1994), 177-184.
- Miosi, F. T., *A Reading Book of Second Intermediate Period Texts* (Toronto, 1981).
- Morris, E., *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism* (Hoboken, 2018).
- Mourad, A. L., *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to Early Second Intermediate Period* (PhD Thesis: Macquarie University, 2014).
- Mourad, A. L., *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 2015).
- Muhammad, A.Q., “Recent Finds”, *ASAE* 59 (1959), 143-155.
- Müller, W. M., *Egyptological Researches*, Volume I: *Results of a Journey in 1904* (Washington, 1906).
- Müller, W. M., *Egyptological Researches*, Volume II: *Results of a Journey in 1906* (Washington, 1910).
- Müller, W. M., *Egyptological Researches*, Volume III: *The Bilingual Decrees of Philae* (Washington, 1920).
- Murnane, W. J., “Unpublished Fragments of Hatshepsut’s Historical Inscription from her Sanctuary at Karnak”, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 91-102.
- Murnane, W. J., “Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III’s First Campaign in Western Asia”, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 183-189.
- Murnane, W., J., *The Road to Kadesh. A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, Second Edition (Chicago, 1990).
- Murnane, W. J., “Egyptian Monuments and Historical Memory: New Light on the Ancients’ ‘Uses of the Past’ from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak”, *KMT* 5:3 (1994), 15-24, 88.
- Musée du Caire, *Description sommaire des principaux monuments* (Cairo, 1964).
- Naville, É., *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. Volume III: *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform* (London, 1898).
- Naville, É., *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri*. Volume VI: *The Lower Terrace, Additions and Plans* (London, 1908).
- Nelson, H. H., *The Battle of Megiddo* (PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 1913).

- Nibbi, A., *The Sea Peoples: A Re-examination of the Egyptian Sources* (Oxford, 1972).
- Nibbi, A., “Remarks on Two Stelae from Wadi Gasus”, *JEA* 62 (1976), 45-56.
- Nietzsche, F., *On the Genealogy of Morality*, in K. Ansell-Pearson (ed.), trans. C. Diethe (New York, 2006).
- Nims, C. F., “Places About Thebes”, *JNES* 14 (1955), 110-123.
- Nims, C. F., “Thutmosis III’s benefactions to Amon”, in E. B. Hauser (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), 69-74.
- Nora, P., “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24.
- Nora, P., “From Lieux de Mémoire to Realms of Memory”, in P. Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past Volume One: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York, 1996), xv-xxiv.
- Noth, M., “Die Annalen Thutmosis III. als Geschichtsquelle”, *ZDPV* 66:2 (1943), 156-74.
- Ockinga, B. G., “Review: Guksch, Heike, Königsdienst: Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie (Heidelberg, 1994)”, *BiOr* 57:5-6 (2000), 560-569.
- Ockinga, B. G., *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, Third Edition (Mainz, 2012).
- O’Connor, D., “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others’ ”, in J. Tait (ed.), “*Never Had the Like Occurred*”: *Egypt’s View of Its Past* (London, 2003), 155-186.
- O’Connor, D., “Thutmose III: An Enigmatic Pharaoh”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 1-38.
- O’Connor, D. and Silverman, D. P., “Introduction”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden and New York, 1995), XVII-XXVII.
- Ogden, J., “Metals”, in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2009), 148-176.
- Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, The, “Collections”. Available online through <<https://oi.uchicago.edu/collections>>. Last accessed 1/2019.
- Panagiotopoulos, D., “Keftiu in context: Theban tomb-paintings as a historical source”, *OJA* 20:3 (2001), 263-283.

- Pécoil, J. F., *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (Paris, 2000).
- Peirce, L., *The Legacy of the Hyksos: A Study in Cultural Memory and Identity* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2015).
- Peirce, L., "Some Commentary on Name Rings: Towards a Typography", *JEH* 12:1 (2019), 105-135.
- Peirce, L., "The Curious Case of the Colossal Statue of Thutmose III before the South-East Face of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak", *GM* 257 (2019), 153-164.
- Petrie, W. M. F., *A Season in Egypt 1887* (London, 1888).
- Petrie, W. M. F., *A History of Egypt: From the Earliest Times to the XVIth Dynasty*, vol. 1 (London, 1894).
- Petrie, W. F., *A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*, vol. 2 (London, 1896).
- Peust, C., "Ladies and Gentlemen or Gentlemen and Ladies? On the Order of Conjoined Gendered Nouns in Egyptian", *BACE* 17 (2007), 113-121.
- Piccione, P. A., "The Women of Thutmose III in the Stelae of the Egyptian Museum", *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 91-100.
- Pier, G. C., *Inscriptions of the Nile Monuments: A Book of Reference for Tourists* (New York and London, 1908).
- Pierce, C., "Offensive Mechanisms", in F. Barbour (ed.), *In the Black Seventies* (Boston, 1970), 265-282.
- Pillet, M., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921-1922)", *ASAE* 22 (1922), 235-260.
- Pillet, M., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1922-1923)", *ASAE* 23 (1923), 99-138.
- Pillet, M., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)", *ASAE* 24 (1924), 53-88.
- Pillet, M., "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1924-1925)", *ASAE* 25 (1925), 1-24.
- Polz, D., "The Territorial Claim and the Political Role of the Theban State at the end of the Second Intermediate Period: A Case Study", in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khytan and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research* (Vienna, 2018), 217-233.

- Poo, M. C., *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China* (Albany, 2005).
- Porter, B. and Moss, R., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume I: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 1. *Private Tombs*, Second Edition (Oxford, 1960).
- Porter, B. and Moss, R., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume II: *Theban Temples*, Second Edition (Oxford, 1972).
- Porter, B. and Moss, R., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume VII: *Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt* (Oxford, 1975).
- Prévôt, N., “The Digital Puzzle of the talatat from Karnak: A Tool for the Three-Dimensional Reconstruction of Theban buildings from the Reign of Amenhotep IV”, in S. Polis and J. Winand (eds), *Texts, Languages & Information Technology in Egyptology: Selected Papers from the Meeting of the Computer Working Group of the International Association of Egyptologists (Informatique & Égyptologie)*, Liège, 6-8 July 2010 (Liège, 2013), 129-138.
- Prince, G., *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (New York, 1982).
- Pritchard, J. B., “Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs”, *BASOR* 122 (1951), 36-41.
- Pritchard, J. B., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (New Jersey, 1954).
- Ranke, H., *The Art of Ancient Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Applied Art* (Vienna, 1936).
- Redford, D. B., “The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II”, *JEA* 51 (1965), 107-122.
- Redford, D. B., “Reconstructing the Temples of a Heretical Pharaoh”, *Archaeology* 28:1 (1975), 16-22.
- Redford, D. B., “The Historical Retrospective at the Beginning of Thutmose III’s Annals”, in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (Bamberg, 1979), 338-342.
- Redford, D. B., “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 270-287.
- Redford, D. B., “New Light on Temple J at Karnak”, *Orientalia NS* 55:1 (1986), 1-15.

- Redford, D. B., “The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela”, *IEJ* 36:3 (1986), 188-200.
- Redford, D. B., *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (New Jersey, 1987).
- Redford, D. B., *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 2: Rwd-Mnw, Foreigners and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1988).
- Redford, D. B., *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (New Jersey, 1992).
- Redford, D. B., “Reviewed Work: Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur by Antonio Loprieno”, *JAOS* 112:1 (1992), 134-135.
- Redford, D. B., “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden and New York, 1995), 157-184.
- Redford, D. B., “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 1-44.
- Redford, D. B., “Egypt and Western Asia in the late New Kingdom: An Overview”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia, 2000), 1-20.
- Redford, D. B., *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden and Boston, 2003).
- Redford, D. B., “The Writing of History of Ancient Egypt”, in Z. Hawass and L. P. Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 2003), 1-11.
- Redford, D. B., “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 325-343.
- Reinisch, L., *Aegyptische Chrestomathie*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1875).
- Revez, J. and Brand., P. J., “Le programme décoratif des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: bilan de la mission canado-américaine de 2011”, *BSFE* 183 (2012), 10-38.
- Riefstahl, E., “An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man”, *JNES* 10:2 (1951), 65-73.
- Ritner, R. K. and Moeller, N., “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’, Thera and Comparative Chronology”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19.
- Robins, G., *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1993).

- Robins, G., "Hair and the Construction of Identity", *JARCE* 39 (1999), 55-69.
- Rohl, D., *The Lords of Avaris: Uncovering the Legendary Origins of Western Civilisation* (London, 2008).
- Rosch, E., "Principles of Categorization", in E. Rosch and B. Lloyd (eds), *Cognition and Categorization* (Hillsdale, 1978), 28-49.
- Rosellini, I., *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e Della Nubia (Band 1,1): Monumenti Storici* (Pisa, 1832).
- Rosellini, I., *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e Della Nubia (Band 4,1, Atlas): Monumenti Storici* (Pisa, 1832).
- Royal Academy of Art, The, *5000 Years of Egyptian Art. The Diploma Galleries. Royal Academy of Art, London 22 June to 12 August [1962]* (London, 1962).
- Russell, J. A., "Is There Universal Recognition of Emotion From Facial Expression? A Review of the Cross-Cultural Studies", *Psychol. Bull* 115:1 (1994), 102-141.
- Ryholt, K. S. B., *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen, 1997).
- Sa'ad, R., "New Light on Akhenaten's Temple at Thebes", *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 64-67.
- Sadek, A. I., *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (Hildesheim, 1987).
- Saeed, J. A., *Semantics*, Fourth Edition (Malden, 2016).
- Sanchez, G. M., "A Neurosurgeon's View of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I: Aspects of Neurological Importance", *JARCE* 37 (2000), 143-165.
- Saretta, P., *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality* (London, 2016).
- Sauneron, S., *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca and London, 2000).
- Säve-Söderbergh, T., *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala and Leipzig, 1946).
- Schacter, D. L., *Searching for Memory: The Brain, The Mind, and the Past* (New York, 1996).
- Schaden, O., "Tutankhamun-Ay shrine at Karnak and Western Valley of the Kings Project: Report on the 1985-1986 Season", *NARCE* 138 (1987), 10-15.

- Schäfer, H., *Principles of Egyptian Art*, in E. Brunner-Traut (ed.) and trans. J. Baines, Fourth Edition (Oxford, 2002).
- Schmitz, F. J., *Amenophis I: Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, 1978).
- Schneider, T., *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit. Teil 1: Die ausländischen Könige* (Wiesbaden, 1998).
- Schneider, T., *Lexikon der Pharaonen* (Düsseldorf, 2002).
- Schneider, T., *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit: Teil 2: Die ausländische Bevölkerung* (Wiesbaden, 2003).
- Schneider, T., “Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period”, in E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 168-196.
- Schneider, T., “Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context”, in W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology* (Chichester, 2010), 143-163.
- Schneider, T., “Khyan’s Place in History: A New Look at the Chronographic Tradition”, in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research* (Vienna, 2018), 277-285.
- Schott, S., *Altägyptische Festdaten: Gesammelt und bearbeitet* (Wiesbaden, 1950).
- Schwaller de Lubicz, R. A., *The Temples of Karnak* (London, 1999).
- Schweitzer, U., “Archäologischer Bericht aus Ägypten”, *Orientalia NS* 17:4 (1948), 536-545.
- Seidel, M., *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, vol. I: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie* (Hildesheim, 1996).
- Sethe, K., “Mißverstandene Inschriften”, *ZÄS* 44 (1908), 35-41.
- Sethe, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*, Second Edition (Berlin, 1927-1930).
- Sethe, K., “Neue Spuren der Hyksos in Inschriften der 18. Dynastie”, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 73-86.
- Sethe, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 1-4. Abteilung IV*, Band I (Leipzig, 1914).

- Shafer, B. E., “Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview”, in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 2005), 1-30.
- Shaheen, A. el-D. M., *Historical Significance of Selected Scenes Involving Western Asiatics and Nubians in Private Theban Tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty* (PhD Thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1988).
- Van Siclen III, C. C., “New Data on the Date of the Defacement of Hatshepsut’s Name and Image on the Chapelle Rouge”, *GM* 107 (1989), 85-86.
- Van Siclen III, C. C., “Two Tuthmosid Statue Groups from Thebes”, *VA* 7 (1991), 88-96.
- Van Siclen III, C. C., “Conservation of the Third Kamose Stela at Karnak (Phase 1)”, *BARCE* 188 (2005), 21-23.
- Van Siclen III, C. C., “The Third Stela of Kamose”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven and Paris, 2010), 355-358.
- Van Siclen III, C. C., “The Edifice of Amenhotep II at Karnak: An Architectural Pious Fraud”, in C. Leblanc (ed.), *Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 2010), 81-89.
- Simpson, W. K., “The Kamose Texts”, in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Third Edition (New Haven and London, 2003), 345-350.
- Simons, J., *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937).
- Singer, F. D., *Ecology in Action* (Cambridge, 2016).
- Singer, G. N. G., “The Obelisks of Hatshepsut: Legitimacy and Propaganda”, *GM* 207 (2005), 37-47.
- Shirley, J., “Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses”, in J. C. M. García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 521-606.
- Smith, G., *The Area of Pylons Four, Five and Six: Assessing the Architecture, Sequence of Construction and Ensuing Historical Implications* (MRes Thesis: Macquarie University, 2016).
- Smith, H. S. and Smith, A., “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76.

- Smith, R. W. and Redford, D. B., *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries* (Warminster, 1976).
- Smith, S. T., *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* (London and New York, 1995).
- Smith, S. T., *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London, 2003).
- Smith, S. T., "Ethnicity and Culture", in T. Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World* (London and New York, 2007), 218-241.
- Smith, S. T., "Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity", in J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2014), 194-212.
- Smith, S. T., "Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt", *JEH* 11 (2018), 113-146
- Smith, W. S., *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia* (New Haven and London, 1965).
- Smith, W. S., *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven and London, 1998).
- Snape, S., *Egyptian Temples* (Princes Risborough, 1996).
- Sourouzian, H., "Les colosses du Ile pylône du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak, remplois ramessides de la XVIIIe dynastie", *Karnak* 10 (1995), 505-543.
- Sourouzian, H. and Stadelmann, R., "Recent Discoveries and new Southern Place Names at the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III, Kom el-Hettân", *Sudan & Nubia* 9 (2005), 76-81.
- Spalinger, A. J., "Traces of the early career of Ramesses II", *JNES* 38:4 (1976), 271-286.
- Spalinger, A. J., "A Critical Analysis of the 'Annals' of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)", *JARCE* 14 (1977), 41-54.
- Spalinger, A. J., "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia", *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 35-41.
- Spalinger, A. J., "The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study", *JARCE* 16 (1979), 29-47.
- Spalinger, A. J., "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia", *JEA* 66 (1980), 83-99.

- Spalinger, A. J., “From Local to Global: The Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire”, *SAK* 23 (1996), 353-376.
- Spalinger, A. J., *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom* (Oxford, 2005).
- Spalinger, A. J., “Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt’s Domination over Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III”, in E. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 344-369.
- Spalinger, A. J., “Egyptian New Kingdom triumphs: a first blush”, in A. Spalinger and J. Armstrong (eds), *Rituals of triumph in the Mediterranean world* (Leiden, 2013), 95-112.
- Spiegelberg, W., “Die Northamptonstele”, *RecTrav* 22 (1900), 118-121.
- Steindorff, G., *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs* (Leipzig, 1900).
- Steindorff, G., *Die Kunst der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1928).
- Steindorff, G. and Seele, K. C., *When Egypt Ruled the East* (Chicago, 1957).
- Stevenson, S. Y., “On the remains of the foreigners discovered in Egypt by Mr Flinders-Petrie, 1895: now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania”, *PaPhS* 35:150 (1896), 56-64.
- Strudwick, N., “A fragment of a scene of foreigners from the Theban Necropolis”, *JARCE* 38 (2001), 133-140.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M., Nadal, K. L., and Esquilin, M., “Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice”, *The American Psychologist* 62:4 (2007), 271-286.
- Sullivan, E. A., “Visualising the Size and Movement of the Portable Festival Barks at Karnak Temple”, *BMSAES* 19 (2012), 1-37.
- Sutton, J., Harris, C. B., and Barner, A. J., “Memory and Cognition”, in S. Radstone and B. Schwarz (eds), *Memory: Theories, Histories, Debates* (New York, 2010), 209-226.
- Sutton, J., Harris, C. B., Keil, P. G. and Barnier A. J., “The Psychology of Memory, Extended Cognition, and Socially Distributed Remembering”, *Phenom Cogn Sci* 9:4 (2010), 521-560.
- Swan Hall, E., *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Munich, 1985).
- Système d’Indexation des Textes Hiéroglyphiques (SITH) website. Available from: <<http://sith.huma-num.fr/>>. Last accessed 1/2019.

- Tefnin, R., *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout: Portrait royal et politique sous la 18e dynastie* (Bruxelles, 1979).
- Thiers, C. and Zignani, P., "The Temple of Ptah at Karnak", *EA* 38 (2011), 20-24.
- Thomas, J., *Time, Culture and Identity: An Interpretive Archaeology* (London and New York, 1996).
- Tobin, V. A., "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Third Edition (New Haven and London, 2003), 351-355.
- Traunecker, C., "Le 'Château de l'Or' de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d'Amon", *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 89-111.
- Troy, L., *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986).
- Troy, L., "Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmosis III", in E. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 123-182.
- Truc, G., "Memory of Places and Places of Memory: for a Halbwachsian Socio-Ethnography of Collective Memory", *ISSJ* 62:203-204 (2011), 147-159.
- Tyldesley, J., "The History of KV Exploration Prior to the Late Twentieth Century", in R. H. Wilkinson and K. R. Weeks (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings* (New York, 2016), 481-496.
- Uphill, E., "The Nine Bows", *JEOL* 19 (1967), 393-420.
- University College London, Petrie Museum Online Catalogue website. Available from: <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/>. Last accessed 1/2019.
- Valbelle, D., *Les neuf arcs: l'égyptien et les étrangers de la préhistoire à la conquête d'Alexandre* (Paris, 1990).
- Valbelle, D., "La notion d'identité dans l'Égypte pharaonique", *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, vol. II (Turin, 1993), 551-556.
- Vandersleyen, C., "Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis", *RdE* 19 (1967), 123-159.
- Vandersleyen, C., "Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d'Ahmosis relatant une tempête", *RdE* 20 (1968), 127-134.
- Vandersleyen, C., *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Brussels, 1971).

- Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, III, Les grandes époques. La statuaire* (Paris, 1958).
- Varille, A., "Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d'Amon-Rê à Karnak", *ASAE* 50 (1950), 137-172.
- Vercoutter, J., "Les Haou-Nebout", *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 125-158.
- Vercoutter, J., "Les Haou-Nebout (suite)", *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 107-209.
- Vercoutter, J., *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique. Étude critique des sources égyptiennes, du début de la XVIIIe dynastie à la fin de la XIXe dynastie* (Cairo, 1956).
- Vercoutter, J., *The Search for Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1992).
- Vergnienx, R., *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenhotep IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques. Méthodes et résultats*, 2 vols. (Lyon, 1999).
- Vergnienx, R., "Les constructions thébaines du règne d'Amenhotep IV revisitées par les nouvelles technologies", in C. Leblanc (ed.), *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 2010), 315-323.
- Vernus, P., "La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhernofert et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Cairo JE 59635)", *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135.
- Vernus, P., "La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi à Karnak", *RdE* 40 (1989), 145-161.
- Vernus, P., "Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire (Urk. VII, 36; Caire JE. 51911)", *BSEG* 13 (1989), 173-181.
- Wachsmann, S., *Aegeans in Theban Tombs* (Leuven, 1987).
- Wainwright, G. A., "The Meshwesh", *JEA* 48 (1962), 89-99.
- Wallet-Lebrun, C., "Notes sur le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. 2. Les *w3ḏyt* thoutmosides entre les IVe et Ve pylons", *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 317-333.
- Wallet-Lebrun, C., *Le grand livre de pierre. Les textes de construction de Karnak*, MAIBL 41 (Paris, 2009).
- Warburton, D. A., *Architecture, Power, and Religion. Hatshepsut, Amun and Karnak in Context* (Münster, 2012).
- Ward, W. A., "Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B.C.", *Orientalia NS* 30:1 (1961), 22-45.

- Warren, P., “Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt”, in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC* (London, 1995), 1-18.
- Wegner, D. M., “Transactive Memory: A Contemporary Analysis of the Group Mind”, in B. Mullen and G. R. Goethals (eds), *Theories of Group Behavior* (New York, 1987), 185-208.
- Wegner, J., “Woseribre Seneb-Kay. A Newly Identified Upper Egyptian King of the Second Intermediate Period”, in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyam and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research* (Vienna, 2018), 287-305.
- Weill, R., “Sekhemre-Souaztaoui Sebekhotep à Elkab, un nouveau roi, Sekhemre-Sankhtaoui Neferhotep, à Elkab et à Karnak”, *RdE* 4 (1940), 218-220.
- Weissberg, L., “Introduction”, in D. Ben-Amos and L. Weissberg (eds), *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity* (Detroit, 1999), 7-26.
- Wendrich, W., “Identity and Personhood”, in W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, (Chichester, 2010), 200-219.
- Wendrich, W., “Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality”, in J. F. Osborne (ed.), *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology* (Albany, 2014), 409-430.
- Westhoff, G., Tzschätzsch, K., and Bleckmann, H., “The spitting behavior of two species of spitting cobras”, *J. Comp. Physiol. A* 191:10 (2005), 873-881.
- Wiedemann, A., *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gotha, 1884).
- Wiener, M. H., and Allen, J. P., “Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose”, *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28.
- Wildung, D., “Neunbogen”, in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds) *LA IV* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 472-473.
- Wilkinson, R. H., *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2000).
- Wilkinson, R. H., *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2017).
- Wilson, K. A., *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine* (PhD Thesis: John Hopkins University, 2001).
- Wilson, K. A., *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I into Palestine* (Baltimore, 2005).
- Wolf, W., *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926).

Woods, A., “Drawing the Bow: A Re-Examination of the Desert Hunt Scene in the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan”, *BACE* 26 (2016-2018), 103-125.

Yates, F., *The Art of Memory* (New York, 1966).

Zayed, A. H., “Une représentation inédite des campagnes d’Aménophis II”, in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. I (Cairo, 1985), 5-17.

Plates

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

The temple during the reign of Senwosret I. Image drawn after Carlotti, Czerny, and Gabolde (2010), 179, fig. 23.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

The temple during the reign of Amenhotep I.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

The temple during the reign of Thutmose I.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

The temple during the reign of Thutmose II.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

The temple during the reign of Hatshepsut.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

The temple during the reign of Thutmose III.

Volume Two: Catalogue

**References to Foreigners
from the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak
from the Second Intermediate Period until the reign of
Thutmose III (1803 - 1425 BC)**

Volume Two

Catalogue of Sources

<i>List of Figures</i>	7
<i>Catalogue of Attestations</i>	10
 <i>Second Intermediate Period</i>	11
[13.29.01] Seated Statue of a King with the Nine Bow Motif (Louvre AF 8969)	11
[13.29.02] Stela of Sobekhotep IV (Cairo JE 51911)	12
[13.30.01] Statue of Sobekhotep V (Cairo CG 42027)	13
[13.30.02] Statue of Sobekhotep V (Cairo CG 42028)	14
[13.30.03] Statuette of Sobekhotep V (Cairo JE 39258)	15
[13.38.01] Statue of Sobekhotep VII (Cairo JE 43599)	16
[13.0B.01] Statue of Neferhotep II (Cairo CG 42023)	17
[13.0B.02] Statue of Neferhotep II (Cairo CG 42024)	18
[16.03.01] Stela of Neferhotep III (Cairo CG 20799).....	19
[16.04.01] Stela of Montuhotpi	20
[16.0E.01] Stela of Senwosret IV	22
[17.02.01] Statuette of Sobekemsaf I (Cairo CG 42029)	23
[17.03.01] Statuette of Sobekemsaf II (Petrie Museum UC 14209)	24
[17.09.01] First Stela of Kamose (Cairo TN 11.1.35.1).....	25
[17.09.02] Second Stela of Kamose (Luxor J. 43)	26
[17.09.03] Third Stela of Kamose (Cairo CG 34001)	30
 Eighteenth Dynasty	31
 <i>The Reign of Ahmose</i>	31
[18.01.01] Stela of Ahmose (Cairo CG 34001).....	31
[18.01.02] Storm Stela of Ahmose.....	34
 <i>The Reign of Amenhotep I</i>	35
[18.02.01] Gate of Amenhotep I(?).....	35
[18.02.02] Façade of the Calcite Kiosk of Amenhotep I.....	37
[18.02.03] Amenhotep I Smiting Enemies.....	39
 <i>The Reign of Thutmose I</i>	40

[18.03.01]	Southern Obelisk of Thutmose I.....	40
[18.03.02]	Statue Base with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	41
<i>The Reign of Thutmose II</i>		42
[18.04.01]	Statue of Thutmose II with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	42
[18.04.02]	Colossal Statue of Thutmose II with the Nine-Bow Motif	43
<i>The Reign of Hatshepsut</i>		44
[18.05.01]	Vertical Frames of Hatshepsut.....	44
[18.05.02]	Two Blocks of Hatshepsut Mentioning Nubia	45
[18.05.03]	Scene with Kneeling Foreigners.....	46
[18.05.04]	Statue Base with the Nine-Bow Motif.....	47
[18.05.05]	Thutmose I before Theban Triad Thanking Amun.....	48
[18.05.06]	Scene of Thutmose II with the Theban Triad	50
[18.05.07]	Standing Obelisk of Hatshepsut	52
[18.05.08]	Fallen Obelisk of Hatshepsut.....	53
[18.05.09]	Oracle Text of Hatshepsut	55
[18.05.10]	Hatshepsut Offering Bread to Amun (Block 14 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	59
[18.05.11]	Hatshepsut before Osiris (Block 183 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	60
[18.05.12]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Kheprsh</i> -Crown (Blocks 53 & 157 of the Chapelle Rouge)	61
[18.05.13]	Ritual Text of Amun from E. Sanctuary (Block 262 of the Chapelle Rouge)	62
[18.05.14]	Ritual Text of Amun from Vestibule E. Wall (Block 133 of the Chapelle Rouge) ...	63
[18.05.15]	Hatshepsut Offering Milk to Amun (Block 164 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	64
[18.05.16]	Hatshepsut Consecrating <i>b3kw</i> from <i>h3s.wt</i> (Block 196 of the Chapelle Rouge)....	65
[18.05.17]	Hatshepsut Consecrating <i>b3kw</i> from <i>h3s.wt</i> (Block 53 of the Chapelle Rouge)	66
[18.05.18]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Nemes</i> -Crown (Block 186 of the Chapelle Rouge) ..	67
[18.05.19]	Underbody 10.o (Block 225 of the Chapelle Rouge)	68
[18.05.20]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Nemes</i> -Crown (Blocks 172 & 261 of the Chapelle Rouge)	69
[18.05.21]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Kheprsh</i> -Crown (Block 23 of the Chapelle Rouge)	70
[18.05.22]	Hatshepsut Receiving the <i>Atef</i> -Crown (Block 95 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	71
[18.05.23]	Hatshepsut before Amun at her Coronation (Block 141 of the Chapelle Rouge) ...	72
[18.05.24]	Ritual Text of Amun from West Sanctuary (Block 43 of the Chapelle Rouge).73	
[18.05.25]	Coronation Scene of Hatshepsut (Block 145 of the Chapelle Rouge).....	74
<i>The Reign of Thutmose III</i>		75
[18.06.01]	The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück I.....	75

[18.06.02]	The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück II.....	87
[18.06.03]	The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück V-VI.....	88
[18.06.04]	Reused Blocks of the Annals, Stück VII	103
[18.06.05]	King receiving life from Amun, Stück VIII	110
[18.06.06]	Thutmose III's Poetical Stela (Cairo CG 34010)	114
[18.06.07]	Fragmentary Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34011)	119
[18.06.08]	Granite Stela from the Temple of Ptah (Cairo CG 34013).....	121
[18.06.09]	Stela of Thutmose III from the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished.....	123
[18.06.10]	Thutmose III Thanking Amun for Victory at Megiddo from the Akhmenu	125
[18.06.11]	Obelisk of Theodosius	128
[18.06.12]	Obelisk Fragment from before the Seventh Pylon	130
[18.06.13]	<i>Le Texte de la Jeunesse</i>	131
[18.06.14]	Doorway of the Seventh Pylon of Thutmose III.....	134
[18.06.15]	Thutmose III before Amun on the NW Face Sixth Pylon	137
[18.06.16]	Five Rows of Northern Name Rings from the NW Face Sixth Pylon.....	139
[18.06.17]	Five Rows of Southern Name Rings from the SW Face Sixth Pylon	141
[18.06.18]	Northern Name Rings in the Chamber of Kings	143
[18.06.19]	Thutmose III Smiting Asiatic Captives on the NE Face Seventh Pylon	145
[18.06.20]	Thutmose III Smiting Southern Captives on the NW Face Seventh Pylon.....	149
[18.06.21]	Thutmose III Smiting Asiatic Captives on the SW Face Seventh Pylon.....	152
[18.06.22]	Thutmose III Smiting Southern and Northern Captives on the SE Face Seventh Pylon.....	155
[18.06.23]	Green Breccia Statue of Thutmose III with Name Rings.....	157
[18.06.24]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows (Cairo CG 42053)	158
[18.06.25]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the NE Face Seventh Pylon	159
[18.06.26]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the NW Face Seventh Pylon...	160
[18.06.27]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the SW Face Seventh Pylon...	161
[18.06.28]	Statue Base with the Nine Bows from the Akhmenu	162
[18.06.29]	Striding Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42057) ..	163
[18.06.30]	Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42055) ..	164
[18.06.31]	Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo JE 43614A) ..	165
[18.06.32]	Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 1226) ..	166
[18.06.33]	Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42058)	167
[18.06.34]	Group Statue of Thutmose III with Amun (Cairo CG 42066)	168
[18.06.35]	Seated Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo JE 39260) ...	169
[18.06.36]	Statue Base with Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo SR 211)	170
[18.06.37]	Seated Group Statue of Thutmose III from the Palace of Maat	171

[18.06.38]	Statue of Thutmose III as the Nile-God with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42056)	172
[18.06.39]	Group Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42064) ..	173
[18.06.40]	The Botanical Garden Reliefs from the Akhmenu	174
[18.06.41]	Thutmose III Erecting Posts	176
[18.06.42]	Thutmose III with <i>ka</i> bringing incense from Punt from the Akhmenu	177
[18.06.43]	Thutmose III with Thoth Dedicating Treasure to Amun from the Akhmenu...	178
[18.06.44]	Thutmose III bringing Metals and Minerals to Amun from the Akhmenu	180
[18.06.45]	Thutmose III presenting oil from the Akhmenu	181
[18.06.46]	Architraves A-A from the Akhmenu	182
[18.06.47]	Architraves G-G from the Akhmenu	183
[18.06.48]	Speech of [Seth] from Room XII of the Akhmenu.....	184
[18.06.49]	Speech of the Ennead from the Akhmenu	185
[18.06.50]	Speech of Sodpu from the Akhmenu.....	186
[18.06.51]	Pillar I from Room XX of the Akhmenu	187
[18.06.52]	Architraves B-B from the Akhmenu.....	188
[18.06.53]	Architraves E-E from the Akhmenu	189
[18.06.54]	West Wall of the Southern Chapel of the Akhmenu	190
[18.06.55]	North Wall of the Entry Passage of the Akhmenu	191
[18.06.56]	Pillar 9, E. Face from the Akhmenu	192
[18.06.57]	Thutmose III Offering Bread to Amun (Block 108 of the Chapelle Rouge)	193
[18.06.58]	Thutmose III Offering Incense to Amun (Block 192 of the Chapelle Rouge)	194
[18.06.59]	Thutmose III Consecrating Vases to Amun (Block 224 of the Chapelle Rouge) ...	195
[18.06.60]	Thutmose III Offering a Cow Leg to Amun (Block 253 of the Chapelle Rouge) ..	196
[18.06.61]	Thutmose III's Benefactions to Amun	197
[18.06.62]	Jambs of Chamber II of the Contra Temple of Thutmose III	200
[18.06.63]	West Wall of the Contra Temple of Thutmose III.....	201
[18.06.64]	West Façade of the Calcite Chapel of Thutmose III.....	202
[18.06.65]	Inscriptions on the Flag Mast Niches, South Face of the Seventh Pylon	203
[18.06.66]	Scene of Thutmose III from the Doorway of the Seventh Pylon	204
[18.06.67]	Speech of Horus in Room XLII.....	205
[18.06.68]	South Wall of the House of Gold	206
[18.06.69]	Amun Thanks Thutmose III.....	207
[18.06.70]	Jambs around Entry Door of the North Chapels.....	208
[18.06.71]	Papyrus Column of Thutmose III from the Colonnade of Thutmose I.....	209
[18.06.72]	Scene of Thutmose III from the Fifth Pylon.....	211
[18.06.73]	West Side of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary.....	212

[18.06.74]	East Side of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary	213
[18.06.75]	Sandstone Jambs of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary.....	214
[18.06.76]	Pillar Fragment from the Vestibule of Thutmose III.....	215
[18.06.77]	Thutmose III Offering Incense with Text Concerning Punt.....	216
[18.06.78]	Thutmose III Consecrating Treasure to Amun	217
[18.06.79]	Scene of Thutmose III from Room XX of the Palace of Maat.....	218
[18.06.80]	Reverse Side of an Offering Table of Thutmose III (Cairo JE 88803)	219
[18.06.81]	Blocks of Thutmose III from the Netery-Menou.....	220
[18.06.82]	Scene of Thutmose III with Hathor from the Temple of Ptah.....	221
[18.06.83]	Niche Inscription from South Wall of the Temple of Ptah.....	222
[18.06.84]	Niche Inscription from the North Wall of the Temple of Ptah.....	223
[18.06.85]	Lateran Obelisk.....	224
[18.06.86]	Granite Statue of Neferperet (Cairo CG 42121)	225

List of Figures

1	[13.29.01] Statue Louvre AF 8969. Delange (1987), 48	11
2	[13.29.02] Statue CG 42027. Legrain (1906), pl. 17.	13
3	[13.30.02] Statue CG 42028. Karnak Cachette website.....	14
4	[13.30.03] Statuette JE 39258. Karnak Cachette website	15
5	[13.38.01] Statue Cairo JE 43599. Drawing by Peirce after Hornemann (1966)	16
6	[13.0B.01] Statue Cairo CG 42023. Karnak Cachette website	17
7	[13.0B.02] Statue Cairo CG 42024. Karnak Cachette website	18
8	[16.04.01] Stela Cairo CG 20799. Vernus (1982), pl. 1	19
9	[16.05.01] Stela Luxor CL 223 G. Vernus (1989), pl.6	21
10	[17.02.01] Statuette Cairo CG 42029. Karnak Cachette website.....	23
11	[17.03.01] Statuette Petrie Mus. UC 14209. Petrie (1888), pl. XXI2.....	24
12	[18.02.01] A reconstruction of the gate with offering bearers. Drawing by Peirce after Le Saout (1987).....	36
13	[18.02.02] The placement of the inscriptions on either side of the chapel	38
14	[18.03.02] Statue south of the Fifth Pylon. SITH website	41
15	[18.04.01] Statue JE 41205. Karnak Cachette website	42
16	[18.04.02] Colossal Statue of Thutmose II. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	43
17	[18.05.03] Scene of foreigners. Müller (1910) 152 (fig. 59)	46
18	[18.05.10] Block 14. Burgos and Larché, pl. 70	59
19	[18.05.11] Block 183. Burgos and Larché, pl. 118	60
20	[18.05.12] Blocks 53 and 157. Burgos and Larché, pl. 138.....	61
21	[18.05.13] Block 262. Burgos and Larché, pl. 202	62
22	[18.05.14] Block 133. Burgos and Larché, pl. 192	63
23	[18.05.15] Block 164. Burgos and Larché, pl. 237	64
24	[18.05.16] Block 196. Burgos and Larché, pl. 76	65
25	[18.05.17] Block 53. Burgos and Larché, pl. 128	66
26	[18.05.18] Block 186. Burgos and Larché, pl. 127	67
27	[18.05.19] Block 225. Burgos and Larché, pl. 27	68
28	[18.05.20] Blocks 172 and 261. Burgos and Larché, pl. 79.....	69
29	[18.05.21] Block 23. Burgos and Larché, pl. 80	70
30	[18.05.22] Block 95. Burgos and Larché, pl. 83	71
31	[18.05.23] Block 141. Burgos and Larché, pl. 125	72
32	[18.05.24] Block 43. Burgos and Larché, pl. 198	73
33	[18.05.25] Block 145. SITH website	74
34	[18.06.16] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	140

35	[18.06.17] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	142
36	[18.06.18] The name rings from the Chamber of Kings	144
37	[18.06.19] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	148
38	[18.06.20] The remains of the smiting scene with three rows of name rings below....	151
39	[18.06.21] The smiting scene above the name rings	154
40	[18.06.22] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings	156
41	[18.06.26] Statue before the NW Face of the Seventh Pylon. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	160
42	[18.06.27] Statue before the SW Face of the Seventh Pylon. Photograph by Peirce (2016)	161
43	[18.06.28] The base inscription with the nine-bow motif.....	162
44	[18.06.29] Cairo CG 42057. Karnak Cachette website.....	163
45	[18.06.30] Cairo CG 42055. Karnak Cachette website.....	164
46	[18.06.31] Cairo JE 43614A. Laboury (1998), 130 (fig. 37)	165
47	[18.06.32] Cairo CG 1226. Laboury (1998), 221 (fig. 112)	166
48	[18.06.33] Cairo CG 42058. Karnak Cachette website.....	167
49	[18.06.34] Cairo CG 42066. Karnak Cachette website.....	168
50	[18.06.35] Cairo JE 39260. Karnak Cachette website	169
51	[18.06.36] Cairo SR 211. Karnak Cachette website	170
52	[18.06.37] Reconstruction by Laboury (1998), 149 (fig. 53).....	171
53	[18.06.38] Cairo CG 42056. Laboury (1998), 137 (fig. 46)	172
54	[18.06.39] Laboury (1998), 165 (fig. 58).....	173
55	[18.06.41] The mast climbing scene	176
56	[18.06.45] Pécoil (2000), pl. 118	181
57	[18.06.48] LD III, pl. 35a.....	184
58	[18.06.50] LD III, pl. 35d.....	186
59	[18.06.51] LD III, pl. 34d.....	187
60	[18.06.54] Pécoil (2000), pl. 119	190
61	[18.06.56] Pécoil (2000), pl. 48	192
62	[18.06.57] Block 108. Burgos and Larché, pl. 69	193
63	[18.05.58] Block 192. Burgos and Larché, pl. 142	194
64	[18.05.59] Block 224. Burgos and Larché, pl. 172	195
65	[18.06.60] Block 253. Burgos and Larché, pl. 255	196
66	[18.06.61] Nims (1969), fig. 7	199
67	[18.06.66]	204
68	[18.06.70] The jambs of the chapel.....	208
69	[18.06.72] Larché (2007), pl. XLL (3).....	211

70	[18.06.76] SITH website	215
71	[18.06.80] Biston-Moulin (2010), 40 (fig. 6).....	219
72	[18.06.83] Biston-Moulin and Thiers, II (2016), 134	222
73	[18.06.84] SITH website	223
74	[18.06.86] Cairo CG 42121. Karnak Cachette website.....	227

Catalogue of Attestations

This catalogue of references to foreigners at Karnak, from the Second Intermediate Period to the reign of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty, is designed to provide a chronological order of each text, its date, and architectural context within the temple itself. Each artefact is organised chronologically and has its own unique code, based on the dynasty, king, and the number of sources for that king. For example, the first example from the reign of Ahmose [18.01], the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, would be: [18.01.01], the last number a reference to the group of sources from that reign.¹ Accordingly, these codes have been used to assist in articulating the dynastic relationship of a text. This chronology, for the Second Intermediate Period, follows Ryholt (1997) and Polz, *The Hyksos Ruler Khyam and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt* (2018), and for the Eighteenth Dynasty von Beckerath (1997). The sources of each king's reign, where numbered more than one, are generally organised by themes as discussed in the chapters for clarity, rather than attempting to organise them chronologically, a task which, in many cases, is fraught with problems.

Further, each entry follows the same basic formula to provide a snapshot of each source, detailing the date, the provenance within Karnak, the current location, material, and dimensions, as well as a photograph or line drawing, where available and necessary. A list of sources then follows, followed by a description and the transliteration and translation of the relevant text with limited grammatical and textual commentary.

Regarding the sources, they are primarily short titled and organised chronologically, however, the Porter and Moss reference, Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, and the *Urkunden* are generally placed first. As these texts are exclusively from Karnak, some also have a KIU number ("Karnak Identifiant Unique") which links back to the "Système d'indexation des textes hiéroglyphiques" (SITH) website, run by the "Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak" (CFEETK). Each number has a webpage with an image, hieroglyphic transcription, and bibliographic reference list. The primary link is <[http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/\[number\]](http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/[number])>. For example, if an artefact has a code KIU 245, the webpage link will be <<http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/245>>. To compact the length of the "sources" section, only the KIU number is provided, instead of the URL.

¹ This same approach to coding was used by Ryholt, *The Political Situation* (1997), 333.

Second Intermediate Period

[13.29.01] Seated Statue of a King with the Nine Bows (Louvre AF 8969)

Date: 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep II Kha[ankh]re, Sobekhotep IV Kha[nefer]re, or Sobekhotep VI Kha[hotep]re.¹

Provenance: Central Court of Karnak

Location: Louvre AF 8969

Material: diorite (“black granite”)

Dimensions: H. 93.5cm, W. 40cm, D. 71cm

Sources: PM II², 109; Mariette, *Karnak* (1875), 44-45, pl. 8k; Gauthier, *Le livre des rois* II (1912), 32-33 (no. 3); Altenmüller, “Königsplastik”, *LÄ* III (1980), 581 (no. 177); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed* (1981), 22-23 (no. 6); Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du moyen empire* (Paris, 1987), 48-50; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* (1997), 401.

Description: This headless statue represents a king seated on a throne, wearing *heb-sed* garb, a wide collar, and grasping a crook or sceptre and flail. The figure’s feet rest on the throne dais engraved with the nine-bow motif.

Translation:

Transcription: Mariette.

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty ([H^ci-///-R^c.w)| mri.y Imn.w-R^c.w nb p.t ^cnh(.w) d.t*

Translation: Delange, *LP*.

(1) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Kha /// Re)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven, may he live forever.

(2) *s3 R^c.w mri(.y)=f (Sbk-R^c.w-htp)| mri.y Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy ^cnh(.w) d.t*

(2) Son of Re, his beloved, (Sobekhotep)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he live forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 1 [13.13.01] Statue Louvre AF 8969. Delange (1987), 48.

¹ Ryholt notes that the prenomen is preserved as *h^ci-[...]-r^c.w*, and consequently, it may be attributed to either Sobekhotep II, Sobekhotep IV, or Sobekhotep VI. Delange also discussed this problem of attribution and proposed Sobekhotep IV as the most likely candidate due to the high number of statues dating to his rule. Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 73, 401, 408; Delange, *Catalogue*, 50.

[13.29.02] Stela of Sobekhotep IV (Cairo JE 51911)

- Date:* 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep IV
Provenance: Hypostyle Hall, found in the securing works by Lacau in 1927.
Location: Cairo JE 51911
Material: unknown
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 52; Helck, “Eine Stele Sebekhoteps IV. aus Karnak”, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 194-200; Miosi, *Reading Book* (1981), 4-11; Debono, “Rapport préliminaire sur les résultats de l’étude des objets de la fouille des installations du Moyen Empire et ‘Hyksôs’ à l’est du Lac Sacré de Karnak”, *Karnak* 7 (1982), 380, pl. 1; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text*² (1983), 31-34 (37); Vernus, “Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire”, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 178-181; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 349; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 109.
Description: A small, round-topped stela with wings in the lunette and the cartouches of the king. The sides and bottom are heavily damaged. The text refers to cedar of *Hnty-š* used in the construction of a door for a building at Karnak.

Translation:

Transcription: Helck; Transliteration: *Translation: Mourad, LP.*

Mourad, LP.

Lines 1-8: Titulary and praises to of the king.

- (8) (...) *ts(.w)*¹ *t3.wy ms(.w)* [*Km.t kf(.w)* *h3s.wt*] /// /// /// (8) (...) who supports the Two Lands, who makes [Egypt, who captures the *h3s.wt*] /// /// ///

Line 8-9: Further reiteration of responsibilities of the king.

- (10) (...) [*iw wd.n² ity*] *nh(.w) wd3(.w)* (10) (...) [The sovereign], (l.p.h.) [*snb(.w) iri.t³ n=f sb3 n.y mh 10 m m3.wt m š nfr n.y Hnty-š m š3.wy-r3*] [commanded] the making for him a gate of 10 cubits anew of good cedar of *Hnty-š* with two leaves of door,
(11) *b3k(.w) m nbw hd [hm.t hsmn]* /// /// /// (11) worked of *nbw*-gold, silver, [copper, bronze] /// /// /// a pure floor in the hall of columns of this temple, with a second door
(12) [*hw.t]-ntr [tn] m š m3³ nfr [n.y Hnty-š m š3.wy-r3 b3k(.w) m nbw hd hm.t hsmn m pr.w]* (12) of [this temple] made for him in true and good cedar [of the *Hnty-š*, with two leaves of door worked of *nbw*-gold, silver, copper and bronze, within the temple] of (Sobekhotep)|, in the temple of Amun.
(*Sbk-htp*)| *m pr.w Imn.w*

Lines 12-24: List of offerings with increasing text lost as the inscription progresses.

¹ Perfective active participle. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §100, 102.

² Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

³ Infinitive. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §782-85.

[13.30.01] Statue of Sobekhotep V (Cairo CG 42027)

- Date:* 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep V
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo JE 37421 (CG 42027)
Material: diorite (“black granite”)
Dimensions: H. 126 cm
Sources: PM II², 137; Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)”, *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 219; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 16-17, pl. 17; Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (1915), 114 (no. 326); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 31); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text²* (1983), 40 (51); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 353.
Description: A seated statue of the king. The king is adorned in *heb-sed* garb, a white crown, together with the traditional crook and flail. Two lines of text border the legs of the king, whilst on the base, the nine-bow motif is engraved beneath the feet of the king.
Translation:
Transcription: Helck; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.
(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy (Mri-ḥtp-R^c.w)| mr.(y)* (1) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Merihotepre)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life.
Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy di(.w) ḥnh
(2) *s3 R^c.w mri(.y)=f (Sbk-ḥtp)|R^c.w-Hr.w-3h.ty di(.w) ḥnh* (2) The Son of Re, his beloved, (Sobekhotep)|, beloved of Re-Harakhty, may he be given life.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 2 [13.30.01] Statue CG 42027. Legrain (1906), pl. 17.

[13.30.02] Statue of Sobekhotep V (Cairo CG 42028)

Date: 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep V
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo CG 42028
Material: diorite (“black granite”)
Dimensions: H. 100 cm, L. 37 cm, D. 78 cm
Sources: PM II², 137; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 17 (wrong journal no. 37404); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 33); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text*² (1983), 40 (52); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 353.
Description: Seated statue preserved from the waist down. The figure wears a *shendyt*-kilt with hands laid flat on top of his thighs. Two columns of text run down on the pedestal next to the calves, with the right column heavily damaged. Under the feet of the king, the nine-bow motif is engraved.

Translation:

Transcription: Helck; Transliteration: LP.

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy (Sbk-ḥtp) | mri(.y) Imn.w-Rḥ.w di(.w) ḥnh d.t*

(2) *ḥnh ntr nfr mri(.y) Rḥ.w /// /// [mri(.y)] Imn.w-Rḥ.w [di(.w)] ḥnh d.t*

Translation: LP.

(1) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Sobekhotep), beloved by Amun-Re, may he be given life, forever.

(2) The Living Good God, beloved of Re /// /// [beloved] of Amun-Re, [may he be given] life, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 3 [13.30.02] Statue CG 42028. Karnak Cachette website.

[13.30.03] Statuette of Sobekhotep V (Cairo JE 39258)

Date: 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep V
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo JE 39258
Material: slate or greywacke
Dimensions: H. 34 cm, L. 10 cm, D. 16.5 cm
Sources: PM II², 137; Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 32); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 353.
Description: A small statuette of a striding king standing on the nine-bow motif. The head has been lost, but the figure wears the *shendyt*-kilt, grasping a cloth in his right hand and a vessel in the left. The back pillar contains an inscription with the prenomen of the king.

Translation:

Transcription: Cachette Website;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Back Pillar:

<p>/// [nb] t3.wy nb iri.t (i)h.t (Mri-ḥtp-R^c.w) s3 R^c.w mri(.y)=f(Sbk-ḥtp) /// mri(.y) /// hnty Ip.t-S.wt di(.w) ḥnh</p>	<p>/// [Lord of] the Two Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (Merihotepre) , the Son of Re, his beloved, (Sobekhotep) /// /// beloved /// foremost of Karnak, may he be given life.</p>
---	---

Base Inscription:

s3 R^c.w (Sbk-ḥtp)|

The Son of Re, Sobekhotep

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 4 [13.30.03] Statuette Cairo JE 39258. Karnak Cachette website.

[13.38.01] Statue of Sobekhotep VII (Cairo JE 43599)

- Date:* 13th Dynasty, Sobekhotep VII
Provenance: Central Court (?)
Location: Cairo JE 43599
Material: red granite
Dimensions: H. 1.34 m
Sources: PM II², 281; Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* V (1966), pl. 1423; Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 28 (no. 36); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 357.
Description: Seated statue of the king with missing head. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt, with remains of the *nemes*-crown lappets and false beard. The hands lie flat, palm downwards on the thighs. Inscriptions are found on the top of the throne and the front, whilst two small statues of the sons of Sobekhotep VII, Bebi and Sobekhotep, are carved on either side of the legs of the king. Beneath the feet of the king alone, the nine-bow motif is engraved.
Translation: No transcription available for this source.¹

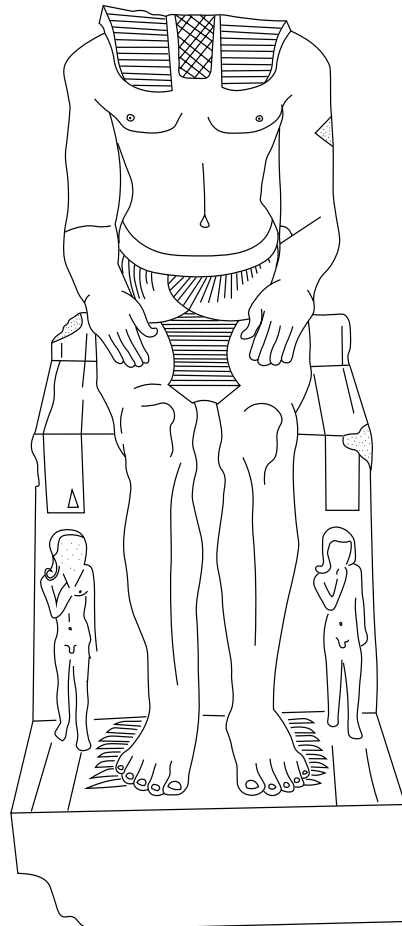


Figure 5 [13.38.01] Statue Cairo JE 43599. Drawing by Peirce after Hornemann (1966).

¹ In the sketch of this statue by Hornemann, only *eight* bows are visible. As the added figure above is a line drawing traced over the sketch from 1966, it is possible that it contains inaccuracies regarding the original. Hornemann, *Types of ancient Egyptian statuary* V, pl. 1423.

[13.0B.01] Statue of Neferhotep II (Cairo CG 42023)

Date: 13th Dynasty, Neferhotep II
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo JE 36702 (CG 42023)
Material: diorite (“black granite”)
Dimensions: H. 74.5 cm, L. 23 cm, D. 42 cm
Sources: PM II², 137; Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)”, *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 220; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 114 (no. 327/328); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27 (no. 34); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 359.
Description: Seated statue of the king wearing the *shendyt*-kilt, *nemes*-headdress, and false beard. The left hand lies flat on the thighs of the king, whilst the right grips a folded cloth. The nine-bow motif is engraved beneath the feet of the king.

Translation:

Transcription: Cachette Website;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

(1) /// (Mr-*shm-R^c.w*)| /// *mri(.y)* /// *nb p.t*
di(.w) ^cnh

(1) /// (Mersekhemre)| /// beloved /// Lord of
Heaven, may he be given life.

(2) *s3 R^c.w (Nfr-ḥtp)*| [*mri(.y)*] *Imn.w-R^c.w*
nb ns.wt t3.wy /// ///

(2) The Son of Re, (Neferhotep)|, [beloved] of
Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands
/// ///

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 6 [13.0B.01] Statue Cairo CG 42023. Karnak Cachette website.

[13.0B.02] Statue of Neferhotep II (Cairo CG 42024)

Date: 13th Dynasty, Neferhotep II
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo JE 36402 (CG 42024)
Material: black granite
Dimensions: H. 72 cm, L. 24 cm, D. 42 cm
Sources: PM II², 137; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 14-15; Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak (IX-XII)”, *RecTrav* 26 (1904), 220; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 114 (no. 327/328); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27-28 (no. 35); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 359.
Description: Seated statue of the king with damaged head. The figure is wearing the *shendyt*-kilt, double or red crown, and false beard. Both hands are laid flat on the thighs of the king. The nine-bow motif is engraved beneath the feet.

Translation:

Transcription: Cachette Photos;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

(1) *ntr nfr (Mr-shm-R^c.w) [mri(.y)] Imn.w-R^c.w nb p.t ///*

(1) The Good God, (Mersekhemre)|, [beloved] of Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven ///

(2) *s3 R^c.w (Nfr-htp) mri(.y) Imn.w-R^c.w nb p.t d.t*

(2) The Son of Re, (Neferhotep)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 7 [13.0B.02] Statue Cairo CG 42024. Karnak Cachette website.

[16.04.01] Stela of Neferhotep III

Date: 16th Dynasty, Neferhotep III
Provenance: Third Pylon
Location: Cairo JE 59635 (CG 20799)
Material: limestone
Dimensions: H. 85.6 cm and W. 53.5 cm
Sources: PM II², 73; Weill, “Sekhemre-Souaztaoui”, *RdE* 4 (1940), 218-20; Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhernofert et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Cairo JE 59635)”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text*² (1983), 45 (no. 62); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 3 (no. 4); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 388.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 8 [16.03.01] Stela Cairo CG 20799. Vernus (1982), pl.1.

Description: Round top stela with depiction of king before gods in the lunette, followed by nine lines of remaining text.

Translation:

Transcription/Transliteration: Vernus, Helck. *Translation:* Vernus, Redford, LP.

Lines 1-3: Titulary of the king.

(3) (...) ¹ *ḳ(w)*¹ *r niw.t=f ḥw hr ḥ3.t=f*
[sm3.y]n hrw-nfr

(4) *nsw nḥt mri.y mš^c=f*
Ḥr.w nfr ini(.w) ḥtp.w s^cnḥ(.w) [niw.t=f
ḥr] sy [r] (5) g3w.t

sšm.w n.y W3s.t nḥt.t ntr nfr
mri.y R^c.w s3 Imn.w nsw (6) ntr.w

shwi(.w) niw.t=f hrp.ti

mki(.w) sy ḥn^c ḥ3s.tyw
 (7) *[shr](.w) n=s ḥ3s.wt bšt(.w)t hr b3.w*
it=f Imn.w

shr(.w) (8) [n=s rk]w.w bšt.w hr=f
wdi(.w) š^c.(y)t r ph.ww (9) [sw] ///
ḥpr.w m ḥprš tw.ty ḥn^c n.y R^c.w nb ///

(3) (...) The one who entered his city (with) food before him, the one who [made] a beautiful day,
 (4) The Mighty King, beloved of his army, perfect Horus, the one who brought offerings, the one who causes [his city] to live so that it is at a [distance] [from] (5) want.

The Leader of Mighty Thebes, the Good God, beloved of Re, Son of Amun, King of the (6) Gods.

The one who provides protection for his city when it was submerged,
 the one who guards it (along) with the *ḥ3s.tyw*,
 (7) the one who [pacifies] for it the rebellious *ḥ3s.wt*, through the power of his father Amun, the one who overthrew (8) [for it the enem]ies who rebelled against him, the one who commits slaughter against those who attacked (9) [him] ///
 the one who is equipped with Blue Crown, the living image of Re, Lord of ///
 ///

¹ A series of perfective passive participles follows, creating a sense of cadence. As pointed out by Ockinga, the perfective tense is used “for actions where the duration of the action is not of importance, usually in the past but also in the present”. See Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, 63-64 (§98, 100).

[16.05.01] Stela of Montuhotpi

Date: 16th Dynasty, Montuhotpi
Provenance: Third Pylon
Location: As of 1989, it was held in the magazine of the Karnak Temple “Sheikh Labib”.¹ Luxor CL 223 G.²
Material: limestone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 73; Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 47; Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi à Karnak”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 145-161; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 9 (no. 50); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 389.
Description: A stela of multiple fragments with a reference to driving back the *h3s.wt*.
Translation:
Transcription/Transliteration: Vernus, *Translation:* Vernus, Redford, LP.
LP.

Lines 1-2 Titulary of the king.

<p>(2) (...) <i>iri(.w)³ nsw /// Imn.w m ini.n⁴</i> <i>Mntw /// /// (3) h^c.tw hr nhm r h3.t=f</i> <i>pri(.w) m pr.w=f ib=f /// šsp.n [tp w3.t] ///</i> <i>/// /// (4) itn</i> <i>Hr.w mri.y mš^c=f hrp=f wr nh.w m</i> <i>shr.w=[n]</i> <i>iri(.w) nsw /// /// (5) W3s.t nht</i> <i>ink⁵ nsw n.y hn W3s.t niw.t=i tn nb.t t3</i> <i>dr=f dmi nht.w /// /// (6) dmi nb</i> <i>ntr 3 mit.t R^c.w nn whm.wty=f(y) d.t thhw</i> <i>n=i hr nb rmt /// /// (7) n.w ntr.w</i> <i>w^cf(.w) h3s.wt nb.(w)t</i> <i>nhm(.w) niw.t=f m nht=f</i> <i>nn [hwi] rmt</i> <i>m iri(.w) /// /// (8) ht idb.wy mi Shm.t rnp.t</i> <i>id.t=s</i> <i>snd(.w) nhh=f w3</i> <i>shr(.w) tkkw /// ///</i></p>	<p>(2) (...) One who acts as king /// Amun, as (one) brought by Montu /// /// (3) with exultation and joy before him. One who comes forth from his house, his heart /// having made [a good beginning] /// /// (4) the sun-disc! Horus beloved of his army, his powers being great, the plans on which [we] live; one who acts as king /// /// (5) victorious Thebes! I am a king of within Thebes! This city of mine, mistress of the entire land, city of triumph /// /// /// (6) every city. The great god, the likeness of Re, with none to be like him forever! It is upon me that everyone exults /// /// (7) of the gods, the one who drives back all the <i>h3s.wt</i>, the one who rescues his city through his might, there being no [smiting] the [Egyptian] people, as one who acts /// /// (8) throughout the Two Banks like Sekhmet, in the year of her wrath, the one whose flame is feared from afar, the one who felled those who had attacked /// ///</p>
---	---

¹ Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 145.

² Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 389.

³ A series of perfective passive participles follows. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, 63-64 (§ 98, 100).

⁴ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

⁵ A change to independent first-person independent pronoun, particularly emphasising the active nature of the king, which is a stark contrast to the “passive” clauses preceding. See Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, 12 (§ 26).

(9) [t3?]=f /// [mi] m3i.w {mw swi}
<swi(.w) mw> htm.w=f mi k3.w ///
(10) ts.mt=f msh mh.w

pri(.t) mšc[=f] htm.w=f mi pri ht /// t3w k3i
///

(11) nn wn ḥc m ḥs.y=sn

iw I[mn.w] r h3.t mšc=f drp c.w[=f]

/// /// (12) h3s.wt nb.(w)t [Mntw] m
M3dw [sšm=f n=f mšc=f iyi=sn] /// wd3.w
/// /// (13) nfr.w nsw [pri(.w)-c(.w)]
/// /// (14) /// imm i3w n nsw [wr msw.t]
(Mntw-ḥtpi) | di(.w) ḥh ///
/// (15) [wšb].w pd.t rdi.n=f ///
[mdw(.w)] r sp hpr.w dd(.w) m r3=f iri m
hps=f

(16) shry hr pri(.w)⁷ m h.t /// [s3 Imn.w]
hr.y-tp t3.wy iw.c.w Mntw m M3dw wd3w
(17) snb.w ///

iwi(.w) W3s.t nht /// w3d.wy šms tw

Lines 18-20 - Titulary of the king.

(9) his [land?] /// [like] lions <drinking water>,
his fortresses being like bulls⁶ ///

(10) his battlements [enclosures] (being like)
crocodiles which are submerged,

the going forth of [his] army from his fortresses
is as the going forth of fire /// when the wind is
high ///

(11) there being no (persons) standing up against
them.

A[mun] is at the front of his army, who offers
[his] hand/support

/// /// (12) All h3s.wt, [Montu] in Medamud,
[he led to his army, they return] /// hale

/// /// (13) perfection; the [active] king

/// /// (14) /// Give praises to the King, [Great
of Births], (Montuhotpi)|, may he be given life!

/// /// (15) The one whose bow [responds] when
he has placed /// the one who [speaks] in
accordance with the deed which has taken place,
the one who speaks with his mouth and acts with
his overpowering arm.

(16) The advisor who comes forth from of the
womb /// [son of Amun] as Chief of the Two
Lands, heir of Montu of Medamud, hale (17) and
healthy ///

the one who came to victorious Thebes ///
How happy is one in your service!

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 9 [16.05.01] Stela Luxor CL 223 G. Vernus (1989), pl. 6.

⁶ This term has a particular connotation with kingship.

⁷ Perfective participle. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §100, 102.

[16.0E.01] Stela of Senwosret I

Date: 16th Dynasty, Senwosret I

Provenance: near the Sacred Lake

Location: unknown

Material: limestone

Dimensions: H. 90 cm and W. 25 cm

Sources: PM II², 293; Legrain, “Sur une stèle de Senousrit IV”, *RecTrav* 30 (1908), 15-16; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text*² (1983), 41 (no. 56); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 391.

Description: A stela of an unplaced king from the Sixteenth Dynasty with a possible reference to ʿ3m.w.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain; *Transliteration:*

Translation: LP.

LP.

(1) *rnp.t-sp 1 3bd 2 n.y šm.w sw 1 hr Hr.w*
whm ʿnh nb.ty sʿnh(.w) t3.wy /// /// ///

(1) Year 1, second month of summer, day 1
under the Horus, repeating life, the Two
Ladies, who causes the Two Lands to live ///
/// ///

(2) *wn.t ib n.y hm=i ʿnh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w)*
r iri.t mn.w nʿImn.w-Rʿ.w /// /// ///

(2) that the heart of my Majesty, l.p.h., is
making monuments for Amun-Re /// /// ///

(3) *hʿ=f hr Wsir¹ (?) tn=f t3.wy Hr.w m-*
ʿ(.w)=k /// /// ///

(3) he appears under Osiris (?) he, the Two
Lands. Horus, behold /// /// ///

(4) *w3š r iri st m iri.w /// /// ///*

(4) honouring for making it with making ///
/// ///

(5) *r /// hr gm.tn=f[i]w hm=f /// /// ///*

(5) to /// that which he found. His Majesty
/// /// ///

(6) */// /// s b3k(.w) ʿ3m[.w]² /// /// ///*

(6) /// /// work produce of the Asia[tics]
/// /// ///

(7) */// /// =i n ntr /// /// ///*

(7) /// /// my /// for the god /// /// ///

¹ Legrain has Gardiner Aa17 here, whilst Helck has Gardiner Q2. Without seeing the original, it is difficult to translate this section of text.

² This is a reconstruction, as in the transcription only the throw stick (T14) and owl (G17) are preserved. However, this combination of signs can be reconstructed as ʿ3m.w, meaning Asiatics (singular, plural, or woman), or a throw stick. See *Wb* I, 167-168. Further, the context of *b3k(.w)* further reinforces the translation as Asiatic.

[17.02.01] Statuette of Sobekemsaf I (Cairo CG 42029)

- Date:* 17th Dynasty, Sobekemsaf I
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo JE 37420 (CG 42029)
Material: schist
Dimensions: H. 30 cm, L. 9 cm, D. 14 cm
Sources: PM II², 137; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 18; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*² (1983), 61 (no. 91); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 30 (no. 50); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 401.
Description: Standing acephalous statuette of the king. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt, with a cloth grasped in the right hand and a vessel in the left. Inscriptions are located on the base, while the nine-bow motif is engraved beneath the feet. The reference of Montu of Tod has led Ryholt to believe the statue was found in a secondary location (Karnak), the original provenance being Tod, an area some 20 km south of modern-day Luxor.
Translation:
Transcription: Helck; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.
(1) *s3 R^c.w (Sbk-m-s3=f) | di(.w) ^cnh* (2) *mri.y* (1) The Son of Re, (Sobekemsaf)|, may he
Mntw dr.ty be given life. (2) Beloved of Montu of Tod.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 10 [17.02.01] Statuette Cairo CG 42029. Karnak Cachette website.

[17.03.01] Statuette of Sobekemsaf II (Petrie Museum UC 14209)*

Date: 17th Dynasty, Sobekemsaf II
Provenance: Karnak, purchased at Thebes
Location: Petrie Museum UC 14209
Material: green basalt
Dimensions: H. 29.2 cm, W. 10 cm, D. 17.9 cm
Sources: PM I², 790; Petrie, *A Season in Egypt 1887* (1888), 22 (pl. XXI.2); Petrie, *A History of Egypt I* (1894), 222-223 (fig. 136); Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 30 (no. 46); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 396.
Description: Seated statuette of the king, wearing *heb-sed* garb and grasping the crook and flail. Two columns of text are inscribed on the front. The nine-bow motif is engraved beneath the feet of the king.

Translation:

Transcription: Petrie (1888);

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

(1) *ntr nfr (Shm-R^c.w-w3d-h^cw)|mri(.y)*
Hnsw di(.w) nḥ

(1) The Good God, (Sekhemra, flourishing-in-diadems)|, beloved of Khonsu, may he be given life.

(2) *s3 R^c.w (Sbk-m-s3=f)| mri(.y) Hnsw*
di(.w) nḥ

(2) The Son of Re, (Sobekemsaf)|, beloved of Khonsu, may he be given life.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 11 [17.03.01] Statuette Petrie Museum UC 14209. Petrie (1888), pl. XXI.2.

* The attribution of this cartouche with this ruler is undecided in the literature. Von Beckerath has this cartouche under Sobekemsaf I, as does Schneider. Hannig's work has it under Sobekemsaf II after Ryholt. Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1999), 124-126 (Sobekemsaf I), 128-129 (Sobekemsaf II); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 395; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1301; Thomas Schneider, "Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period", *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (2006), 184.

[17.09.01] First Stela of Kamose

Date: 17th Dynasty, Kamose

Provenance: Third Pylon

Location: Cairo TN 11.1.35.1

Material: limestone

Dimensions: Two fragments: F1: H. 104 cm, W. 56 cm. F2: H. 134 cm, W. 30 cm

Sources: PM II², 73; Lacau, “Une stèle du roi Kamosis”, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 245-271; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (1972), 45-56; Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*² (1983), 82-90 (no. 119); Darnell, “Articular Km.t/Kmy and Partitive KHME”, *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 69-81; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 13-14 (no. 68); Ryholt, *The Political Situation* (1997), 399.

Description: Two fragments with some 15 lines of preserved sunk-relief hieroglyphs organised into horizontal register. The curvature of the top fragment indicates these pieces were originally part of a round-topped stela.

Translation:

Transcription/Transliteration: Lacau; *Translation:* Redford; LP.

Helck.

- (1) *rnp.t 3 Hr.w h^ci(.w) hr ns.t=f* /// /// (1) Year 3 of Horus, who appears upon his throne ///
 (2) *nsw nht m hn.w W3s.t (W3d-[hpr]-* /// /// (2) A Mighty King within Thebes,
R^c.w) /// /// (Wadj[kheper]re) ///
 (3) *[d3d]3.t nty m-h^ct=f si3=i sw* /// /// (3) [counc]il who were with him, “I should like ///
 (4) *fm t3 Km.t psš t3 hn^c[=i]* /// /// (4) therein in this land of Egypt, and dividing up
 the land [me!] ///
 (5) *b3k.w {St.tyw} tw=i r thn hn^c=f* /// /// (5) work produce of the {Asiatics}! I will engage
 with him ///
 (6) *[ith.n]=sn ns=sn mdw=sn m (p3) ki* /// (6) [and] they [have drawn] out their tongues and
 /// (7) *[n^c] n.y 3h.t=sn mnmnt=n hr* spoken in this fashion /// (7) the smoothest (of
mni(.w) /// our) fields are cultivated by them, our cattle are
 herded ///
 (8) *t3 n.y 3m.w tw=n hr Km.t k3* /// (8) the flat land of the Asiatics, and we possess the
 (9) *[k]3=i nn t3 n=i psš hn^c=i t3* Black Land. Then /// (9) [opposi]te me. One
 who partitions the land with me will never
 /// (10) *y m-^c(.w)=f tw=i r hdi r iri.t¹* /// (10) with him. I will sail north in order to
s[ky.t] /// d[estroy] ///
 (11) *[h]k3 nht m-hnw W3s.t (K3-ms)* /// (11) The mighty [rul]er in Thebes, (Kamose) ///
 /// (12) *[pd.t] n.t Md3.w hr.t t3[r.t=n]* /// (12) [archers] of the Medjay atop our entrenched
 /// (13) *pd.t nht.t n.t Md3.w iw=i* /// (13) victorious archers of the Medjay,
 while I ///
 (14) *[3m].w btnw Km.t iri=f Nfrwsy mh* (14) the [Asiatic]s, who had defied the Black Land,
sšy /// (15) *hb3.n=i sbt=f sm33=i* /// so that he made Neferusi a nest /// (15) I
 /// destroyed his walls and I killed ///

¹ *r* + infinitive indicating purpose/future. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §85.

[17.09.02] Second Stela of Kamose

Date: 17th Dynasty, Kamose

Provenance: Second Pylon

Location: Luxor J. 43

Material: limestone

Dimensions: H. 235 cm, W. 112.5 cm, D. 28 cm

Sources: PM II², 37 (133); Hammad, “Découverte d’une stèle du roi Kamose”, *CdE* 30 (1955), 198-208; Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 43-44; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (1972); Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text²* (1983), 91-97 (119); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 14-15 (69); Simpson, “The Kamose Texts”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (2003), 345-350; Habachi, “La libération de l’Égypte de l’occupation Hyksôs”, *RC* 33:175 (1955), 56-8 (fig. 36); Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte”, *Orientalia NS* 24:3 (1955), 301; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes: La naissance du Nouvel Empire de Kamosis à Thoutmosis II* (2010), 16-21, 46-60; Biston-Moulin, “De Sésostris Ier à Kamosis. Note sur un remploi de Karnak”, *ENiM* 4 (2011), 81-90.

Description: A large stela with a small lunette representing two uraei and a winged solar disc. There are thirty-nine lines of horizontal text and a small figure of Neshi, the treasurer and scribe, in the left-hand corner at the bottom of the stela.

Translation:

Transcription/Transliteration: Helck; *Translation:* Habachi; Redford; Simpson; Habachi; Dessoudeix, LP (photo). Dessoudeix; LP.

(1) *smi hs(y) m hnw dmi=k tw=k tf.ti r-gs mš^c=k r(3)=k hns(.w) m ir(r)=k wi m sr iw=k m hk3* (1) A bad report is in your town; you are driven back/expelled along with your army, your speech (i.e. authority) is restricted, as you have made me a chieftain, while you are ruler!

r dbh (2) n=k t3 nm.t hr(.w)t=k n=s m3(.w) s3=k bin mš^c=i m s3=k So, you ask (2) for it, that which is wrongly seized, through it you will fall. Look at your evil back! My army is a threat at your back.

nn iwr hm(.w)t Hw.t-W^cr.t nn s(w)n(.w) ib.w=sⁿ (3) m-hnw h.t=sⁿ sdm.t(w) hmhm^t n.t p3y=i mš^c The women of Avaris will not conceive, for their hearts will not open (3) inside their bodies, when the battle cry of my army is heard!

iw=i mni.kwi r Pr-dd-kn ib=i 3w(.w) di=i m3i (4) Ippi 3.t hwr(w).t wr n.y Rtnw hs(y) ^c.wwy hmt(.w) n kn.w m ib=f n hpr=sⁿ n=f I was moored at *Pr-dd-kn*, my heart happy, as I caused (4) Apophis to see a miserable moment, the Prince of Retenu, feeble of arms, who plans brave deeds in his heart, which never happen for him!

spr.kwi r Inyt-nt-hnt (5) tw=i d3.kwi n=sⁿ r wšd st I arrived at *Inyt-nt-hnt* (5) and I crossed over in order to interrogate them.

iri.n=i p3 ^ch^c.w s^cb3(.w) w^c m-s3 w^c di=i h3.t hr hmw m n3y=i (6) n.y kny.t hr ^ch.t hr I made the equipped fleet, one behind the other, placing the front/prow at the steering

*itr}{r}.w mi wnn(.w) bik imw=i n.y nbw r h3.t
iry iw(=i) mi bik iry r-h3.t=sn*

(7) *di=i p3 mk kn hr h3 r ʕd t3 d3.t m-s3=f mi
wnn(.w) dgyw.t hr h.tt hr dʕ.t Hw.t-* (8) *Wʕr.t*

*gmh.n=i hm.wt=f hr tp hw.t=f hr nw3 m
s3d.w=sn r mry.t nn s(w)nw h.(wt)=sn
m33=sn* (9) *wi nw3=sn m šr.wt iry hr
inb.w=sn mi t3.w n.w inh̄w m-hn(w)
b3b3w(.w)=sn m dd hn(.w)* (10) *pw*

*m=k wi iȳi.kwi mʕr=i sp(y).t m-ʕ(.w)=i
mn̄h(.w) sp=i w3h̄ Imn.w kn nn w3h̄=i tw nn
d̄i=i dgs=k* (11) *3h̄.t iw nn wi hr=k*

*whn ib=k irf ʕ3m.w hs(.y) m-ʕ(.w)=k swi=i m
irp n.y k3nw=k* (12) *m ʕth̄(.w) n=i ʕ3m.w n.w
h3k=i*
*hb(3)=i s.t=k h̄ms.t šʕd=i mnw=k grm.n=i
hm̄(.w)t=k r wnd̄w.t*

(13) *n̄hm=i t3 nt-h̄tri /// n w3h̄=i ph̄ hr b3w
300 n.y ʕš w3d̄ mh̄(.w) m nbw h̄sb̄d̄ h̄d̄ mfk3.t*
(14) *h̄smn minb nn tn̄.t=s hr(w)-r b3k̄ sn̄tr ʕd̄
bī.t itwrn ssnd̄m spny ht=sn* (15) *nb šps nb
nfr n.y Rtnw*

*ifw.n=i s.t r-3w n w3h̄=i nk̄.t Hw.t-Wʕr.t n
šw=s ʕ3m.w 3k̄(.w)*

(16) *whm ib=k irf ʕ3m.w hs(.y) wn(.w) hr dd̄
ink nb nn snnw=i š3ʕ-r Hmnw (r) Pr.w-Hw.t-
Hr*

hr w3.t r Hw.t-Wʕr.t m (17) *i<t>{r}rw.wy
w3h̄=i st m wš̄(.w) nn r(m)t̄ im*

*hb(3).n=i niw̄(.w)t=sn wbd̄=i s̄(.w)t=sn ir(w)
m i3̄(.w)t d̄šr̄(.w)t* (18) *n d̄.t hr p3 h̄d̄.t*

oar, with my (6) braves flying over the river as does a falcon. My ship of *nbw*-gold at their head of them, (I) was like the falcon at their head.

(7) While I placed the mighty warship waiting near the edge, the fleet behind it, as the gold-snipe plucks (plants) upon the papyrus marsh of (8) Avaris.

I espied his women atop of his roof, peering from their windows towards the harbor. Their bodies do not stir as they see (9) me, as they look with noses upon their walls, like the young of the *inh̄w* animal (?) in their holes, saying: “it (10) is swift!”

Behold, I have come! I am successful! What remains is in my possession, my situation is excellent. As the mighty Amun endures, I will not leave you. I will not let you to tread (11) the field, without being upon you.

Wicked is your heart, feeble Asiatic! Behold, I drink the wine of your vineyard, (12) which the Asiatics, whom I captured, press for me. I lay waste your dwelling place. I cut down your trees. I have removed your women to the ship holds.

(13) I took away the chariotry /// I did not leave a single plank to the three hundred ships of fresh cedar, which were filled with *nbw*-gold, lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise (14) bronze battle axes without number, apart from moringa oil, incense, fat, honey, *itrn*-wood, *ssnd̄m*-wood, *spny*-wood (15) and all the fine wood of theirs, and all the good (things) of Retenu.

I have taken all of it! I have not overlooked a scrap of Avaris without being empty. The Asiatic has fallen!

(16) Wicked is your heart, feeble Asiatic, you who has said: “I am the lord, there is not my peer as far as Hermopolis to the Temple of Hathor.”

On the way to Avaris between (17) the Two (Arms of) the River. I (will) leave them in desolation without people there.

I laid waste to their cities, and I burnt their places, which were made as red mounds (18) for eternity because of the damage, which

iri<.n>=sn m-hn(w) t3 Km.t dw(.w) st hr sdm
š n.y 3m.w bt.n=sn Km.t hnw.t=sn

kf.n=i (19) wp.t=f m hr(y).t Wh3t hr hnty.t r
Kši hr šct sš.w gm.n=i hr=s m dd m sš m-(.w)
hk3 n.y Hw.t-Wr.t

(20) (3-wsr-R(.w)| s3 R(.w) (Ippi)| hr nd-
hr(y).t n.t s3(=i) hk3 n.y Kši hr m-(.w)=k
h(.w)=k m hk3 nn rdi.t rh=i in-iw (21) gmh=k
iri.tn Km.t r=i hk3 n.ty m-hn(w)=s (K3-ms-
nh)t| di(.w) nh¹ hr thm=i hr itn=i n ph=i sw
mi ki n(y) ir.tn=f (22) nb.t r=k stp=f p3 t3.wy
r i3d=s(n) p3y=i t3 hn p3y=k hb(3).n=f st imi
hdi m 3(.w)

(23) *m-(.w)=k sw 3 m-(.w)=i nn nt[y*
]h(.w) n=k hr t3 Km.t m-(.w)=k nn di=i n=f
w3.t r spr.t=k k3(=n) psš=n (24) n3 n.y dmi.w
n.w t3 Km.t wnn [Hn.t-hn-]nfr hr ršw.t (W3d-
hpr-R(.w-nh)t| di(.w) nh d3i(.w) spw

(25) *di.n=i h3s.wt h3.t-t3 hr=i i(<t> {r}rw.w*
m-mi.tn gm.n=tw w3.t n.t m snb=i n b3g.n=i
hr mšc=i

n iti.t(w) (26) hr mh.(ty) snd.n=f n=i iw=i m
hdi n h3.t=n n spr.t=i r=f m3.n=f hh=i
h(3)b.n=f š3c-r Kši (27) r wh3 nh=f kf.n=i s.y
hr h3s.t n di=i spr=s

h(.n) di=i iti.t di.tw=s n=f nn.ti w3h(.w) sy
hr (i)3bt.(y)t (28) r Tp-ihw
k(.w) nht=i m ib=f hb(3.w) h(.w)=f sdd n=f
wpw.ty=f n3 ir.tn=i r p3 w t3 n.y Inpwt.t wn m
(29) h.wt=f

they did in Egypt - they who caused them to serve the Asiatics, when they overran Egypt, their mistress.

I captured (19) his messenger beyond the Oasis, while travelling southward to Kush with a written document. I found upon it as a saying in writing, from the ruler of Avaris:

(20) “(Aaweserre)|, Son of Re, (Apophis)|, greets (my) son, the ruler of Kush. Why have you arisen as a ruler without letting me know? Do you see (21) what Egypt has done against me? The ruler who is in it, (Kamose, the-victorious)|, may he be given life, is attacking me upon my soil! But I am not attacking him in this way (22) to all he has done to you. He has cut up the Two Lands to punish them, my land together with yours, and he has ravaged them. Come, travel downstream, do not be afraid!”

(23) Behold, he is here with me. There is none who will be waiting for you in this Egypt. I will not give to him a road (out) until you have arrived. Then we shall divide (24) the towns of this Egypt. The [Khent]hennefer shall be in joy. (Wadjkheperre, the-victorious)|, may he be given life, who controls events.

(25) I have put the *h3s.wt*, and the Beginning of the Land under me, and the rivers likewise. The way for my downfall was not found, since I was not slack concerning my army.

The face (26) of the Northerner was not averted from me. He feared me whilst I was sailing northwards, before we had fought, before I had reached him! When he saw my flame, he traversed as far as Kush (27) to seek his support, but I captured it in *h3s.wt* and it did not allow it to arrive.

Then I caused it that it be taken to him, it being abandoned in the East (28) at Atfih.

My victory entered his heart, and his flesh was ravaged, when his messenger told him what I had done to the district of the nome Cynopolite, which used to be in (29) his possession.

¹ A curious example of Egyptian decorum. This show of respect to Kamose by Apophis is out of keeping with the context and argument that Apophis was disrespectful of Egyptian rule.

<i>sbi.n=i pd.t nht(.t) ntt hr.ty(w) r hb(3) Dsds iw=i m S3-K3 r tm rd(.w) wn rk(w) (30) h3(y)=i</i>	I sent forth a strong troop which was on the land to ravage the Baharia Oasis, while I was in Sako to prevent enemy forces being (30) behind me.
<i>hnt.n=i m wsr-ib ib 3w(.w) sk(.w) rk(w) nb nty hr w3.t h.y p3 hnt nfr n.y p3 (31) hk3 nh(w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) hr mš=f r-h3.t=f</i>	I sailed south in confidence and happiness, I destroyed every opponent that was on the way. What a fine journey upstream of the (31) ruler, (l.p.h.), with his army in front of him!
<i>nn nhw=sn n šn si iry=f n rm ib=sn mmn.n=i r S3tw Niw.t tri (32) 3h.t</i>	They suffered no loss, no man inquired after his companion, and their hearts did not weep! I moved slowly to the District of Thebes in the season of (32) Inundation.
<i>iw hr nb hd(.w) t3 m rsf mry.t b^cb.ti W3s.t m hb hm.wt t3(y).w iwi.w r m3 (33) n=i s.t nb.t hp.t=s snn.w=s nn hr hr rmy.t</i>	Every face was bright, the land was in game, the riverbank was excited, and Thebes was in festival. Women and men came to gaze (33) upon me. Every woman embraced her companion, and there was no face in tears.
<i>sntr n [Imn.w] r hnw nhn r bw dd.t=w (34) im šsp bw-nfr mi dd=f p3 hps n s3 Imn.w nh(w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) nsw w3h (W3d-hpr-R^c.w) s3 R^c.w (K3-ms-nht) di(.w) nh.w (35) d3i(.w) rs.y s3s3(.w) mh.ty iti(.w) p3 t3 m nht</i>	I (burnt) incense to [Amun] inside the Nekhen chapel where they say (34) “Receive good things!”, as he gave the scimitar to the son of Amun, (l.p.h.) the king who endures, (Wadjkheperre) , Son of Re, (Kamose, the victorious) , may he be given life. (35) Who subdued the South and repelled the North, who seized the land by force (...)

Lines 36-39: Titulary of the king and explanation of the erection of the stela.

[17.09.03] Third Stela of Kamose

Date: 17th Dynasty, Kamose

Provenance: Eighth Pylon

Location: Open Air Museum as of 2005

Material: limestone

Dimensions: Multiple fragments, reconstructed: H. 2.85 m, W. 1.05 m and D. 0.25 m

Sources: Van Siclen III, “Conservation of the Third Kamose Stela at Karnak (Phase 1)”, *BARCE* 188 (2005), 21-23; Gabolde, “Une troisième stèle de Kamosis?”, *Kyphi* 4 (2005), 35-42; Van Siclen III, “The Third Stela of Kamose”, *The Second Intermediate Period* (Paris, 2010), 355-358.

Description: Seven dislocated fragments that once formed a round top stela.

Translation:

Transcription/Transliteration: Van Siclen *Translation:* Van Siclen (2010), Gabolde, LP. (2010), Gabolde.

Fragment A:

(1) /// *whm mnw m* /// /// (2) /// *w^cf(.w)* (1) /// repeating monuments in /// /// (2) /// the one who subdues /// /// (lines 3-5: fragments)

Fragment B

(x+1) [...fragments...] (x+5) /// [*Nh*]sy /// (x+1) [...fragments...] (x+5) /// [Nu]bian /// /// (x+6) /// *W3s.t* /// /// (x+7) /// (x+6) /// Thebes /// /// (x+7) ///

Fragment C: (Omitted)

Fragment D

(z+1) /// /// (z+2) /// = [*s*]n *Nhsy* /// /// (z+1) /// /// (z+2) /// [the]ir ... Nubians /// /// (z+3) /// [city determinative]=*f t* /// /// (z+3) /// his [city] /// /// (lines z+4 and z + 5: fragments).

Fragment E

(w+5) /// /// [*ʕ*]m.w /// (w+6) /// /// *m* (w+5) /// /// [Asi]atics /// (w+6) /// /// in (?)
/// *k t* /// (w+7) /// /// *Nhsy* /// (w+8) /// (w+7) /// Nubians /// (w+8) flat land,
/// *t3 n ʕm.w* /// (w+9) [...fragments...] there being no Asiatics /// (w+9)
(w+12) /// /// = *i shr.w* /// (w+13) /// (w+12) /// I...overthrow
/// *ib=sn iri* /// (w+14) [...fragments...] (w+13) /// their hearts made (w+14)
(w+22) /// /// *nb.t (?) n thw nt-p[w]* /// [...fragments...] (w+22) /// everything (?) to
(w+23) /// /// *3/mi* /// (w+24) /// /// *ršw* transgress, it is the fact that (w+23) ///
[boat?] *m sn.w im=f* /// (w+25) /// from/I (w+24) the fellow who [travels by
hnd=k hr=f h3tyw /// (w+26) /// (w+25) /// boat(?)] with him rejoice (w+25) ///
s3=f Dhwty k3 hmn.wy /// (w+27) /// (when) you tread upon him, hearts (w+26) ///
Mntw bik W3s.ty hr wd.t šʕt /// (w+28) /// for his son, Thoth, the bull of Ashmunein
/// *h3ty-ʕ imi-r smrw di.n=i* /// (w+29) /// (w+27) /// Montu, the Theban Falcon,
[...fragments...] (w+31) /// (w+28) /// placing terror (w+28) /// the
hpw hr hḏ n it=f /// (w+32) /// leader/mayor, overseer of courtiers, I gave (w+29) [...fragments...] (w+31) ///
ir<=i> n=k wh3w m /// (w+32) /// bronze with relief images of silver for his father (w+32) ///
/// *nbw*-gold. I made for you columns of ///

Fragment F: (Omitted)

Eighteenth Dynasty

[18.01.01] Stela of Ahmose (Cairo CG 34001)

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Ahmose
Provenance: South Face of the Eighth Pylon
Location: Cairo CG 34001
Material: limestone
Dimensions: H. 236 cm, L. 105 cm, W. 24 cm.
Sources: KIU 575; PM II², 179; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 14-24 (5); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 8-12 (5); Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 27-29; Lacau, *Catalogue général Nos 34001-34064* (1926), 1-4, pl. I; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (1906), 13-14; Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout”, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 125-126; Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 159; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis* (1971); Björkman, *Kings at Karnak* (1971), 56-57; Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (1993), 42; Bontty, “The Haunebu”, *GM* 145 (1995), 45-58; Manley, “Some Images of the King and Queen Together in the Stele of Ahmose I”, *TrabEg* 1 (2002), 35-44; Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (2008), 210-214 (no. 18); Azim and Reveillac, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I, 249-251; II, 177; Peirce, *The Legacy of the Hyksos* (2015), 118-121; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 378 (KIU575).
Description: A large round top stela with a winged sun-disc in the lunette and thirty-three preserved lines of hieroglyphs.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, KIU 575; *Translation:* Sethe, LP.

Transliteration: KIU 575, LP.

Lines 1-3: Titulary of the king.

<p>(3) (...) <i>d3r(.w) hn.w dd(.w) nh</i> (4) <i>smn(.w) m3^c.wt nsw ns.yw m t3.w nb.w ity</i> <i>nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) w^cf(.w) idb.wy wr</i> <i>[šfy]t šhm.w h^c.w iw n=f h3s.wt ks.w</i></p>	<p>(3) (...) who subjugates the rebels, who gives life (4), who establishes truth, king of kings in all flat lands, sovereign (l.p.h.), who subdues the Two Banks, great of [respect], powerful of appearances, the <i>h3s.wt</i> bow to him.</p>
---	---

Lines 5-8: Praise of Amun and birthright of the king to rule.

<p>(9) (...) <i>iti(.w) h^c.w m 3h-bit¹ nb h^c.w Hr.w</i> <i>w3h mr.wt iwi n=f rs.(ty)w mh.tyw i3b.tyw</i> <i>imn.tyw</i></p>	<p>(9) (...) who took the crowns in Chemmis, Lord of Diadems, Horus enduring-of-love, to whom the southerners, the northerners, the easterners, and the westerners come.</p>
--	--

<p><i>iw=f mn(.w) m nb smn(.w) t3.wy=fy iti.n=f</i> <i>iw^c.t wt^t (10) sw</i></p>	<p>He enduring as the lord, who establishes his Two Lands, he having seized the inheritance of the one who begat (10) him.</p>
---	--

<p><i>t3.wy tm.w hm.w n=f di.n n=f s. it=f špsi</i> <i>iw hf^c.n=f hnmmt 3mm.n=f rhyt (11) iw p^ct</i> <i>di=sn n=f i3w hr-nb hr nb=n pw H3.w-</i> <i>nb.wt hr (dd) šms=n im=f t3.w hr (dd)</i></p>	<p>The Two lands, they being completed, retreat to him, his noble father having given them to him. He having grasped mankind and he having grabbed the common folk. (11) Patricians give</p>
--	--

¹ Known as the birthplace of Horus, and as such, the birthplace of kingship. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 203.

*wnn=n n=f nsw.t pw (12) shk3.n R^c s^c3.n
Imn.w*

*dī=sn n=f idb.w t3.w m sp w^c psdt.n r^c(.w)
hr=s iw h3s.tyw m hims(.t) w^c h^c.w r (13)
r^crry=f*

*iw š^ct=f m Hnt-hn-nfr hmhm.t=f m t3.w
Fnhw snd.t hm=f m-hnw t3 pn mi (14)
Mnw rnp.t iyi=f*

*ini=sn m3^c.w nfr.w 3tp.w m in.w n nsw.t
pr^cr=f [pd.t]=f hr gs=fy mi (15) Bh*

Lines 15-23: Praise of the king.

(23) (...) *nsw.t bi.ty (Nb-ph^cty-R^c.w)|
nh(.w) d.t w^cf(.w) (24) h3s.t nb(.t)*

*imm hnw n nb.t t3 hn.wt idb.w H3.w-nb.wt
k3.t rn hr h3s.t nb(.t) ir.t shr š3.wt hm.t-
nsw.t sn.t (25) ity nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w)
s3.t-nsw.t mw.t-nsw.t šps.t rh.t-(i)h.t n.wt
Km.t w3.n=s mn3t=s nbnb.n=s sy*

(26) *nw.n=s wth.w=s ink=s ts.w=s
sgrh.n=s Šm^c.w dr=s btnw=s hm.t-nsw.t
(I^ch-htp)| nh.ti*

(27) *iw grt wd.n hm=f ir.t mnw.w n it=f
Imn.w-R^c.w m3h.w 3^c.w n.y nbw {m}
š3š3.ywt n.t hsb^cd m3^c htm.w n.w nbw hs.t
(28) 3.t n.t nbw nms.wt hs.wt m h^cd kbhw
m nbw dbh.t-htp m nbw hr h^cd mniwt m nbw
hr h^cd šbn m hsb^cd (29) hr mfk3t t3b-n-k3 m
nbw gn=f m h^cd t3b-n-k3 n.y h^cd inh.w m
nbw gn=f (30) m h^cd tnyw m h^cd nmswt n.t
m3t mh m md.wt wšm.w 3.w n.w h^cd inh.w
m nbw /// (31) iry m h^cd bin.t m hbny m nbw
hr h^cd šspw.w m h^cd sp.t m nbw*

to him praise, everyone under him, who is our lord. The Hanebu (say): “The one we follow is in him.” The flat lands (say): “We belong to him.” He is a king (12) who Re made as a ruler, who Amun caused to be great,

they giving to him the shores and the flat lands in a single moment, and that on which the sun shines. The *h3s.tyw* supplicate as one, standing at (13) his gate.

Fear of him is in Khenthennefer, his war cry is in the flat lands of the Fenhkhou, the fear of His Majesty is in this flat land as (14) Min, the year when he comes.

They bring good produce, laden with gifts for the king. He goes out while his [bow] is at his side like (15) Iah

(23) (...) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Nebpehtyre)|, may he live, forever. The one who subdues (24) every *h3s.t*.

Give praise to the Lady of the Land, Mistress of the Shores of the Hanebu, Noble of Name in all *h3s.t*, who made the plan for the masses, king’s wife, and sister (25) of the sovereign (l.p.h.), king’s daughter and king’s mother, noblewoman, learned woman, who takes care of Egypt. She recruited its infantry, she secured it.

(26) She took care of its refugees, she gathered its deserters, she calmed Upper Egypt, she drove out its rebels, king’s wife (Ahhotep)| may she live!

(27) His Majesty ordered the creation of monuments for his father Amun-Re, large wreathes of *nbw*-gold, necklaces of real lapis lazuli, seals of *nbw*-gold, a large jar (28) of *nbw*-gold, vessels and jars of silver, a libation vase of *nbw*-gold, an altar of *nbw*-gold and silver, necklaces of *nbw*-gold and silver, with lapis lazuli (29) and turquoise, a vessel of *nbw*-gold with a pedestal of silver, a vessel of silver with a *nbw*-golden rim, and a pedestal (30) of silver, a bowl of silver, vessels of granite filled with ointment, large vessels of silver with a *nbw*-golden rim and a /// (31) of silver, a harp of ebony with *nbw*-gold and silver, sphinxes of silver, an incense jar of *nbw*-gold.

*iw wd.n hm[=i iri.t wi3 ʕ3 n] (32) tp itrw [My] Majesty ordered [the creation of the large
Wsr-ḥ3.t-Imn.w rn=f m ʕš m3ʕ n.y tp(.yw) bark for on] (32) the river, called “Userhat-
Ḥtyw r iri.t hnt[=f nfr.t n.t tp-rnpt] /// /// Amun”, from real cedar of the best (quality) of
(33) ʕḥ.n=i wh3.w m ʕš k3pw s3tw m-mi.tt Ḥtyw, to make [its] beautiful trip [at the
rdi.n=i2 ʕ3m.w /// /// /// beginning of the year] /// /// (33) I erected
columns of cedar, the roof and floor likewise. I
having let the Asiatics /// /// ///*

² Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

[18.01.02] Storm Stela of Ahmose

Date: 18th Dynasty, Ahmose

Provenance: Third Pylon

Location: unknown

Material: calcite

Dimensions: H. 180 cm

Sources: PM II², 73; Vandersleyen, “Une tempête sous le règne d’Amosis”, *RdE* 19 (1967), 123-159; Vandersleyen, “Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d’Ahmosis relatant une tempête”, *RdE* 20 (1968), 127-134; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*² (1983), 104-110 (no. 124); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 16 (no. 72); Foster, Ritner, and Foster, “Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption”, *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14; Wiener, and Allen, “Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose”, *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28; Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’, Thera and Comparative Chronology”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19; Biston-Moulin, “À propos de deux documents d’Ahmosis à Karnak. Karnak Varia (§ 1-2)”, *Karnak* 15 (2015), 39-49.

Description: The Storm Stela of Ahmose describing the devastation of a massive storm across Egypt.

Translation:

Transcription: Helck; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Redford, Ritner and Moeller, LP.

Line 1: Titulary of the king

Lines 4-5: The king travels south to Thebes to give offerings.

(6) /// [ist grt ntr] ʕ3 pn hr 3by.t ///w
hm=f /// ntr.w hr šn.t h[d]n.w=su

[ʕh^c.n rdi.n] ntr.w (7) iwi.t p.t m d^c n.y
h[wy.t kk].w m r3-^c imnt.t pt šn^c.ti n
wn.t [3b.w k3i.ty r h]rw rhyt

(8) wsr[.ti r] /// /// [kh3 h(w)y.t] hr
h3s.wt r hrw kr.t im.yt 3bw wn.in pr.w
nb iwy.t nb.t spr.t=su /// /// (9) ///
[h3.wt=su] hr mh.t hr mw mi smh.w
n.w mhy.t m r3y hr hnwti hn.ty r
hrw.w /// (10) /// /// n shd.n tk3 hr t3.wy

(6) /// [Now, indeed] this great g[od] desired ///
His Majesty /// the gods were vexed, they were
a[ngry]

[Then the] gods [caused] (7) that the sky come
down as a storm of [darkness], in the place of the
western heavens, the sky being in a storm without
[stopping, louder than the voices] of the people.

(8) More powerful [than] /// /// [the rain blew
strongly] upon the h3s.wt, from the voice of the
cavern which is in Elephantine. Then every house
and every sanctuary that they reached /// /// (9) ///
[Their corpses] were (floating) upon the flood
(and) in the water like skiffs of papyrus outside
the gate of the palace audience chamber for a
period of /// days, (10) /// /// while no torch was
shining on the Two Lands

Lines 11-18: After declaring that the flood is the gods’ judgement, the king goes into the temple and restores the offerings. He then proceeds to re-establish the temples and other monuments of the gods which had fallen into ruin.

[18.02.01] Gate of Amenhotep I(?) from Karnak

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep I¹
- Provenance:* Cachette
- Location:* Open Air Museum
- Material:* limestone
- Dimensions:* The five blocks are of varying size, the largest is 65 cm tall, the smallest 20 cm, with consistent width of the blocks is 57 cm.
- Sources:* Barguet, *Karnak*, 84-86; Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1951-1952”, *ASAE* 52 (1952), 241; Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 47; Redford, “A Gate Inscription from Karnak”, *JAOS* 99:2 (1979), 270-287; Le Saout, “Un magasin à onguents de Karnak”, *Karnak* 8 (1987), 325-38; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (1992), 149-150 (pl. 16); Baligh, *Tuthmosis I*, 275; Bryan, “The Egyptian Perspective on Mitanni”, *Amarna Diplomacy* (2002), 244 (no. 1); Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos* (2015), 109 (no. 1345).
- Description:* Five blocks can be joined to form the left-hand side of a gateway, and two blocks show the right jamb. It depicts figures who are personification of the Levant with offerings.

Translation:

Transcription: Redford;

Translation: Redford, *LP*.

Transliteration: *LP*.

Left Jamb (top to bottom).

(1) /// *it n(y) mw.t(=f?)* /// [*nht.*]*w=sn hpr.(w)t nb.(w)t hr=sn šm.t* /// *t3* /// (2) /// *r rs.y mh* /// *Ḳdm m nht m wsr m m3^c-hrw* /// (3) /// *t t3 pn* /// *dd mdw ini(=i) n=k (i)h.t nb(t) nfr(t) im.yt h3s.t tn dd mdw ini(=i) n=k (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt [t3]-ntr* /// *dd mdw ini(=i) n=k nwd nb*

(1) /// father of (his?) mother /// their [mighty men], everything which belonged to them. The going of /// to the land /// (2) /// to the south ... north /// Kedem, in might, in strength and in justification. /// (3) /// this land. /// Words spoken: “(I) bring to you all good things which are in this *h3s.t*.” Words spoken: “(I) bring to you every good thing which is in God’s [Land].” Words spoken: “(I) bring to you every ointment ///”

List of toponyms (top to bottom).

(1) [missing] (2) *Ḳdm* (3) *Tnp*

(1) [missing] (2) Kedem (3) Tunip

Right Jamb (top to bottom).

(1) /// *iri.t hpr* /// (2) /// *dd w3s 3w-ib=f mi R^c.w [d.t]* /// (3) /// *dd mdw ini(=i) n=k (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t im.yt Rtnw* ///

(1) /// who makes forms /// (2) /// stability and domination, that his heart may be joyful like Re [forever] /// (3) Words spoken: “(I) bring to you every good thing which is in Retenu ///”

Toponym:

(1) *D3iwny*

(1) Djwuny/Siun (locality in the Levant).

¹ The date of this monument is debated, with Le Saout arguing that a Middle Kingdom date is possible.

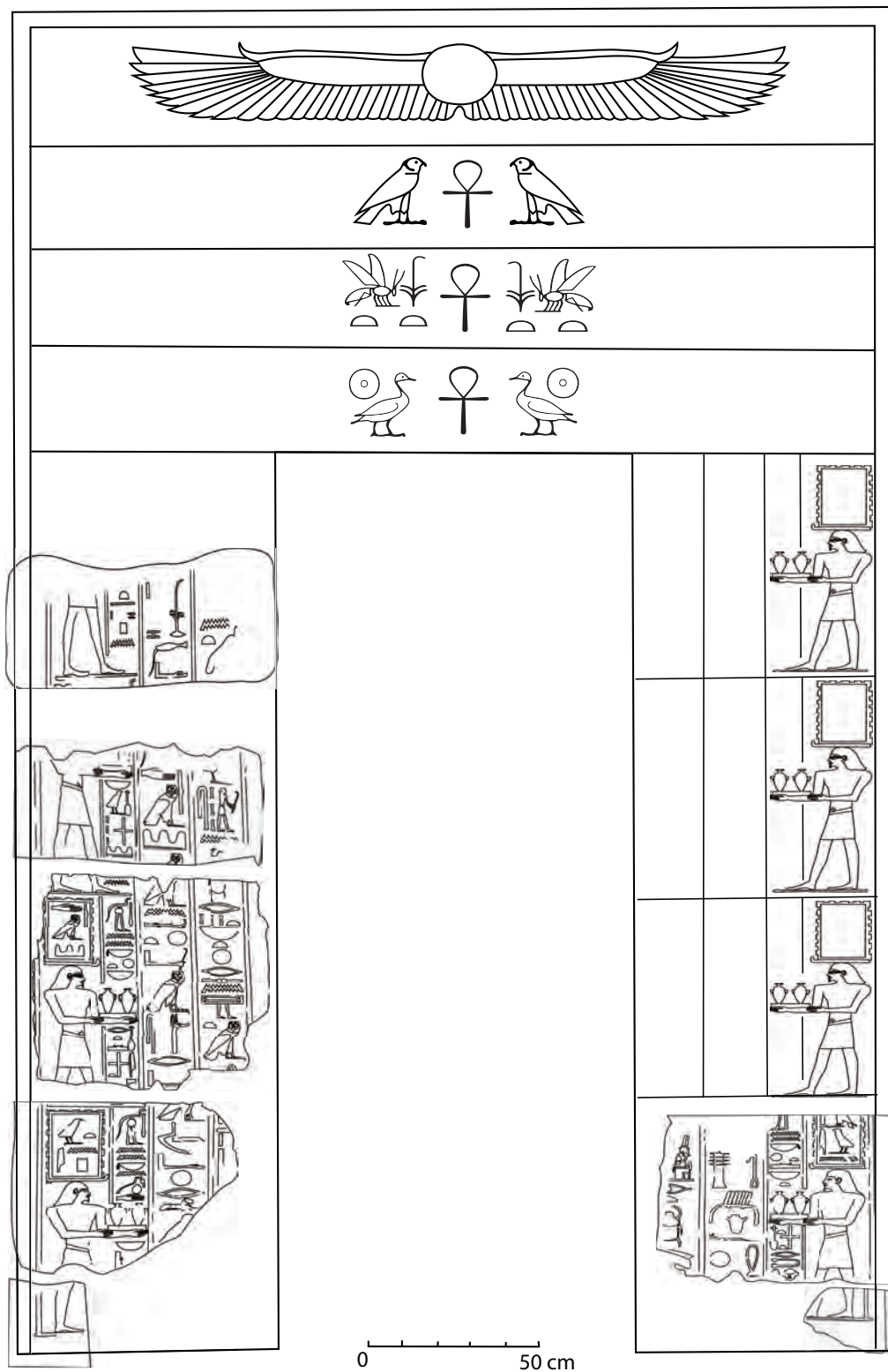


Figure 12 [18.02.01] A reconstruction of the gate with offering bearers. Drawing by Peirce after Le Saout (1987).

[18.02.02] Façade of the Calcite Kiosk of Amenhotep I

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep I
Provenance: Third Pylon
Location: Open Air Museum
Material: calcite (or travertine, Egyptian alabaster)
Dimensions: H. 45 m, W. 3.6 m, D. 6.75 m
Sources: PM II², 63; Barguet, *Temple*, 85 (no. 1); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 326-331; Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1922-1923)”, *ASAE* 23 (1923), pl. III (2); Pillet “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)”, *ASAE* 24 (1924), 56-57; Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1947-1948 [sic 1946-1947])”, *ASAE* 47 (1947), 161-183 (pl. 25.1); Schweitzer, “Archäologischer Bericht aus Ägypten”, *Orientalia NS* 17:4 (1948), 536, pl. XLIV (5); Schmitz, *Amenophis I* (1978), 84.
Description: This chapel was built to store the bark of Amun. It is in the shape of a naos with open ends, with copper doors from Asia used in the reign of Amenhotep I in order to close off the building. Three lines of hieroglyphs line the outer doorposts. As it was left incomplete by Amenhotep I, it was finished by Thutmose I.

Translation:

Transcription: Pillet (1924); *Translation:* Pillet (1924), LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Jamb Inscription (mirrored on both sides):

- (1) *Hr.w K3 w^cf(.w) t3.w nb.ty /// Hr.w-nbw /// rnp.wt nsw.t bi.ty nb t3.wy nb iri(.t) (i)h.t (Dsr-k3-R^c(.w))| iri.n=f mnw=f n it(=f)* (1) Horus, Bull who subdues the flat lands, the Two Ladies /// Horus of Gold /// years, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (Djeserkare)|, he made (it) his monument for (his) father
- (2) *Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy iri.t n=f sh-ntr mn(.w) mnw Imn.w m šs(.t) n.t Hw.t-Nbw ʕ3.w m hm.t Stt m st w^c.t (3) tit.w iri.w m d^cm n sp iri mi.tt m t3 pn dr p3(w).t sp-tp(=f) hb-sd iri=f di(.w) ʕnh d.t* (2) Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, the making for him a shrine, “Amun, enduring of monuments”, in alabaster of Hatnub, the doors in copper from Asia as one piece (i.e. a single-leaf door) (3) and the images worked in *djam*-gold. Never was the like made in this land since primeval times. (His) first time of the *heb-sed*, that he may be given life, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 13 [18.02.02] The placement of the inscriptions on either side of the chapel.

[18.02.03] Amenhotep I Smiting Enemies

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep I
- Provenance:* Proto-Sixth Pylon
- Location:* current location unknown, most likely Karnak block yards
- Material:* limestone(?)
- Dimensions:* The walls were 6.50 m high. Unknown dimensions of the scene.
- Sources:* Graindorge and Martinez, “Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments d’Amenophis I à Karnak”, *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169; Graindorge, “Les monuments d’Amenhotep Ier à Karnak”, *Egypte* 16 (2000), 31; Graindorge, “Der Tempel des Amun-Re von Karnak zu Beginn der 18. Dynastie”, 5. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999* (2002), 83-90; Blyth, *Karnak*, 34.
- Description:* There was a scene of the king massacring “Asian” (Levantine) enemies on the exterior wall of the new gateway added by Amenhotep I. The king is aligned with the doorway, with his back to the central axis and door of the temple, with an accompanying inscription.
- Translation:* No image or translation is available for this source.

[18.03.01] Southern Obelisk of Thutmose I

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose I

Provenance: before the west face of the Fourth Pylon of Thutmose I

Location: in situ

Material: red granite

Dimensions: H. 19.5 m

Sources: PM II², 75; LD III, 6; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 92-94 (38), A, D, C, B; Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 47-48 (38); Champollion, *Mon.*, pl. CCCXII, CCCXIII; Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 127-128; Baikie, *A History of Egypt* II, pl. vii; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8050, 8153; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (1977), 57-59, pl. 11-12; Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens* (1977), 133-137; Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks*, pl. xl (left); Gundlach, "Der Obelisk Thutmosis I. Textthematik und Funktion", *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (1979), 192-226; Gundlach, "Der Obelisk Thutmosis' I. in Karnak und seine Bedeutung für den Tempel des Amun-Re", *7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung* (2009), 133-149; Carlotti, "Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt", *Karnak* 11 (2003), 255-338.

Description: This red granite obelisk was originally one of a pair that were erected in what was to become the Festival Hall of Thutmose II. Measuring 19.5 meters high, the inscription reveals that the ruler made this pair as a monument for Amun. The central text belongs to Thutmose I, the later ones to Ramesses IV and VI. The northern obelisk fell sometime after the 18th century AD, and its fragments can still be found at Karnak today.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, LP;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP

East Side:

Titulary of the King

North Side:

Titulary of the King

West Side:

Titulary of the King

South Side:

Hr.w K3 nḥt n.y R^c.w nb.ty itj(.w) t3.w nb(.w) Hr.w-nbw ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt nsw.t bi.ty nb t3.wy (ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-R^c.w mri.n-R^c.w) | sdsr.n(=i) n=f nb ntr.w ḥb-sd ḥr išd s3 R^c.w (Dḥwty-msiw ḥ^ci-mi-R^c.w) | mri.y Imn.w-R^c.w k3-mw.t=f [di(.w) ʿnh d.t]

Horus, Mighty Bull of Re, the Two Ladies, who conquers all flat lands, Horus of Gold, who smites the Nine Bows, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, (Aakheperkare, beloved-of-Re), (I) sanctified for him, Lord of the Gods, the sed-festival of the Ished Tree, the Son of Re, (Thutmose I, appearing-like-Re), beloved of Amun-Re, Kamutef, [may he be given life, forever].

[18.03.02] Statue Base with the Nine-Bow Motif

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose I
Provenance: south of the Fifth Pylon, originally supporting a peripheral room lined with Osiride colossi (legs), and south of the chambers of Hatshepsut (feet).
Location: Chapel 5.o, south of the courtyard of the Fifth Pylon
Material: granite
Dimensions: H. 1.37 m, W. 0.75 m.
Sources: KIU 6089; Barguet, *Temple*, 115 (no. 4); Baligh, *Tuthmosis I* (1997), 366-367; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 536 (KIU 6089).
Description: The granite statue as it is known today is a misleading hybrid; the legs of the king with the cartouches of Thutmose I were found south of the Fifth Pylon, while the feet were found south of the Hatshepsut chambers.¹ The matching of these two pieces of statuary was tested by Sourouzian and Larché, who, unfortunately, never moved the statues back and have thus created an incorrect hybrid.² Accordingly, the date of the statue with the nine-bow motif is questionable.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 6089; *Transliteration:* *Translation:* LP.

KIU 6089, LP.

(1) *nṯr nfr* (ʕ3-ḥpr-k3-Rʕ.w)| *mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w* (1) The Good God, (Aakheperkare)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven, may he live forever. (2) The Son of Re (Thutmose I, appearing-like-Re)|, beloved of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, may he live forever.
nb p.t ʕnh(.w) d.t (2) *s3 Rʕ.w (Dḥwtj-msiw ḥʕi-mi-Rʕ.w)| mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w nsw nṯr.w ʕnh(.w) d.t*

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 14 [18.03.02] Statue south of the Fifth Pylon. SITH website (KIU 6089).

¹ Personal communication from Luc Gabolde.

² Personal communication from Luc Gabolde.

[18.04.01] Statue of Thutmose II with the Nine Bow Motif

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose II
Provenance: The “trône d’intrônisation d’Amon”
Location: Cairo JE 41205 (RT 28/4/39/1)
Material: limestone
Dimensions: H. 225 cm, W. 67 cm, D. 149 cm
Sources: Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique* (1908), 197 (no. 336); Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 172 (618); Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne. Tome III. Les grande époques: la statuaire*, 298-299; Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty* (1984), 59-60, pl. 37; Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II* (1987), 150-151, 242, 244; Gabolde, “Un fragment de stèle au nom d’Ahmès-Néfertary provenant de Karnak”, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 171 (no. 53); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 247, n. 731; 551, n. 1587; Jambon, “Les fouilles de Georges Legrain dans la achette de Karnak (1903-1907)”, *BIFAO* 109 (2009), 261 (no. 61), 266 (no. 131).
Description: This seated statue of Thutmose II wearing the *shendyt*-kilt has large sections of the upper body missing, including an arm and a large portion of the head. On the base, the nine-bow motif is faintly engraved beneath the feet of the king.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain, *Karnak Cachette*

Translation: LP.

Photographs; Transliteration: LP.

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy¹ (ʕ3-ḥpr-n-Rʕ.w)| mri.y*
Imn.w-Rʕ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy di(.w) ʕnh d.t (2)
/// /// /// (Dḥwtj-msi.w)| mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w
nb ns.wt t3.wy di(.w) ʕnh d.t

(1) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Aakheperenre)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, forever. (2) /// /// /// (Thutmose II)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 15 [18.04.01] Statue JE 41205. Karnak Cachette website.

¹ After this title, Legrain incorrectly adds “*nb iri(.t) ih.t*”.

[18.04.02] Colossal Statue of Thutmose II with the Nine Bow Motif

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose II
Provenance: South-West Face of the Eighth Pylon
Location: in situ
Material: quartzite
Dimensions: H. unknown; W. of socle: 2.64 m, and D. 4.47 m
Sources: PM II², 176-177 (O); LD III, 16 (b, c); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 606 (196c), 154 (63A-B); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 75; Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 38 (b, 1-4); Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 7593; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, 298-299; Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture* (1984), 60-61, pl. 37b; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 386-388.



Figure 16 [18.04.02] Colossal Statue of Thutmose II. Photo by Peirce (2016).

Description: Lower part of a statue of Thutmose II, with a restoration inscription of Thutmose III dating to Year 42. By the right leg, there are traces of a statuette of the princess Mutnefert. The nine-bow motif is evident beneath the feet.

Translation:

Transcription: Lindblad; *Transliteration:* LP.
Translation: Lindblad, LP.

Buckle:

(1) *ntr nfr* (ʕ3-*hpr-n-Rʕ.w*) | *di(.w)* ʕ*nh* (2) *///* (*Dḥwty-msiw-nfr-hʕ*) | *d.t*¹ (3) *mri.y*
Imn.w-Rʕ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy

(1) The Good God, (Aakheperenre)|, may he be given life. (2) *///* (Thutmose II, beautiful-of-diadem)|, forever. (3) Beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands.

Right Side:

[*ntr*] *nfr nb t3.wy ///* (ʕ3-*hpr-n-Rʕ.w*) |
iri.n=f m /// ///

The Good [God], Lord of the [Two] Land[s] *///*
(Aakheperenre)|, he made as */// ///*

Front of the Throne:

s3.t nsw.t mri.y nsw.t /// it (Mw.t-nfr.t)
m3ʕ.t hrw

The king's daughter, beloved of the king, *///*
father (Mutnefert)|, justified.

Left Side:

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb iri.t (i)h.t* (ʕ3-*hpr-n-Rʕ.w*) | *s3 Rʕ.w n.y h.t=f mri(.y)=f*
(*Dḥwty-msiw-nfr-hʕ.w*) | *iri.n=f m mn.w n*
it=f (2) *Imn.w-Rʕ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t*
hnty Ip.t-S.wt iri=f di(.w) ʕ*nh dd w3s mi*
Rʕ.w d.t

(1) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (Aakheperenre)|, the Son of Re of his body, his beloved, (Thutmose II, beautiful-of-diadems)| He made as his monument for his father (2) Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven, foremost of Karnak, so that he may give life, stability, and dominion, like Re, forever.

¹ A sign group appears to be missing here. Lindblad translates this as “given life eternally.” see Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture*, 60.

[18.05.01] Vertical Frames of Hatshepsut

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut to Thutmose III
- Provenance:* Unknown, probably Cachette Court. Originally these frames were from the monument of Thutmose II known as the “Monument of Niches”.
- Location:* Open Air Museum, Blocks MPA 344, 370, 396
- Material:* limestone
- Dimensions:* unknown
- Sources:* Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak* (2005), 136, pl. XLI b - XLI* b; Laboury, “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (2014), 69 (fig. 5.15).
- Description:* Two block fragments which are the remains of vertical niches from a monument of Thutmose II. It contains the cartouche of Thutmose II and a reference to Fenkhon, a people of the northern Levant. No excavation report is known for this document, but they were found in the store of Sheikh Labib.
- Translation:*
- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Transcription: Gabolde; Transliteration:</i> | <i>Translation: Gabolde, LP.</i> |
| <i>Gabolde, LP.</i> | |
| (1) /// ([ʕ3]-hpr-n-[Rʕ.w]) s3 Rʕ.w /// | (1) /// ([Aa]kheperen[re]) , Son of Re /// |
| (2) /// t3.w Fnḥw nb.w ḥ /// | (2) /// all the flat lands of the Fenkhon /// |

[18.05.02] Two Blocks of Hatshepsut Mentioning Nubia

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: Third Pylon or Cachette¹
Location: Open Air Museum, Blocks MPA 404 and 405 LG
Material: limestone
Dimensions: H. 117cm, W. 115cm
Sources: PM II², 74; Habachi, “Two Graffiti at Sehēl from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut”, *JNES* 16:2 (1957), 101-2 (fig. 7); Gabolde, *Le règne de Thoutmosis II* (1987), 45; Gabolde and Rondot, “Une chapelle d’Hatchepsout remployée à Karnak-Nord”, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 196-197, 210-214 (fig. 17); Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak* (2005), 142-143, pl. XLIV-XLIV*; Laboury, “How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?”, *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (2014), 56 (fig. 5.6).
Description: Two fragmentary blocks contain some five columns of text. It refers to the Land of Nubia. A *was*-sceptre on the bottom block suggests that originally there would have been an image of Hatshepsut before Amun below this inscription.

Translation:

Transcription: Habachi, Gabolde *Translation:* Gabolde (2005), LP.
(2005); Transliteration: LP.

/// (x+1) /// <i>nd.tyt n.t K3-mw.t=f</i>	/// (x+1) /// the protectress of Kamutef,
<i>pri.t 3h.t pri.t</i>	the beneficial seed which comes forth
(x+2) /// <i>nhh</i>	(x+2) /// eternity,
<i>iri.t hp.w</i>	the one who makes the laws,
<i>mnh.t shr.w r ntr</i>	the one whose plans are excellent for the god,
<i>pri.t m ntr</i>	the seed of the god,
<i>wḏi.t mdw hpr ///</i>	the one who decrees which come into being ///
(x+3) /// <i>snd</i>	(x+3) /// fear.
<i>T3-Nhsy m w3h-tp</i>	The land of the Nubians inclines (its) head,
<i>h3t.t² mnh.t n.t Šm^c</i>	the excellent prow-rope of the South,
<i>phw.t³ mn[h.t] ///</i>	the excel[lent] stern-rope of ///
(x+4) /// (<i>M3^c.t-K3-R^c.w</i>) <i>ḏd=s ink s3</i>	(x+4) /// (Maatkare) , she says: “I am the son ^(sic) of
<i>Imn.w pri.t hn.t=f iri.t n=f mnw ///</i>	Amun, who comes forth before him, who made
<i>ḳd(.t) ///</i> (x+5) /// <i>k3r 5 s.t ḏsr.t ///</i> ///	monuments for him, who built /// (x+5) /// five shrines
	and holy places /// /// ///

¹ Gabolde doubts the Third Pylon provenance due to a photo of Legrain’s that shows fragment MPA 404 amongst the blocks stored at Sheikh-Labib. See Gabolde (2005), 142.

² The rope determinative (V1) indicates it is the prow-rope that is identified here, not the prow, as is translated in Habachi. See Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 541.

³ The rope determinative (V1) indicates it is the stern-rope that is identified here, not the stern, as is translated in Habachi. See Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 307.

[18.05.03] Scene with Kneeling Foreigners

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut.

Provenance: North Court, East Wall

Location: in situ

Material: limestone (?)

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 92 (265); Barguet, *Temple*, 121-122 (no. 2); Müller, *Egyptological Researches II* (1910), 152-153 (fig. 59); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8016, 8828-8829; Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (2009), 47, pl. 1(B).

Description: At the right end of a scene, there are three small registers with kneeling foreigners. More than likely this scene was originally a presentation of foreign princes before the king, Hatshepsut. The top foreigner appears to be Tjehenu ("Libyan"), the middle a Nubian, the lowest a northern Levantine. The stone clearly shows these images were cut into and replaced with the text and scene of Hatshepsut.

Translation:

Transcription: Müller; *Transliteration:* LP.

(1) /// n=k [s]nb nb hr=i (2) /// 'nh dd w3s nb
mi R'.w d.t (3) /// s3.t R'.w nb.t p.t nb.t [t3] ///
(4) /// hr(.y)t-ib {gs-pr.t} <r3-pr.w> Imn(.w)
///

Translation: LP.

(1) /// to you (and) all hea[lth] belonging to
me (2) /// all life, stability and dominion like
R, forever /// (3) /// the daughter of Re,
Lord^(fem.) of Heaven and Lord^(fem.) of the [Flat
Land] (4) the one who is in the midst of the
{administration buildings} <temple> of
Amun.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 17 [18.05.03] Scene of foreigners. Müller (1910), 152 (fig. 59).

[18.05.04] Statue Base with the Nine-Bow Motif

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: North Court

Location: unknown

Material: yellow quartzite from Gebel Ahmar

Dimensions: H. 50cm, L. 100cm, W. 45cm

Sources: PM II², 94; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 377-378 (113); Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 33 (13); Barguet, *Temple*, 123 (note 2), 125 (note 4); Tefnin, *La statuaire d’Hatshepsout* (1979), vii (no. 2).

Description: Statue base with the nine-bow motif. The remains of two lines of text on the front are missing. No image available for this source.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP.

LP.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) 𓆎𓅓(.ti) ntr.t nfr(.t) nb.t t3.wy ḥk3 Šmꜥ
/// /// ///</p> <p>(2) ḥ3s.t n tw.t ([M3ꜥ.t-k3]-Rꜥ.w) /// /// ///</p> | <p>(1) May this Good God^(fem.) live, Lord^(fem.) of the
Two Lands, Ruler of Upper Egypt /// /// ///</p> <p>(2) ḥ3s.t for/of/to the statue of [(Maatka)re] /// ///
///</p> |
|--|---|

[18.05.05] Thutmose I before Theban Triad Thanking Amun

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: Eighth Pylon, North Face, East Wing
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 174 (517); LD III, pl. 18; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 265-74 (87); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 122-126 (87); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 188-189; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5277, 8441, 8794; Martinez, “Le VIII^e Pylône et l’axe royal du domaine d’Amon”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 65-66.
Description: The register depicts Thutmose I before the Theban Triad thanking Amun for Hatshepsut’s accession to the throne. Between the gods and the king are some 19 columns of text.

Translation:

Transcription: Lepsius, Sethe; *Translation:* Sethe, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Lines 1-8: Titulary and Praises to Thutmose I.

(9) <i>tm3-^c.w</i>	(9) the one who is strong of arm
<i>šni(.w) ḥ3^cy.t</i>	the one who dispels strife,
<i>tp.w ḥ3s.wt bšt.wt</i>	the one who cuts off the heads of the rebellious
	<i>ḥ3s.wt</i> ,
<i>sip(.w) n sdb k3i.n=sn</i>	the one who destined to oppose what they had
	planned,
<i>pri(.w) m 3ḥ-bit¹</i>	who goes forth from Chemmis,
<i>wts=f nb.ty</i>	he wearing the Two Ladies,
<i>nsw.t w^ci im.y Dp P</i>	sole king in Dep and Pe,
<i>tp.t R^c.w mn.ti² m [ḥ3.t=f]</i>	the “Uraeus of Re” which endures at [his
	forehead],
<i>[hnm.n] (10) ḥm=f s^cry.t m nhb.t=f</i>	His Majesty (10) [having united] the Uraeus with
	his titulary,
<i>sm3.n=f s3.ty msi(.w)</i>	he having united the two daughters of the one who
	bore (him),
<i>wdi(.w) nrw[=f] m T3-Sty</i>	the one who places the fear of [him] into Nubia,
<i>phr(.w) [r=f] ḥry.t=f m nb.w(t)³</i>	whose fear [of him] travels among the islands,
<i>w[di snd]=f m phw.w t3 ḥ3s.t</i>	the one who [places fear of] him to the ends of the
	flat land and the <i>ḥ3s.t</i> ,
<i>spr(.w) r=f [nh.t.w=f r] (11) wp.t t3⁴</i>	the one who reached [his victory] for him [at] (11)
	the “Horns of the Earth”,
<i>nsw.t bi.ty (ḥ3-hpr-k3-R^c.w) </i>	the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
	(Aakheperkare)

¹ Known as the birthplace of Horus, and as such, the birthplace of kingship. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 203.

² Third person feminine Old Perfective used in reference to the Uraeus. Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*³, §81.

³ This appears to be a reference to the isles or island regions to the north. Like the term Fenkhau, it is a toponym used to encapsulate a type of geographical area, with the added effect of encompassing a wide region. *Wb* II, 227.

⁴ This phrase has the meaning of the extreme southern or northern territory and is thus related to articulating the borders. See *Wb* I, 298.3.

Lines 11-14: Praises to the Ennead by the king.

- (14) (...) *h̄tp.kwi m n̄ht.w rd̄i.n=k* (14) (...) I am at peace with the victories that you
n(=i) have given to (me),
h̄3s.wt nb.(w)t b̄št.wt hr̄ tb.ty=i all rebellious *h̄3s.wt* are under my sandals,
nwh̄.n tp.t=k hr̄ m̄3^c.w=sn your uraeus having bound under their gifts,
swsr.n=k šf̄šf.t[=i m h̄.wt=sn] you having strengthened respect [of me in their
bodies].
hmhm.w[=i h̄t] t̄3.w=sn [My] battle cry [is throughout] their flat lands,
(15) *sd̄3=s h̄^c.w=sn* (15) it causing their bodies to tremble.
iti.tn[=i] s.t m n̄ht h̄ft wd=k That which [I] seized in victory is in accordance
with your command.
iri.(w) grt m <n>d̄.t(=sn)⁵ [h̄ft tp.t]- Further, (they) were made as servants [in
r(3)=k accordance with the saying of] your mouth.
wr.w h̄3s.wt nb.(w)t m w̄3h-tp the chiefs of all the *h̄3s.wt* bowed their heads,
h̄tr [b̄3k.w=sn r h̄w.t-ntr=k] /// /// /// mi the levy [of their work produce is in your temple]
kd=f /// /// in every respect.

Lines 16-19: Thutmose I finishes carrying about the teachings of the Ennead

- (18) */// /// /// [wh̄]m=k n=i rd̄[.t nd̄nw]* (18) */// /// ///* you [repeat]ed to me an [ora]cle upon
r̄3 hr̄ s̄3.t=i my daughter,
wsr.t k̄3.w nsw.t bi.ty powerful in *kas*, the King of Upper and Lower
Egypt,
mr.tn=k h̄nm.t im=k [ntr.w] mr.yt whom you desired (to) unite with you, beloved of
the [gods],
sw̄3d=k t̄3 pn m [h̄f]^c=s sh̄tp sy m ns.yt you made this land prosperous in her [fist], causing
[^c3.t] /// /// /// to satisfy her with a [great] kingship. */// /// ///*

Lines 19: A continuation of the oracle in which Hatshepsut will be king.

⁵ It is likely *nd̄.t* is meant here and not *d̄.t*; the latter has the connotation of a servant of the dead (see *Wb* V, 510; Hannig, *Große Handwörterbuch*, 1066), whilst the former is still a servant but, in the words of Hannig: “Personen von fremden Völkern, gehören zu den königlichen oder Tempelgütern”. Hannig, *Große Handwörterbuch*, 472; *Wb* II, 369.

[18.05.06] Scene of Thutmose II with the Theban Triad

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: Eighth Pylon, North Face, East Wing
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 174 (517); LD III, pl. 14; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 281-4 (89 G-I); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 127-130; Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 188-189; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5277, 8441, 8794; Martinez, “Le VIII^e Pylône et l’axe royal du domaine d’Amon”, *DossArch* 187 (1993), 65-66.
Description: Scene of Thutmose II with Theban triad and bark of Amun, containing textual references to various foreign lands.

Translation:

Transcription: LD, *Urk.* IV;

Translation: *Urk.* IV, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

G. Text over the Bark of Amun.

Lines 1-11: Words spoken by Amun and praises by the Ennead to Hatshepsut.

(11) [*hḳ3 Dšr.t*

ity idb.w] *H3.w-nb.w*

tp.t

(12) */// /// /// [ʕ3]m.w*

(13) */// /// /// pʕ.t*

(14) */// /// /// [b3.w=t] šhm*

šʕ.wt=t m /// /// ///

(15) */// /// /// hr s.t Hr.w*

rnp.wt=t ʕhʕ.w Rʕ.w m p.t

(16) */// /// /// [sšm=t t3.w] b3k.t h3s.t*

psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=t mi Rʕ.w d.t

(11) [Ruler of the Red Land,

sovereign of the islands] of the Hanebu,

chief

(12) */// /// /// [Asi]atics*

(13) */// /// /// mankind*

(14) */// /// /// [your^(fem.)] mighty [powers]*

fear of you is in */// /// ///*

(15) */// /// /// upon the throne of Horus.*

Your^(fem.) years are the lifetime of Re in heaven.

(16) */// /// /// [you^(fem.)] leading the flat lands] and*

the work produce of the *h3s.t*,

(and) the Nine Bows are bound under your sandals^(fem.), like Re, forever.

H. Text over the Bark of Amun.

Lines 1-7: Words spoken by Amun to Hatshepsut, from praising the monuments made to giving the throne to Hatshepsut.

I. Inscription within the scene of the bark

(after LD III, pl. 14).

Lines 1-5: Words spoken by Amun to Hatshepsut, including references to jubilees and the coronation of Hatshepsut.

(6) [*iri=s*] *nsw.t bi.ty m t3 pn*

hʕi=t (7) [*hr*] *ns.t=i n.t nhh*

m nb n.y (8) *šn.tn itn*

Km.t Dsr.t (9) *hr s.t-hr[=s]*

(6) [She was made] King of Upper and Lower Egypt in this land,

when you have appeared (7) upon my throne of eternity,

as lord of (8) that which is enclosed (by) the sun,

the Black Land and the Red Land (9) are under [her] supervision.

psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty[=s]

The Nine Bows are bound together under [her]
sandals.

Lines 10-11: Amun giving the king various roles associated with kingship.

(12) [*dī.n(=i) n=t*] /// ///

(12) [(I) gave to you] /// ///

[*m*] *ity idb.w H3.w-nbw*

[as] the sovereign of the islands of the Hanebu.

Lines 13-17: Amun giving the king various roles associated with kingship.

[18.05.07] Standing Obelisk of Hatshepsut

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: Colonnade of Thutmose I
Location: in situ
Material: red granite
Dimensions: H. 28.52 m
Sources: KIU 1730; PM II², 81-82; LD III, 22-24; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 356-359 (108); Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 25-29; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 60-72, pls. 13-16; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 115-116; Singer, "The Obelisks of Hatshepsut: Legitimacy and Propaganda", *GM* 207 (2005), 37-47; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 432 (KIU 1730).
Description: This standing obelisk has inscriptions on the shaft, while on the base of the obelisk is an inscription that runs across thirty-two lines.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe;

Translation: Lichtheim, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Shaft Inscriptions: West Side, South, East and North Sides:

Titulary and creation of obelisks.

Base Inscriptions

South Side

Lines 1-5: Titulary and birth of Hatshepsut.

(6) *iri.n=s m mn.w=s n it=s Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy hnty Ip.t-Sw.t*

(6) which she made as her monument for her father, Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak,

iri.t n=f thn.wy wr.wy m3t rwd n.t ʕ.w-rs.y gs=s n hr(.y) m dʕm (7) n.y tp.(y)w h3s.wt nb.(w)t

making for him two great obelisks of hard granite from the southern region, their upper side of *djam*-gold (7) of the best of all *h3s.wt*,

m33=tw m hn.ty itrw bʕh{.n} stwt=s n t3.wy wbn Itn im.ywt n.y 2 mi hʕʕ=f m 3h.t n.t p.t (...)

which one sees on the two sides of the river, their rays flooding the Two Lands when the sun-disc rises between as the two, as he rises in the horizon of heaven (...)

Line 8: Justification of Hatshepsut's creation and right to rule.

West Side

Line 9-16: Detailing the deeds of Hatshepsut as ruler.

North Side

Lines 17-24: Creation of obelisks.

East Side

Lines 25-29: Creation of obelisks.

(29) (...) *di.n=f hʕk3=i (30) Km.t Dšr.t m isw ir.y*

(29) (...) he having caused that I might rule (30) the Black Land and the Red Land as the reward thereof.

nn rʕw=i m t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t m <n>dʕt=i iri.n=f t3š=i (31) r dr.w hr.t

No one is my opponent in all the flat lands, (and) all *h3s.wt* are my serfs, he having placed my border (31) at the limits to the roads to heaven.

Line 31-32: Dominion of king, reiteration of Hatshepsut's divine birth.

[18.05.08] Fallen Obelisk of Hatshepsut

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: Colonnade of Thutmose I
Location: The largest of the remains of the fallen obelisk are currently next to the Sacred Lake. Various other fragments: Liverpool City Museum M. 13513; Sydney University Nicholson Museum R. 44; Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum '13-199 t.; Boston Museum 75.12 and 13.
Material: red granite
Dimensions: originally 29.5m high; the current dimensions of the obelisk are unknown
Sources: PM II², 82-83; LD III, pl. 24 (b, c, a), *Text*, III, 22-3 (a); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 369-373 (109); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 34-36 (109); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 136; Legrain, "Notes prises à Karnak. V-VIII", *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 195-6; Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture* III, pl. 29; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 66; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 118-119.
Description: The fallen obelisk of Hatshepsut is in a number of fragments, the largest of which contains the upper end of the shaft with the intact pyramidion. The inscription is different from its northern counterpart, describing tribute from various foreign lands, including Punt.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* *Translation:* Burkhardt et al.; LP.
LP.

Base Inscription:

North Side:

Lines 1-2: Titulary of the king.

- (3) *dd=sn n=s hpr.t s.y n sr.t* /// *=s nb.t in.w m t3.w nb.w Pwn.t tw[t.ti]* /// /// (3) They said it came into being for her, without foretelling /// her mistress, gifts from all flat lands, Punt, [her] likeness /// ///
- (4) *wn.n st R^c.w n ib=s gmi.t(i) h3s.t) nb(.wt) špt.w ib(.w) mw.yt iwi(.w) m ks.w* /// /// *šnw.tn* (5) *itn hr šhr.w=s* (4) Re having opened it, because her heart found all *h3s.t* discontented, heart(s) dying, who come in bowing /// /// what (5) the sun encircles is under her counsel,
- h3b.t wd(.w) r t3 iw hm iri=sn wd.t n=s nb.t h3s.t* /// /// the commands being sent to the flat land (and) all was done to it as she had ordered. *h3s.t* /// ///
- (6) *hwi(=i) r T3-mri rnpw.t sp* /// *[nb-r-]dr hr s.t hr (M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w) | nht.ti d.t t3 nb* /// /// (6) beat Egypt, year /// [Lord to the] Limit, upon the throne, (Maatkare)|, may she live forever, every flat-land /// ///
- (7) *[pr.ww]-^c3.w šps.t wndw.t* /// *iwi.n (n)=s wr.w n.w h3s.wt hr dbh htp.w [hr hm.t=s]* /// /// (7) The splendid palaces, the associates /// the chiefs of *h3s.wt* come and ask for peace [from her Majesty] /// ///
- (8) *m hf^c=s iti.n=s t3 nb m hps=s [phr hr]y.t=s m t3.w nb.w m wd.n=s it=s [Imn.w]* /// /// (8) in her fist, she seized every flat land with her strength, [whose terr]or [goes around] in all flatlands, as her father, [Amun], commanded her /// ///

Fragments from the West and South Side:

Too fragmentary to discern any complete sentences.

East Side

(25) [ink s3=f] mnḥ mri.y ḥm=f

rdi.n=f nsy=i Km.t Dšr.t

ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) dmd ḥr.w tb.ty=i

t3š=i rs.y idb.w n.w Pwn.t

(26) mh.ty r Kbhḥw-Ḥr.w [t3]š(=i) i3b.ty r
ḥnm.wt Stt mnt.yw n.w Stt m 3mm.t=i

t3š(=i) imn.ty r m3nw ḥk3 n(.y) (27)
[Tḥnw] m [ksi]

b3.w=i m ḥr.yw-šcy dmd.y(w) in.ntw n=i
ntyw n.w Pwn.t mi ḥni ššr

(28) /// /// /// w bi3w.w nb(.w) šps.w n.w
ḥ3s.t tn ḥrp.w r ḥ=i m (i)ḥ.t wᶜ.t ḥrp.n
St.tyw

(29) ḥtyw mfk3.t¹ ḥr ḥ3s.t r š3w.t inī.n=s
n=i stp.w n.w Sšm² m ᶜš wᶜn mrw³

(30) ssndm /// nb(.w) nfr(.w) n.w T3-ntr
iw inī.n=i in.w n.w Tḥnw m 3b.w ibḥ 700
wn im

(31) /// /// /// [dḥr.w]ᶜš3.w n(.w) 3b n(.y)
mḥ 6 ḥr psd mḥ 4 m šn.w=f n(.y) 3b šmᶜ
/// in.w nb(.w) n.w ḥ3s.t tn

(32) /// /// /// ᶜnh.ti dd.ti w3s.ti snb.ti 3w.t-
ib=s ḥnᶜ k3=s ḥk3=s t3.wy m 3w.t-ib.t ḥr
s.t Ḥr.w n.t ᶜnh.w mi Rᶜ.w d.t

(25) [I am his] excellent [son^(masc.)], beloved of
His Majesty,

he having caused that I rule the Black Land and
the Red Land,

and all ḥ3s.wt as king, united under (my) sandals.

My southern border is the shores of Punt,

(26) the northern at Qebhou-Horus, (my) eastern
[bor]der is at the marshes of Asia, the nomads of
Asia being in my grasp,

(my) western border is at the western mountains,
the ruler of the (27) [Tjehenu] is [bowing].

my authority is with the sand-dwellers altogether.
That myrrh of Punt was brought to me is like
transporting sacks of grain,

(28) /// /// /// all the august wonders of that ḥ3s.t
they being brought to my palace altogether (as
one thing), was when the Asiatics controlled

(29) the terraces of turquoise in the ḥ3s.t of/for the
minerals, and when they brought to me choice
things of Seshem, namely cedar and meru-wood,

(30) costly wood /// all good /// of the God's Land.
The produce of Tjehenu was brought to me,
namely, ivory and 700 tusks therein.⁴

(31) /// /// /// numerous [skins] of the panther of 6
cubits in length (lit.: on the back), 4 cubits
circumference of the southern panther, all
produce of this ḥ3s.t

(32) /// /// /// may she live, endure, have dominion,
and health, may her heart be happy together with
her ka, that she may rule the Two Lands in
happiness, upon the "Horus-throne-of-the-
living", like Re, forever.

¹ Curiously, Burkhardt et al. translate this as "malachite". Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 35.

² The hinterland of the seventh Egyptian nome, near the old Mariut Lake. However, Burkhardt et al. have translated this as "Lebanon". *Wb* IV, 291.22; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1186; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 35.

³ This kind of wood is identified with cedar of Lebanon. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 368.

⁴ This tribute associated with the Tjehenu is strange. Ivory could be acquired from the Asian elephant, located around the Orontes Valley (Levant), or the African elephant (Forest and Bush), who were located to the south of Egypt. Is it possible that this is not elephant ivory, but hippopotamus ivory as hippopotami were common in the Nile Valley, and theoretically closer to modern-Libya? The other alternative is that the offerings have become disassociated with the west accidentally. Olga Krzyszkowska and Robert Morkot, "Ivory and Related Materials", *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (2009), 322-323.

[18.05.09] Oracle Text of Hatshepsut

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: The blocks were found scattered across Karnak, mostly in the vicinity of the Third Pylon. It has been reconstructed as originally belonging on the façade of the south and north walls of the chapel.

Location: Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 92-153; Murnane, "Unpublished Fragments of Hatshepsut's Historical Inscription from her Sanctuary at Karnak", *Serapis* 6 (1980), 91-102; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 30-42; Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 226-233; Gillen, "The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge", *BACE* 16 (2005), 15-28.

Description: This historical inscription of Hatshepsut has an almost identical copy at her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. It discusses Hatshepsut's appointment as king by Amun and is generally accepted as a propagandistic text solidifying and justifying Hatshepsut's right to rule. The blocks of particular interest that refer to the *h3s.wt* and the Nine Bows are 166, 44, 194, and 287.

Translation: This translation follows Gillen's and Warburton's recent ordering of the blocks and Lacau's reconstruction of the damaged areas, which follows the inscription at Deir el-Bahari, as well as the recent publication by Burgos and Larché for improved understanding of the inscriptions on the blocks.

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* Gillen, Warburton, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Southern Façade

*Section 1: Processions of Amun at Karnak*¹

Blocks 222, 35, 184 and 295:

Lines 1-29: Performing a great wonder at Karnak.

Block 166

(...) (1) *dd(.w) [r] hfty.w=f*

(...) [you are...] (1) one (Thutmose I) who speaks [against] his enemies.

dm.t=f m hm.t sdt t3² (2) hh hpr(.w)

šsp=f snws t3.w špt.w-ib (3) ///³ sw⁴

His knife is the servant of the (2) hot flame and [its] heat having developed, it begins to cook/boil/fry the flat lands of the disaffected (3) ///,

h3s.wt mi iri(.w) w3w3.t

the *h3s.wt* are like one who creates fire.

rwd.ty=fy m m33 n.y (4) ///

He who will endure is the one whom (4) /// has seen.

¹ Organised after Gillen and Lacau.

² Though damaged, this would appear to be an abbreviated form of "flame" (*sdt*) followed by "hot" (*t3*), without the brazier determinative (Q7). "Hot" suits the context rather than "kiln".

³ Warburton has reconstructed this as "fear"; however, the remains of the hieroglyph appear to be that of a sparrow (G 37). Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 226.

⁴ Gillen has translated this as "king" though the *sw* plant is depicted with the quail chick and there is no loaf of bread which is traditionally seen with the term *nsw.t*; it is more likely to be the third person male dependent pronoun *sw*. Gillen, "The Historical Inscription", *BACE* 16 (2005), 18.

The one who is mighty in power to the height of heaven, his victories will come to me.

(5) That (I) [place] you^(fem.) upon my thrones,
That I seize for you^(fem.) the crook and flail,
That (I) build you^(fem.) up, (6) whom (I) desired to
make,

is that you^(fem.) may make an offering before the
one who created you,

that you^(fem.) may cause to strengthen the shrines
of (7) the gods to grow,

that you^(fem.) may protect this land and its affairs,
that (8) your^(fem.) terror may seize the one who has
acted criminally

and those who plan (9) rebellion in your times,
that you^(fem.) may seize victory as lord of might.

Then (10) this land will be in your^(fem.) grasp,
and the sun-folk of Heliopolis under your^(fem.)
supervision (...)

Blocks 22-142

Lines 11-25: Predicting rule of Hatshepsut.

[Four blocks missing]

Section 3: Proclamation of the Uraeus-Goddess

Block 44

(...) (1) whom you [Amun] desired. I having been entrusted to your^(fem.) offspring,

(namely) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
(Maatkare)|

(2) who is in festival^(fem.), she being united with the one who begat her

you (Amun) making her rank

you creating fear of her in (3) your name of “the creator of eternity”.

(I) will appear upon her head, I being great at (her) forehead. (4) I will unite with her just as I

adorn my father (Amun). My rejoicing in her is great as (5) “the one who is on her brow” (her uraeus),

as (I) overthrow for her the Nubian nomads,

(I) coiling at the middle of her brow ///

(6) the Bedouins and Asiatics,

I swaying about,⁵ having appeared at her brow

Warburton translates this as “when I rush” (p. 228), whilst Gillen translates it as “I swaying about” (p. 19). The latter appears to be more appropriate considering the swaying movements of cobras in particular. Notably, in cobras, this head movement leads to a greater distribution of their venom and suggests the uraeus is about to attack. G. Westhoff, K. Tzschätzsch, and H. Bleckmann, “The spitting behavior of two species of spitting cobras”, *J. Comp. Physiol. A* 191:10 (2005), 873-881.

[*dr*] (7) = *i n=s šnn.t Km-wr twt iri.y* I [will subdue] (7) for her completely what the
 [*n=s*] /// .*tn=i* Kem-wer surrounds. I will make [for her] /// what
 I have ///
 [*mri.tn=i*] (8) *mri.tn it=s Imn.w* [and that which I desired and that which] (8) her
 father Amun desired.
di=i šfšf.t[=s hr] (9) *t3.w nb.w* I placing respect [of her] (9) (in) all the flat lands
hry.t=s ht h3s.wt nb.(w)t and her terror is throughout all the *h3s.wt*,
di=i⁶ b3.w=s s[mn] /// I placing her authority ///

Block 143

Lines 10-17: Praises to the goddess.

[Three blocks missing]

Section Four: Speech of a Deity

Blocks 48 and 164

Lines 1-15: Praises of Hatshepsut as king followed by titulary.

[Five blocks missing]

Section 5: Amun's Speech

Blocks 285 and 24

Lines 1-18: Creation of monuments at Karnak.

Northern Façade

Section 6: The Queens Speech⁷

Block 146

Lines 1-14: Deeds of Hatshepsut as an effective king.

Block 194

[...losses...] (1) *Hr.w m-tp šhr iti.n(=i)* [...losses...] (1) Horus atop the *serekh*. (I) seized
iw^c=f hr ns.t=f his heritage upon his throne.
 [*hs.*] (2) *n=f ir.tn(=i) dr-^c(.wy) ip n.y d.t* He (2) [praised] what I have done, long ago, the
m nsw.t mnḥ counting of eternity as a splendid king.
iti.n(=i) (3) rdi.tn=f m-hr=i (I) having seized (3) that which he has given to
 me,
t3.w nb(.w) ^crf.w m hf^c=i all the flat lands which are enclosed in my grasp,
 (4) *psd.t pd.wt nn nhw ir.w* the Nine Bows are without loss thereof,
b3.w(=i) spr dr t3.wy (my) powers reach to the limit of the all the Two
 Lands.
iti.n(=i) (5) ph.ty šd-hrw (I) have seized (5) the power of the disturbance,
šhm.w=i sš ht in.wt s /// n ib.wt (6) nds.t my authority spread throughout the valleys /// the
 hearts (6) of the small.
wd.n(=i) shr.yt m k3b sp3.t (I) commanded contentment in the midst of the
 nomes.
niw.wt nb.(w)t m (7) htp.w mdd.n(=i) All cities are in (7) peace. I have obeyed the plans
shr.w ms.wt (...) of the one who gave birth (to) me. (...)

Blocks 147, 37, and 54

Lines 8-30: Continuation of deeds of the king and right to rule.

⁶ Causative construction. The focus is placed on the action (*di*), with the actor (Wadjet) secondary. Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories*, 88.

⁷ This block has been reordered by Burgos and Larché as belonging at the *beginning* of the oracle text found on the North Façade, which differs from Lacau and Chevrier's original order (placing it last) and Gillen's later translation (see Lacau and Chevrier, 149-153; Gillen, *BACE* 16 (2005), 21-24). This new order has been accepted by Warburton (Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion*, 230).

Block 21

Lines 1-7: Praises of the king.

Block 287

[...losses...] (1) *ʕ3.t wr.t m-b3h-ʕ.w ntr*
nfr pn sr(.w) n=i ns.yt t3.wy

(2) *Šmʕ Mḥw hr snd.w=i*

hr di.t n=i h3s.wt nb.(w)t
hr šd.t (3) nht.w ḥm.t=i (...)

[...losses...] (1) very greatly in the presence of
 this Good God, who foretold to me the kingship of
 the Two Lands,

(2) Upper and Lower Egypt being under fear of
 me,

on account of the giving to me (of) all *h3s.wt*
 and illuminating (3) the victories of my
 Majesty^(fem.) (...)

Lines 3-7: Performing a wonder at Luxor Temple in Year 2.

Blocks 161, 119, 63, 109, and 72:

Lines 8-47: Continuation of performing of wonders, praises to Hatshepsut, and offerings to
 Amun.

[18.05.10] Hatshepsut Offering Bread to Amun (Block 14 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1923

Location: Block 14, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1290; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 219 (§337), pl. 10; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 70; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408 (KIU 1290).

Description: A small square block with sunk relief. On the left is Hatshepsut offering conical loaves of bread to Amun-Re. Above are damaged titles and the name of Hatshepsut, and on the right of Amun is a brief inscription referring to *h3s.wt*. The left half of this block is severely damaged.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above Hatshepsut:

(1) */// ///* (2) [(*H3.t-šps.wt-hnmt-Imn.w*)] (3) *di(.w) [ʕnh] d.t*

(1) */// ///* (2) [(Hatshepsut, united-with-Amun)], (3) May he be given [life], forever.

Above Amun:

(4) *Imn.w-Rʕ.w* (5) *di=fʕnh dd w3s*

(4) Amun-Re (5) May he give life, stability and dominion.

Behind Amun:

(6) *dd mdw di.n(=i) n=t t3.w nb(.w) h3s.wt nb(.wt) 3w-ib=t im=sn mi Rʕ.w*

(6) Words spoken (by Amun): “(I) have given to you^(fem.) all the flat lands and all the *h3s.wt*, so that your^(fem.) heart may delight in them like Re.”

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 18 [18.05.10] Block 14. Burgos and Larché, pl. 70 (scene 337).

[18.05.11] Hatshepsut before Osiris (Block 183 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926

Location: Block 183, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1385; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 223-224 (§352), pl. 21; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 118; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 411 (KIU 1385).

Description: A small square scene depicting Hatshepsut before Osiris. This block is heavily damaged on the right.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above Hatshepsut:

(1) *dī=f[ʿnh]* *wʒs nb* (2) */// ntr ///*

(1) He gave all [life] and dominion (2) */// god ///*

Behind Hatshepsut:

(3) */// /// /// nb tʒ.w nb.w hʒs.wt nb.(w)t mi mrr.tn(=i)*

(3) */// /// /// all ... all the flat lands and all hʒs.wt according to what (I) have chosen.*

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 19 [18.05.11] Block 183. Burgos and Larché, pl. 118 (scene 353).

[18.05.12] Hatshepsut Receiving the *kheprsh*-Crown from Amun (Blocks 53 and 157 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926
Location: Blocks 53 and 157, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1438; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 61-63 (§92-93), 95-99, pl. 2; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 138; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 413 (KIU 1438).
Description: Hatshepsut seated before Amun, receiving the *kheprsh*-crown with Weret-Hekau.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above Hatshepsut and Amun:

(1) *Imn.w-R^c.w nsw.t ntr.w*

(1) Amun Re, King of the Gods.

(2) *dd mdw smn h^c=t (3) m nsw.t bi.ty*

(2) Words spoken: “You^(fem.) are established in the crown (3) as King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

Šm^c.w Mh.w (4) s3.t R^c.w (H3.t-špswt-hnmt-Imn.w)|

Upper Egypt and the Delta, (4) the daughter of Re, (Hatshepsut, United-with-Amun)|”

Behind Amun:

(5) *dd mdw di.n(=i) n=t n^ch w3s nb hr=i t3.w nb(.w) h3s.(w)t nb(.wt) ///*

(5) Words spoken: “(I) have given to you^(fem.) all life and dominion belonging to me, all flat lands and all *h3s.(w)t ///*

Lines 6-16: List of Gods.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 20 [18.05.12] Blocks 53 and 157. Burgos and Larché, pl. 138 (scene 92-3).

[18.05.13] Ritual Text of Amun from East Sanctuary (Block 262 of Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: north of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1929

Location: Block 262, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1604; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 307 (§518), pl. 24; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 202; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 419 (KIU 1604).

Description: A block containing a ritual text that puts all creation at the feet of Amun.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

<p>(1) <i>ḥꜥ dd wꜥs nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb.t</i> (2) <i>tꜥ.w</i> <i>nb.w ḥꜥs.wt nb.(w)t r rd.wy</i> (3) <i>ʿImn.w</i></p> <p><i>nb ns.wt tꜥ.wy rhy.t nb.t ḥꜥ=sn</i> (4) <i>n ḥḥ n ḥḥ</i> <i>n ḥḥ n d.t d.t</i></p>	<p>(1) All life, stability and dominion, all health, all joy, (2) all flat lands, all <i>ḥꜥs.wt</i>, are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of (3) Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, all people, they live (4) for millions, for millions, for millions, forever and forever.</p>
--	--

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 21 [18.05.13] Block 262. Burgos and Larché, pl. 202 (scene 518 and 695).

[18.05.14] Ritual Text of Amun from the East Wall of the Vestibule (Block 133 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut.

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926-1927

Location: Block 133, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1563; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 304-309 (§510-518), pl. 17; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 192; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 418 (KIU 1563).

Description: The block contains four lines of ritual text that puts all creation at the feet of Amun, including all *ḥꜣs.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 1653, Burgos and Larché; *Transliteration:* 1653, LP.

Translation: LP.

(1) *ḥꜣ dd wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw.t-ib nb.t* (2) *tꜣ.w nb.w ḥꜣs.wt nb.(w)t rd.wy* (3) *Imn.w*

(1) All life, stability and dominion, all health, all joy, (2) all flat lands, all *ḥꜣs.wt*, are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of (3) Amun,

nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy rhy.t nb.t ḥꜣ=sn (4) *n ḥḥ n ḥḥ n ḥḥ n ḏ.t ḏ.t*

Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, all people, they live (4) for a million, a million, a million, forever and forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 22 [18.05.14] Block 133. Burgos and Larché, pl. 192.

[18.05.15] Hatshepsut Offering Milk to Amun (Block 164 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926

Location: Block 164, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1684; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 311 (§526), pl. 6, 18; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 237; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 422 (KIU 1684).

Description: Hatshepsut offers two vases of milk before Amun. Behind Amun, there is a reference to all *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Behind Amun:

(1) *dd mdw di.n(=i) n=t t3.w nb.w h3s.wt* (1) Words spoken: “(I) have given to you^(fem.)
nb(.wt) b3k=sn n=t mi w^c all flat lands and all *h3s.wt*, their work
produce for you^(fem.) as one.”

Above Hatshepsut:

(2) *nsw.t bi.ty nb.t t3.wy* (3) (*M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w*) (2) The king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
(4) *di(.w) nh d.t* Lord of the Two Lands (3) (Maatkare)|, (4)
given life forever.

Above Amun:

(5) *Imn.w-R^c.w* (6) *di nh=f mi R^c.w Imn.w-* (5) Amun-Re. (6) May he be given life like
R^c.w Re.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 23 [18.05.15] Block 164. Burgos and Larché, pl. 237 (scene 526).

[18.05.16] Hatshepsut Consecrating *b3kw* from *h3s.wt* (Block 196 of the Chapelle Rouge)

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926
Location: Block 196, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: red granite.
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1299; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 229-230 (§364-365), pl. 2, 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 76; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408-409 (KIU 1299).
Description: Block 196, Scene 364-5. After the consecration of the grand obelisks, Hatshepsut dedicates tribute from the *h3s.wt* to Amun-Re. The depiction of Hatshepsut and her titles have been erased on the left side of the block, though there are remnants of her Horus title.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Before, Above, and Behind Amun-Min

Lines 1-3: The giving of life and dominion to Hatshepsut by Amun.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) <i>nsw.t ds=f hrp(.w) dꜥm ʕ3 wr.t n</i>
 <i>Imn.w nb [ns.wt t3.wy] m ///</i></p> <p>(2) <i>tp.yw b3k.w n(.w) h3s.wt nb(.wt) r</i>
 <i>nbi.t thn.wy ʕ3(.wy) iri=s di(.w) ʕnh</i></p> | <p>(1) The king himself^(sic) is the one who controls the very great (amount of) <i>djam</i>-gold for Amun, Lord of [Thrones of the Two Lands], with ///</p> <p>(2) the best of the work produce of all <i>h3s.wt</i>, for the melting of the two great obelisks that she, may she be given life, is making.</p> |
|--|--|

Above ingots:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(3) <i>ʕhꜥ.w ʕ3 m dꜥm ʕš3 wr</i></p> | <p>(3) A great pile of numerous <i>djam</i>-gold (ingots), very much.</p> |
|---|---|

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 24 [18.05.16] Block 196. Burgos and Larché, pl. 76 (scene 364-5).

[18.05.17] Hatshepsut Consecrates *b3kw* from *h3s.wt* (Block 53 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1923
Location: Block 53, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1405; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 230-321 (§366), pl. 2; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 128; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 412 (KIU 1405).
Description: Hatshepsut on the right consecrates tribute from *h3s.wt* before Amun-Min who is standing on the left of the scene.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Before Hatshepsut:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) <i>nsw ds=f hrp(.w) dꜥm ʕ3 wr.t n Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy m</i></p> | <p>(1) The king himself^(sic) is the one who controls the very great (amount of) <i>djam</i>-gold for Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, with</p> |
| <p>(2) <i>tp.yw b3k(.w) n(.w) h3s.wt nb(.wt) r shkr sh-ntr šps iri=s di.t ʕnh.t</i></p> | <p>(2) the best of the work produce of all <i>h3s.wt</i> for adorning the divine booth that she, may she be given life, made.</p> |

Beneath Offerings:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <p>(3) <i>ʕhꜥ.w ʕ3 m dꜥm</i></p> | <p>(3) A great heap in <i>djam</i>-gold.</p> |
|----------------------------------|--|

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 25 [18.05.17] Block 53. Burgos and Larché, pl. 128 (scene 366).

[18.05.18] Hatshepsut Receiving the *nemes*-Crown from Amun (Block 186 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926
Location: Block 186, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1400; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 237-240 (§382-386), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 127; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 412 (KIU 1400).
Description: Hatshepsut seated before Amun with Weret-Hekau. Evidence of targeted erasures, as Hatshepsut has been erased, as have her cartouches in the text above and to the right. The top left hand corner is also missing.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above Hatshepsut and Behind Amun:

Lines 1-6: Words spoken by Amun, establishing Hatshepsut upon the throne of Horus.

Behind Weret-Hekau.

<p>(7) <i>dd mdw sndm ds=k nb ntr.w Imn.w nb</i> <i>ns.wt t3.wy sh^c=k (8) m h3.t</i></p> <p><i>s3.t=k [nsw.t bi.ty (M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w)]</i></p> <p><i>mi.t(y) wd.t n=k (9) it R^c.w</i></p> <p><i>di=i nrw=s m hr.w p^c.(w)t</i> (10) <i>snd=s ht h3s.wt nb.(w)t Km.t Dšr.t hr</i> <i>tb.ty=s nh.ti d.t</i></p>	<p>(7) Words said to make yourself pleasant, Lord of the Gods, Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, you cause to appear (8) at the front, your daughter, [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Maatkare)] equal as commanded for you (9) (by) the father of Re. I placed her fear with faces to mankind. (10) Fear of her is throughout all <i>h3s.wt</i>, the Black Land and Red Land are under her sandals, may she live forever.</p>
---	---

Lines 11-14: Words spoken by Thoth, establishing Hatshepsut in the Annals.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 26 [18.05.18] Block 186. Burgos and Larché, pl. 127 (scene 382-386).

[18.05.19] Underbody 10.o (Block 225 from the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered between 1927 and 1928
Location: Block 225, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: granodiorite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1478; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 89-91 (§148); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 27; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 415 (KIU 1478).
Description: An underbody block with a fragmentary reference to *h3s.wt*.
Translation:
Transcription: KIU 1478; *Translation:* LP.
Transliteration: KIU 1478, LP.
 (1) *ph.ww h3s.tyw* /// /// /// (1) the marshlands of the *h3s.wt* (?) /// /// ///

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 27 [18.05.19] Block 225. Burgos and Larché, pl. 27.

[18.05.20] Hatshepsut Receiving the *nemes*-Crown from Amun (Blocks 172 and 261 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926

Location: Block 172 and 261, reconstructed in Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1307; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 237-240 (§382-386), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 79; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1307).

Description: On a scene cut in sunk relief on a rectangular block, Hatshepsut receives the *nemes*-crown from Amun, in the presence of Thoth and Weret-Hekau. There is a reference in the text to wringing the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above and behind Hatshepsut and Amun:

Lines 1-6: Establishment of Hatshepsut upon the throne.

Behind Weret-Hekau.

(7) *dd mdw sndm ds=k nb ntr.w Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy* (7) Words said to make yourself pleasant, Lord of the Gods, Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands,

sh^c=k (8) m h3.t s3.t=k who causes you to appear (8) at the front, your daughter,

nsw.t bi.ty (M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w) mi.t(y) wd.t n=k King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Maatkare)| equal as commanded for you (by)

(9) *it R^c.w di(.w) nrw=s m ib.w rhy.t wšn=s psd.t pd.wt* (9) the father of Re, who placed dread of her in the hearts of the common folk, she wringing the necks of the Nine Bows.

Lines 10-12: Praise to Thoth and Hatshepsut.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 28 [18.05.20] Blocks 172 and 261. Burgos and Larché, pl. 79.

[18.05.21] Hatshepsut Receiving the *kheprsh*-Crown from Amun (Block 23 of Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1923

Location: Block 23, reconstructed in Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1308; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 240-242 (§387-389), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 80; Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)", *ASAE* 24 (1924), 60-61, pl. V; Laboury, "How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?", *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut* (2014), 54 (fig. 5.4); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1308).

Description: Hatshepsut is seated before Amun receiving the *kheprsh*-crown. The gods Iunmutef and Amunit are also within the rectangular scene.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above and Behind Hatshepsut and Amun:

Lines 1-6: Words spoken by Amun and Weret-Heka to Hatshepsut.

Text behind Amunit:

(7) *dd mdw s3.t (H3.t-špswt-hnmt-Imn.w)* | (7) Words spoken (by) the daughter, (Hatshepsut, united-with-Amun)|, You^(fem.) received the Kheprsh Crown in glory,

šsp.n=t h^c=t m hprš

(8) *hkr h^c n.y nb-r-dr*

(8) adorned in the crown of the Lord to the Limit,

h^c.w h.t ntr.w 6 (9) m m33.n=f

rejoicing like the six gods (9), in his sight, he makes well-disposed for you the hearts of mankind,

sim3=f n=t ib.w p^c.t

rth.t=f n=t (10) psd.t pd.wt im n=t ʿnh w3s

he restraining for you^(fem.) (10) the Nine Bows therein for you, ^(fem.) life, dominion and youth, you^(fem.) who rules the Two Lands like Re.

hwn hk3.y=t t3.wy mi R^c.w

Lines 11-12: Words spoken by the priest.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 29 [18.05.21] Block 23. Burgos and Larché, pl. 80.

[18.05.22] Hatshepsut Receives the *atef*-Crown from Amun (Block 95 the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926

Location: Block 95, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1312; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 246-247 (§397-398), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 83; Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (mars-mai 1926)", *ASAE* 26 (1926), 120-1, pl. V (B); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1312).

Description: Hatshepsut seated before Amun receiving the *atef*-crown. She sits before Hathor of Thebes and Inmutef. Behind Amun, the vertical register contains a reference to the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Lines 1-4: Words spoken by Amun.

Text behind Amun:

(5) *dd mdw m tp=t h^c=t im=f n rhy.t dw3 tn* (5) Words spoken by your^(fem.) chief,
psd.t pd.wt your^(fem.) crown, he is there by the subjects,
the Nine Bows praise you.

Lines 6-11: Words spoken by Hathor and Amun, giving the crown to Hatshepsut. The Inmutef-priest purifies the shrine.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 30 [18.05.22] Block 95. Burgos and Larché, pl. 83.

[18.05.23] Hatshepsut before Amun at her Coronation (Block 141 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926

Location: Block 141, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1398; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 247-248 (§399-400), pl. 11; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 125; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 411 (KIU 1398).

Description: On the left of the scene Hatshepsut is being crowned by Amun with Hathor of Thebes.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above Hatshepsut and Behind Amun:

Lines 1-6: Words spoken by Amun, establishing Hatshepsut in the crown.

Behind Hathor of Thebes:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(7) <i>dd mdw in Hw.t-Hr nb.t Twn.t</i>
 <i>s3.t=i mr.yt (M3^c.t-K3-R^c.w)</i>
 <i>šsp.n=t</i> (8) <i>hnw 3tf n.y pr.w-dw3.t</i>

 <i>h^c=t im=f mi 3h.ty s.t</i>

 <i>nh ib.w</i> (9) <i>rhy.t wn.k3 ššf.t=t m</i>
 <i>nb.wt</i>
 <i>snd=t</i> (10) <i>m psd.t pd.wt m rn=t pw</i>
 <i>n.y šhm f3w</i>
 (11) <i>dd mdw Imn.w-R^c.w di htp</i>

 (12) <i>iwn mw.t=f^cbw pr.w-wr</i></p> | <p>(7) Words spoken by Hathor, Mistress of Dendera, my beloved daughter, (Maatkare) , you^(fem.) received (8) the vessel, the <i>atef</i>-crown of the Robing Room, your^(fem.) crown, he is therein, like the Place of Two Horizons, living hearts (9) of the common folk, who respect you in everything, fear of you^(fem.) is (10) among the Nine Bows in your^(fem.) name, that it is mighty of splendour. (11) Words spoken (for) Amun Re, who gives an offering. (12) The <i>Iunmutef</i>-priest, the one who purifies the shrine.</p> |
|---|--|

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 31 [18.05.23] Block 141. Burgos and Larché, pl. 125.

[18.05.24] Ritual Text of Amun from West Sanctuary (Block 43 of the Chapelle Rouge)

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1923
Location: Block 43, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1588; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 307 (§518), pl. 23; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 198; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 419 (KIU 1588).
Description: A block containing a ritual text that puts all creation at the feet of Amun.
Translation:
Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.
Transliteration: LP.
- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) ḥḥ dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb.t | (1) All life, stability and dominion, all health, all joy, |
| (2) t3.w nb(.w) Fnḥw nb.t šb.t (3) r rd.wy Imn.w
nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t | (2) all flat lands, all mysterious Fenkhout (3) are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven. |
| (4) dw3 rhy.t nb.t ḥḥ=sn n(=i) rḥ.w nb | (4) Adored by all the commonfolk, they live for (him) every day. |

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 32 [18.05.24] Block 43. Burgos and Larché, pl. 198.

[18.05.25] Coronation Scene of Hatshepsut (Block 145 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Hatshepsut

Provenance: South of the Third Pylon, discovered between 1926 and 1927

Location: Block 145, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1310; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 243-246 (§393-396); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 82; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 409 (KIU 1310).

Description: A coronation block of Hatshepsut with a reference to the Hanebu.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché, KIU 1310; *Transliteration:* KIU 1310, LP.

Translation: Lacau and Chevrier, LP.

(1) *dd mdw Imn.w-R^c.w* (2) *s3.t=i n.t* (3) *h.t=i mr.yt=i* (4) *(M3^c.t-k3-R^c.w)*

(1) Words spoken by Amun-Re: (2) “My daughter of (3) my body, my beloved (4) (Maatkare)|

(5) *dd mdw smn=i s^ch=t m bi.ty mi R^c.w d.t*

(5) Words spoken: “I establish your rank as King of Lower Egypt, like Re, forever.”

(6) *W3dy.t P Dp*

(6) Wadjet of Buto and Dep.

(7) *dd mdw s3.t=i mr.yt=i (H3.t-šps.wt-hn.mt-Imn.w)| šsp.n=t h^c=t m n.t*

(7) Words spoken: “My daughter, my beloved, (Hatshepsut, united-with-Amun)|, you assumed your^(fem.) crown with the Crown of Lower Egypt.

(8) *mn h3b.t=s m tp=t dm.n mis.wt=t^f hr.t*

(8) Enduring of the Double Crown on her head, proclaiming in your^(fem.) Crown of Upper Egypt (9) in the sky.

iw nbi.w=t r H3.w-nb.wt

Your^(fem.) flames are (directed) against the Hanebu.

Lines 10-13: Praises to Hatshepsut and speech of *Iunmutef*-Priest.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 33 [18.05.25] Block 145. SITH website (KIU 1310).

[18.06.01] The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück I

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Vestibule of Thutmose III, passage around Granite Sanctuary, piece one

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: 25 m x 12 m.

Sources: PM II², 97 (280 and 281), 98 (II); LD III, 31 (1-11), b (right); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 644-645 (202), 645-675 (203); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 188-199 (202-203); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 6007, 6009, 6154, 8558-8562, 8710; Champollion. *Not. descr.* II, 155-159; Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo* (1913); Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo", *JEA* 28 (1942), 2-15; Noth, "Die Annalen Thutmosis II. als Geschichtequelle", *ZDPV* 66:2 (1943), 156-174; Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten* (1947); Redford, "The Historical Retrospective at the Beginning of Thutmose III's Annals", *Festschrift Elmar Edel* 12. März 1979 (1979), 338-342; Murnane, "Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III's First Campaign in Western Asia", *JARCE* 26 (1989), 183-189; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003), 1-98; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 83-100; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (2000); Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 181-213.

Description: The Annals, piece 1. The Annals of Thutmose III are the military records of this ruler's campaigns in the Levant and Nubia. They represent excerpts of the day-books which were taken on Thutmose III's various campaigns.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Dessoudeix; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., Redford, Goedicke, *Transliteration:* Dessoudeix, LP. Dessoudeix, LP.

I. *Urk.* IV, 644-645 (202).

Representation under the Depiction of Amun:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>ḏd mdw</i> | (1) Words spoken: |
| <i>iw hrp.tw [b3k.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t</i> | "It is the case [the work-produce of all the <i>ḥ3s.wt</i>] |
| <i>r ḥw.t-ntr n.t Imn.w]</i> | are brought |
| (2) <i>m ḥtr r tnw [rnp.t] /// /// ///</i> | to the temple of Amun] |
| (3) <i>/// /// /// ḥnt /// /// ///</i> | (2) as dues numbering [year] <i>/// /// ///</i> |
| (4) <i>hbny /// /// /// (5) - (11) (lost)</i> | (3) <i>/// /// /// foremost /// /// ///</i> |
| (12) <i>ḥt /// /// ///</i> | (4) ebony <i>/// /// /// (5) - (11) (lost)</i> |
| (13) <i>hr in.w=sn /// /// ///</i> | (12) through <i>/// /// ///</i> |
| (14) <i>snd.w ḥm=f m [ib.w=sn</i> | (13) carrying their gifts <i>/// /// ///</i> |
| <i>sh3=f]</i> | (14) fear of His Majesty is in [their hearts, |
| (15) <i>mn(.w) m r3.w ḥw.w /// /// ///</i> | the memory of him] |
| (16) <i>ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t ḥm¹ n=f /// /// ///</i> | (15) enduring in the mouths of the living <i>/// /// ///</i> |
| (17) <i>/// /// /// [rn=f] ḏd m r3 n.y /// /// ///</i> | (16) all <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> retreat from him <i>/// /// ///</i> |
| (18) <i>/// /// /// nb.t pr.w tm [R^c.w-Hr.w-3ḥ.ty]</i> | (17) <i>/// /// ///</i> [his name] enduring in the mouth of <i>/// /// ///</i> |
| | (18) <i>/// /// ///</i> the entire estate of [Re-Harakhty] |

¹ Wb III, 80.

(19) */// /// /// [iri=f] di(.w) [nh(.w) dd(.w)] w3s(.w) snb(.w) mi R^c.w d.t*

(19) */// /// /// [which he makes]. May he be given [life, stability], dominion, and health like Re, forever.*

II. Urk. IV, 645-657 (203):

Campaigns of Years 22-24 and Year 40.

Lines 1-3: Titulary of the king

(3) *wḏ ḥm=f rḏi.t smn.tw [nht(.w) rḏi.n n=f it(=f) Imn.w hr (4) wḏ m ḥw.t-ntr iri.n ḥm=f n [it(=f) Imn.w n mr(w).t rḏi.t smn.tw] (5) wdy.t hr rn=s ḥn^c ḥ3k in[.n ḥm=f im=s b3k(.w) ḥ3s.wt] (6) nb(.w)t rḏi.n n=f it(=f) R^c.w*

(3) His Majesty's commanding to cause that the [victories which (his) father Amun granted to him] may be recorded in (4) an inscription in the temple which His Majesty has made [for (his) father, Amun, in order to cause that] (5) the campaign [be recorded] by its name, together with the plunder [which His Majesty brought thereof, and the work produce] of all [the ḥ3s.wt] (6) which (his) father, Re, has given to him.

rnp.t-sp 22 3bd 4 pr.t sw 25 [sn ḥm=f ḥtm n.y] (7) T3rw m wdy.t tp(y).t n.t nht

Regnal Year 22, fourth month of the harvest, day 25. [His Majesty passed by the fortress] (7) of Tjarou during the first campaign of victory.

[r dr² tkk(w).w³] (8) tšš.w Km.t m kn[.t m nht m wsr m m3^c-hrw]

[in order to subdue those who attacked]⁴ (8) the borders of Egypt, in brav[ery, in strength, in might and in justification.]

(9) *ist ḥ^c.w n.w [ḥ3³] m rnp.wt [ḥk3.n=s n t3 pn wn(.w) m (10) ḥ^cd3 si nb hr b3k r /// /// ///*

(9) Indeed, for a time [numerous] in years, [they had ruled this land, which was] (10) plundered.⁶ Every man worked for the */// /// ///*

(11) *ḥpr.n is m h(3)w k(y).wy iw^c(y).t nt(y).t im (12) m dmi n.y Š3-r3-ḥn st š3^c m T-r3-d3 (13) nfry.t r phw.w t3 w3i(.w) r bšt⁷ hr ḥm=f*

(11) Then, in later times, it occurred that a garrison which was there (12) was (now) in the town of Sharouhen while (the territory) of Yoursa, (13) at the end of the marshlands, fell into rebellion against His Majesty.

rnp.t-sp 23 (3bd) tp(y) šmw sw 4 hrw n.y ḥb ḥ^c(.w)-nsw (14) r dmi n.y mḥ.n p3 ḥk3 Gdt rn=f n.y H3r

Regnal Year 23, first month of Summer, day 4, the day of the festival of the royal appearance, (14) to the town which the ruler had captured and Gaza, its name of Char.

² *Wb* V, 473.1-474.12

³ *Wb* V, 336.2-10.

⁴ Strangely, Goedicke adds sinister intention to his translation: "against those plotting to attack Egypt's borders". Not only is this a reconstruction, but it is not evident in Sethe's reconstruction, which Goedicke's version is based upon. The other alternative by Redford is "in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt", who argues this translation would also fit in the space available. However, the Annals has a trend of justifying conflict, and to simply "extend the borders" is somewhat lacking in purpose, which is why the translation presented above prefers to adhere to Sethe. Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 647.14; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 12; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003), 8 (no. 29).

⁵ Reconstructed after Redford (1979), 338.

⁶ This section, reconstructed by Dessoudeix, harkens back to the Hyksos period. However, Redford's 2003 translation is significantly different. See also Redford (1979), 339, where he refutes the possibility that Avaris is present in the hieroglyphs.

⁷ In the sense of getting "involved" with something. Compare with Goedicke "were ready to rebel about His Majesty", Redford "had broken out in rebellion against His Majesty", and Burkhardt et al.: "Sie begannen sich (nun) gegen Seine Majestät zu empören von T-r-d3 bis zu den Enden der Erde." *Wb* I, 244.7-8; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 12; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 189 (203).

rnpt-sp 23 (15) (3bd) *tp.(y) šm.w sw* 5
wḏi m s.t tn m kn.t m nḥt (16) *m wsr m*
mš^c-hrw

r šhr.t hr(w) pf ḥs(.y) r swšh⁸ (17) *tšš.w*
Km.t

mi wḏw.tn it(=f) Imn.w-R^c.w mḥ(w) nḥt
(18) *iti=f*

rnpt-sp 23 (3bd) *tp.(y) šm.w sw* 16 *r dmi*
n.y Yḥm

wḏ ḥm=f (19) *ndwt-r ḥn^c mš^c=f n.y nḥt*
r-dd r-nt(y).t

hrw pf ḥs(.y) (20) *n.y Kdšw iwi(.w)*
ḥk(.w) r Mkti sw im (21) *m tš 3.t*

šḥwy.n=f n=f wr(.w) n.w ḥšs(.w)t
[*nb(w).t wn(w).w*] (22) *hr mw n.y Km.t*

ḥn^c šš^c r Nhrn m /// /// /// (23) *Hšrw(y.w)*
Kḏw(y.w) ḥtr=sn mš^c(.w)=sn
[*r(m)t=sn*]

(24) *r-nt(y).t sw hr dd hr(w).tw ḥ^c=i r*
[*ḥš r ḥm=f^c3*] (25) *m Mkti*

dd=tn n=i nt(y).t m ib=tn

(26) *dd.n=sn ḥft ḥm=f sw mi iḥ šm[.t*
hr] (27) [*m]tn pn nty wš(.w) r ḥns*

iw.tw [hr smi.t r] (28) *dd hrwy.w im*
ḥ^c(.w) hr-[bnrw iw=sn] (29) *wš.w r r^cšš*

is-bn šm ssm.t m-sš [ssm.t mšš] (30)
r(m)t m mi.tt

in-iw wnn tš ḥš.t n=n (31) *imy hr ḥš iw*
nš n.y [ph.wy] ḥ^c(.w) ḥš (32) *m ḥrn n*
ḥš.n=sn

r-nt(y).t 2 mtn ḥš (33) *w^c n.y mtn mk sw*
mnḥ(.w) n nb=n pri=f r (34) *T^cnk*

ky mk sw r tš (35) *wš.t mḥt(y).t ny(.t) Dft*
pri=n r mḥty Mkti

Regnal Year 23 (15) first (month) of summer, day 5: departing from this place in bravery, in victory, (16) in strength and in justification, in order to overthrow this feeble enemy⁹ and in order to extend (17) the borders of Egypt, according to that which (my) father, Amun-Re, commanded, who captures mightily (18) when he seizes.

Regnal Year 23, first (month) of summer, day 16, to the town of Yaham.

His Majesty ordered (19) a counsel with his army of victory saying that:

This feeble enemy (20) of Kadesh came and went into Megiddo. He is therein (21) in this moment.

He collected for himself the great ones of [all the] *ḥšs(.wt)* [who were] (22) upon the waters of Egypt.

As far as Naharin, /// /// /// (23) the Khorians, the men of Kode, their harness, their army, [their people.]

(24) Since he speaks in these terms, it is said: “I intend to stand [ready to against His Majesty, here] (25) at Megiddo.

You tell me that which is in your heart.

(26) They said in front of His Majesty: “How can he go [upon] (27) this road which is long and narrow

It is [reported in] (28) speech the enemies are therein, standing [outside there] (29) and are long in numbers.

Will not a horse go behind a [horse, army] (30) and the same people?

Will our vanguard (31) be fighting, while the rear [guard] will stand here (32) in Arouna, without fighting?

For there are 2 roads here. (33) One of the roads, see, it is effective for our master, so that he can go to (34) Taanak.

The other, see, it is towards the (35) north side of Septhath, so that we can go forth north to Megiddo.

⁸ Wb IV, 74-75.

⁹ Goedicke translates this as “that enemy, may he be miserable”, Redford as “that [vile] doomed one”, and Burkhardt et al. as “um jenen elenden Feind niederzuwerfen”. The latter appears the most faithful to the original, as *ḥs(.y)* is qualifying “that enemy”. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 22; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003), 13; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 190 (203).

- (36) *iḥ wd3 nb=n nḥt ḥr mnḥ.n ib=f im=sn* (36) May our victorious lord go forth to the one whom his heart will be decided.
- (37) *m rd(.w)¹⁰ šm=n ḥr mtn pf št3 ʕḥ. n [in(.w)]* (37) Do not make us go on this difficult path! Then (we) [bring] (38) a message [upon this feeble enemy].”
- (38) *wpw.t [ḥr ḥrw pf ḥs(.y)]* [A report was repeated] upon [this] plan (39) which they had said previously.
- [*whm.w smi.t*] *ḥr šhr [pf]* (39) *dd.n=sn hr-ḥ3.t* Here is what has been said in the Majesty of the palace, may he live, prosper and be healthy.
- ddd(w).t m ḥm n.y stp-s3 ʕnh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w)* As Re lives for me (40) and loves me, as my father praises me, as true as my nose rejuvenates (41) in life and dominion.
- [*ʕnh n=i*] (40) *mr(r) wi R. w ḥs(s) wi it(=i) [Imn.w] ḥwn fnd=i* (41) *m ʕnh w3s* My Majesty will pass by this road of (42) Arouna. Let he who desires to go therein upon these (43) paths of which you have spoken, and let he who desires to come (44) therein in my Majesty’s following.
- iw wd3 ḥm=i ḥr mtn pn (n.y)* (43) *ʕrn im(.w) šm nty ib=f im=tn ḥr n3 n.y* (43) *mtn.w dd(w).w=tn* See, they will think, these (45) enemies, the abomination of Re, “Did His Majesty proceed upon (46) another path?”
- im(.w) iwt nty ib=f* (44) *im=tn m šmsw.t ḥm=i* He fell to fear because of us, they will think.
- m(k) k3=sn m n3 n.y* (45) *ḥrw(.w) bw.t R. w in-iw ḥm=f wd3(.w) ḥr* (46) *ky mtn* (47) They said in the following of His Majesty: may your father, [Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak], act [according to your desires.]
- iw=f w3(.w) r snd n=n k3=sn* (48) Behold, we are in the following of your Majesty, in every place where [your Majesty] goes (49) therein.
- (47) *dd.n=sn ḥft ḥm=f ir it=k [Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty Ip.t-S.wt n ib=k]* It is behind his lord a servant. [His Majesty ordered a command] (50) (for) the army to its limit.
- (48) *m=k n m šmsw(.t) ḥm=k m b(w) nb wd3(w) [ḥm=k]* (49) *im* The rescue of your lord in victory will take the lead of your strides on (51) that road that is long and narrow.
- wnn b3k m-s3 nb=f [wd ḥm=f rd.t]* (50) *m ḥr n.y mš. r-dr=f* Behold, His Majesty, he swore (52) an oath saying: “I will not let my [victorious army] to go forth (53) from [this place] before my Majesty”.
- nḥm nb=tn nḥt nmt.(w)t=tn ḥr* (51) *mtn pfnty w3(.w) r ḥns*
- m=k ḥm=f iri.n=f* (52) *ʕnh¹¹ r-dd nn di=i pri [mš. i n.y nḥt]* (53) *hr-ḥ3.t ḥm=i m [s.t tn]*

¹⁰ Negative imperative. See Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, 79 (§ 135).

¹¹ *Wb* I, 203.

- ist rdi.n hm=f m ib=f* (54) *pri=f r-h3.t mš^c=f ds=f* His Majesty had determined in his heart¹² (54) that he would go forth at the head of his army himself.¹³
- di(.w) m [si nb]* (55) *m nmt.(w)t=f n(y.w)t šm.t htr m-s3 htr iw [hm=f]* (56) *m tp n.y mš^c=f* It was given that [each man] knows (55) in his stride in the march, harness after harness, while [His Majesty] (56) was at the head of his army.
- rnp.t-sp 23 (3bd) tp(.y) šmw sw 19 rs m [nh]* (57) *m im3 n.y nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) r dmi n(.y) rn* Regnal Year 23, first month of summer, say 19. (We) awoke in life, (57) in the tent of life, prosperity and life, to the town of Arouna.
- wd.yt* (58) *m hdi in hm=i hr it(=i)* The campaign (58) of my Majesty went north under (the protection of) my father, [Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, opening the roads] (59) to the front of me.
- [Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy wp=f w3.(w)t* (59) *r-h3.t=i* Harakhty stren[gthening the heart of my victorious army], (60) (my) father [Amun strengthening] the might [of my Majesty] /// [protection] (61) of my Majesty.
- Hr.w-3hty hr s[mn.t ib n.y mš^c=i n.y nht]* (60) *it(=i) [Imn.w hr s]nht [hpš hm=i] /// [hr stp s3]* (61) *hr hm=i* [His] Majesty went forth [at the head of] his [army], organised (62) in numerous companies, [without finding] a single [enemy].
- pr.t in hm[=f hr-h3.t mš3]=f sspdw* (62) *m sk.w š3 [n gm.n=f hr(w)] w^c* Their (63) southern wing (of the army) was at Taanak, [and their] (64) northern wing (of the army) was on the south side of the valley of Qina.
- [p3(y)=sn* (63) *db rs(.y) m T^cnk [iw p3(y)=sn]* (64) *db mhty m k^ch rs(.y) n.y t3 in.t Kn* Then (65) His Majesty made summons for them, upon this road /// /// ///
- [h^c.n]* (65) *hm=f hr nis r=s(n) hr mtn pn /// /// ///* (66) *iw=sn hr(.w) st hrw pf hs(y) /// ///* (66) They have fallen, while this feeble enemy ///
- /// (67) /// /// (67a)¹⁴ /// /// (68) ///* (67) /// /// (67a) /// /// (68) /// /// (69) /// /// (69) /// ///
- [di=]t[n] n[=f]* (70) *[i3(w) sw3š=tn b3.w] hm=f hr wr(.w) hpš=f r* (71) *ntr.w nb(.w)* [May] you (70) pray for [him, may you pay honour to] the power of His Majesty, for the greatness of his strength is towards (71) all the gods.
- [sw.t is s3(w)=f ph.wy n.y] mš^c n.y hm=f* [It is he who will protect the rear-guard of] the army of His Majesty in (72) Arouna,
- m* (72) *rn*

¹² While Burkhardt et al. translate this as “[Denn Seine Majestät hatte beschlossen], selbst an der Spitze seines Heeres auszurücken”, Goedicke translates this as “And then His Majesty caused that he go forth in front”; this does not take into consideration the presence of *ib* in the text. Redford corrects this as “It was His Majesty’s desire that he should go forth at the [head of his army]”. Dessoudeix improves upon the general meaning of it as: “Comme Sa Majesté avait décidé dans son cœur”. In turn, it has the sense of placing something in the heart, namely, a *determination*, and it appears to indicate the stubbornness of Thutmose III to follow through with his plans. This is of course reinforced by the fact Thutmose III also swears an oath to the same effect in the previous sentence. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 190 (203); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 43; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003), 21; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes II* (2012), 197.

¹³ The vanguard of the army is notoriously the most dangerous position to be in.

¹⁴ As stated by Redford, Sethe missed one column of text after line 67, which has been called “67a” by Redford. Notably, in the Dessoudeix version (2012), Sethe’s error was not corrected. See Sethe, *Urk. IV*, 653-654; Redford, “The Northern Wars of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III*, 331; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes II*, 198. Further, this missing line was also not addressed by Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 55.

<i>ist ph.wy n.y mšc nht n.y hm=f r [dmi]</i>	while the rear-guard of the victorious army of His Majesty was at the [town] of (73) Arouna,
<i>n.y (73) rn</i>	
<i>p3 h3.ty pri(.w) r t3 in.t Kn (74)</i>	the vanguard went forth to the valley of Qina, (74)
<i>mh.n=sn pg(3) n.y in.t tn</i>	they having filled the entrance of this valley. ¹⁵
<i>hc.n dd.n=sn hr hm=f nh(.w) wd3(.w)</i>	Then they (the army) said to His Majesty, (l.p.h.):
<i>snb(.w)</i>	
<i>(75) m=k hm=f pri(.w) hn c mšc=f n.y</i>	(75) “Behold, His Majesty went forth with his
<i>nht.w mh.n=sn t3 (76) in.t</i>	victorious army, they having filled the (76) valley.
<i>im sdm¹⁶ n=n nb=n nht m p3y sp</i>	Let our victorious lord listen to us this time.
<i>(77) im s3y n=n nb=n ph.wy n.y mšc=f</i>	(77) Let our lord protect for us the rear-guard of
<i>hn c r(m)t=f</i>	his army together with his people.
<i>(78) pri n=n ph.wy n.y p3 mšc r-h3</i>	(78) May the rear-guard of this army go forth for
<i>k3(=n) h3(=n r (79) nn n.y h3s.tyw</i>	us, then we will fight (79) against these <i>h3s.tyw</i> .
<i>k3(=n) tm=n rdi.t ib=n [m-s3] ph(.wy)</i>	Then (we) will not give [tho]ught to the rear-
<i>n.y (80) p3(y)=n mšc</i>	guard (80) of this army.”
<i>smn.t in hm=f hr-bnrw snd[m] (81) im</i>	Standing still ¹⁷ by His Majesty outside and (81)
<i>hr s3.yt ph.wy n.y mšc=f n.y nht(.w)</i>	there watching out for the rear-guard of his
	victorious army.
<i>ist ph.n p3 m3c.w (82) pr.t hr mtn pn iw</i>	Then the troops in front reached (82) the exit of
<i>phr(.w) rf (83) šw.t</i>	this road, the shade (83) shifted (i.e. around
	midday) ¹⁸
<i>spr.n hm=f r rs(.y) Mkti hr sp.t hnw n.y</i>	It was on the bank of the water of Qina that His
<i>Kn</i>	Majesty reached the south of Megiddo. ¹⁹
<i>iw wn.w.t 7 m phr m hrw</i>	While the seventh hour of the day was turned.
<i>hc.n w3h(.w) ihw im n hm=f rd.in=tw</i>	Then the camp was established therein for His
<i>m hr n.y mšc r-dr=f r-dd</i>	Majesty, and orders were made to the army to its
	limit, saying:
<i>grg.w tn sspd(.w) hc(.w)=tn</i>	“Establish your preparations and your weapons,
<i>r-nt(y).t iw=tw r thn r h3 hn c hrw pf</i>	as in this battle that we face, together with this
<i>hs(.y) m dw3 hr-nt(y).t tw=tw /// ///</i>	feeble enemy tomorrow, because we /// ///
<i>(84) htp m cny n(.y) nh(.w) wd3(.w)</i>	(84) rest in the camp of l.p.h., making the rations
<i>snb(.w) ir.t m hr(y).w sr(.w) wh c k(.w)</i>	of the officers and distributing the provisions to
<i>n šms(w.w)</i>	the counsel.
<i>sn rsw n.y mšc dd(.w) n=sn mn ib sp 2</i>	The sentries of the army were posted, and (one)
<i>rs tp sp 2</i>	said to them: “Let your hearts be firm (twice), let
	your heads be vigilant (twice)”
<i>rs(.w) m nh m im3 n.y nh(.w) wd3(.w)</i>	One awoke alive in the tent of life, prosperity and
<i>snb(.w)</i>	health.

¹⁵ The following sections detail the army’s passage through the mountain: the Arouna Pass. From a tactical perspective, this feat enables Thutmose III to surprise the enemy. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 84.

¹⁶ Imperative prospective. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 199; Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹⁷ Infinitive + *in* marks a point in time. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 50.

¹⁸ Often translated as the “Seventh Hour”, as on a shadow clock, this marks the time of day; namely, the very early afternoon when the army exited the Arouna Pass. The Seventh Hour is mentioned later in the text: Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 655.14 (203); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 50; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (2003), 24 (no. 149), 26-27; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 87; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 200.

¹⁹ The Qina brook passes south of Megiddo, and it is in front of this brook that the Arouna Pass ends. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 84 (see Map 4).

*iyi{t}=tw r dd n hm=f mr.w snb(.w)
iw^c.y.t rs(y).t mht(y).t r-mit.t
rnp.t-sp 23 (3bd) tp(.y) šmw sw 21 hrw
n.y hb n.y psdn(.tyw) r-mty h^c.t nsw tp
dw3.t*

*ist rdi(.w) m hr n.y mš^c r-dr=f r sn /// ///
///*

*wd3(.w) hm=f hr wrry.t n.t d^cm s^cb.w m
hkr.w=f n.w r3-^c.w-h^t*

*(85) mi Hr.w tm3-^c.w nb iri(.t) (i)h.t mi
Mntw w3s.ty it(=f) [Imn.w] hr snht
^c.wy=f(y)*

*p3 db rs(.y) n.y p3 mš^c n.y hm=f r dw
rs(.y) [hnw n.y] Kⁿ p3 db mh.ty r mh.ty
imn.ty Mkti*

*iw hm=f m hr(.y)-ib=sn [Imn.w] m
s3(.w) h^c(w)=f<r> r(3)-d^cy.w ph.ty [St^h
ht] (86) ^c.(w)t=f*

*^ch^c.n shm.n²⁰ hm=f r=s(n) hr-h3.t mš^c=f
m3.in=sn²¹ hm=f hr shm r=s(n)*

*iw=sn hr ifd m gbgb.yt r Mkti m hr(.w)
n(.w) snd*

*h3^c.n=sn htr(.w)=sn wrr(.w)t=sn
n(y).w(t) nbw hr h^d*

*ith.tw=sn²³ m tbtb²⁴ m hbs(.w)=sn r
dmi pn*

*ist htm(.w)n n3 n.y r(m)t dmi pn hr=s(n)
sh3.n=sn (87) hbs(.w) r tbtb=sn r hr(w)
r dmi pn*

*ist h3 n ir mš^c n.y hm=f rdi.t ib=sn r h3k
n3 n.y (i)h.t n(.yt) n3 n.y hrw.w*

iw[=sn hr h3k] Mkti m t3 3.t

*ist ith=tw p3 hrw hs(.y) n.y Kdš hn^c hrw
hs(.y) n.y dmi pn m h3s r s^ck.t=sn r
dmi=sn*

They came to say to His Majesty: “The desert is safe, the south and north troops are the same.”

Regnal Year 23, first month of summer, day 21. The exact day of the fest of the New Moon, the feast of the coronation of the king, at dawn.

While it had been placed upon the army to its limit to dislocate /// /// ///

His Majesty set out upon (his) chariot of *djam*-gold, armed with his ornaments of battle.

(85) Like Horus, strong of arms, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, like Montu, the Theban, (his) father [Amun], giving strength to his arms.

The southern wing of His Majesty’s army was against the southern hill of the [water of] Qina, and the north wing was northwest of Megiddo.

Then His Majesty was in their midst, [Amun] protecting his body during the battle, and the strength of [Seth being through his] (86) limbs.

Then, His Majesty prevailed over th(em) at the head of his army, and then they (the army of Megiddo) saw His Majesty prevail over th(em).

They fled, headlong of flight, towards Megiddo, with faces of fear²²,

they having abandoned their horses and their chariots of *nbw*-gold and silver.

They were dragged to this town by hoisting their clothing,²⁵

as people had sealed this city upon them, they dropped (87) the clothes in order to hoist them to that town.

Indeed, if the army of His Majesty had not yielded to their desire of plundering the things of these enemies.

[They plundered] Megiddo in a moment.

While the feeble enemy of Kadesh and the feeble enemy of that town, scrambling so that they may enter their town.

²⁰ To have “power over”, to “prevail over”. *Wb* IV, 247-248.

²¹ Contingent perfect narrative form indicating a sequence of events. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 203; Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §80.

²² Alternatively, Dessoudeix: “le visage terrifié” and Redford “through fear”. This translation follows Goedicke: “with faces of fear”, as it encapsulates the plural and use of “faces”. The army is not just scared: it is clearly visible across their faces. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 203; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 71; Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 30.

²³ To “drag”, “pull”, “draw”. Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 33.

²⁴ To “hoist”, “pull up”. *Wb* V, 262.

²⁵ Goedicke: “they were pulled, by heaving with their cloths”; Redford: “[so they cast] clothes over to hoist them up into this town”; Dessoudeix: “On les tire jusqu'à cette ville en (les) hissant par les vêtements”. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 72; Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 30 (no. 177); Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 204.

<i>iw snd.t hm=f [hr] ʕk (88) [m hʕ(.w)=sn] ʕ.wy=sn bds[.w] ʕhʕ.n shm.n 3h.t=f im=sn ʕhʕ.n h3k(.w) htr(.w)=sn wrr(.w)t=sn n.w nbw hr hḏ ir(.w) m is-[h3k] [sk].w=sn sdr(.w) m sts.y mi rm(w.w) m kʕh šn mšʕ nht n.y hm=f hr ip (i)h.t irw</i>	The fear of His Majesty entered (88) [their limbs], and their arms were weak. Then, it was from them that his uraeus prevailed. Then, their horses were plundered, their chariots of <i>nbw</i> -gold and silver, and made easy [plunder]. Their [troop]s were lying on the group like fish on the banks of pond. The victorious army of His Majesty counted their things.
<i>ist h3k(.w) im3w n.y hr(w) [pf] hs(.y) nty [b3k(.w) m] (89) [hḏ] ///</i>	While the tent of [this] feeble enemy was plundered, which was [worked with] (89) [silver] ///
<i>wn.in mšʕ r-dr=f hr nhm hr rḏi.t i3(w) n [Imn.w hr nht] rḏ.n=f n s3=f [m hrw pn]</i>	Then, the army to its limit was shouting, praising to [Amun for the victory] he had given his son [on that day.]
<i>[rḏ.n=sn hknw] n hm=f hr sk3(.t) nht(.w)=f wn.in=sn hr ms h3k in.n=sn</i>	[They gave thanks] to his exalting Majesty for his victory. Then they were presenting the plunder which they had brought:
<i>m dr(.w)t m skr(.w)-ʕnh(.w) m ssm.wt wrry(.w)t n.t nbw hr hḏ m n[ʕʕ] (90) /// [wn.in hm=f hr wd.t] md.wt n mšʕ=f m-dd mh(.w) tn i[kr sp 2 mšʕ=i n]ht m=k rḏi(.tw) [h3s.wt nb(.wt) m dmi pn hft wd] Rʕ.w m hrw pn</i>	with hands, living captives, horses, chariots of un[decorated] <i>nbw</i> -gold and silver. (90) /// [Then His Majesty decreed] words to his army, saying: “Seize your wea[lth, twice! My vic]torious [army!] Behold, [all <i>h3s.wt</i>] have been placed [in this city in accordance with the command of] Re on this day,
<i>r-nt(y).t wr nb n.y h3s(.w)t nb(.wt) [mht(y.w)t] štb.w m hnw=f r-nt(y).t mh pw m h3 dmi p3 mh m Mkti mh(.w) tn dri sp 2 m=k /// (91) /// [im(y).w-r3] mnf(3).t r hn[.t mšʕ=sn r rḏ.t rh si] nb s.t=f</i>	for every chief of all the <i>h3s.wt</i> of [the north] have been locked inside. For it is the capture of a thousand towns, the capture of Megiddo. Seize strength, twice! Behold /// (91) /// [The overseers] of the infantry to command [their troops and to make] each [man to know] his place.
<i>h3.n=sn dmi pn ih(.w) m šd.y inh(.w) m ht(.w) w3d(.w) n(.w) ht.w=sn nb(.w) bnr(.w) ti hm=f ds=f hr htm i3b.ty n.y dmi pn [iw=f] rs(.w) (92) [hr=f grh mi rʕ]</i>	They measured this town, which was surrounded by a pit, surrounded by green trunks from all their fruit trees. As His Majesty himself sealed the east of this town, [he] watched (92) [over it by night and by day].
<i>/// inh(.w) m sb.ty n.y wnm.t /// m wmt.t=f ir(.w) rn=f m (Mn-hpr-Rʕ.w) ih(w) St.tyw rḏi(.w) r(m)t r rsw hr ʕny n.y hm=f ddw n=sn mn ib sp 2 rs [tp sp 2]</i>	Surrounded by a think wall /// in its thickness. It was named as “(Menkheperre) traps Asiatics”. People were placed to watch the camp of His Majesty, to whom it was said, “let your heart be firm (twice), and be vig[ilant (twice).”]

*ist hm=f(93) /// [n rdi pri w]c im=sn r-
bnrw hr-s3 sb.ty pn*

wp.w-hr pr.t r cbb r r(3) n.y htm=sn

*r-nt(y).t iri.(t)n nb.t hm=f r dmi pn r
hrw pf hs(.y) hn^c mš^c=f hs(.y) smn(.ti)
m hrw rn=f m rn n.y n^c.t [m rn(.w) n.w]
(i)m(y)-r(3) (94) [mnf(3).t]*

/// [cš3 s.t r smn.t s.t m šš hr wd pn]

*[iw=sn] smn(.w) hr c.r.t n.t dhr m hw.t-
ntr n.t [Imn.w] m hrw pn*

*ist wr(.w) n.y h3s.t tn iyi(.w) hr h.t ir.w
r sn t3 n b3.w hm=f r dbh t3.w r
fnd.w=sn*

*n c3(.t) hpš=f n wr b3.w n.y [Imn.w hr]
h3s.wt (95) [nb.(w)t] /// /// /// h3s.t*

*[s]t [wr.w nb.w] ini.n b3.w hm=f hr
in.w=sn m hđ nbw hšbd mfk(3).t hr f3i.t
šš(r) irp i3w.w c.w.t n mš^c n.y hm=f*

*w^c.t is.t im=sn hr in.w m hn.tyt ist hm=f
hr dhn wr.w m m3(w).t n (96) [dmi nb]
/// /// ///*

*[rh.t kf^c in.n mš^c n.y hm=f m dmi n.y]
Mkti*

*škr.w-cnh.w 340 dr.t 83 ssm.t 2041
msy.t n.t ssm.t 191 ibr 6 rnp /// /// ///*

*wrr(y).t b3k.ti m nbw dbw(=f) m nbw
n.y hr(w) pf 1*

*wrr(y).t nfr.t b3k.ti m nbw n.y wr n.y
(97) [Mkti 1]*

*/// /// /// wrr(y).t n.y mš^c=f hs(y) 892
dmd 924*

*hsmn mss nfr n.y c3 n.y hr(w) pf 1
hsmn mss nfr n.y c3 n.y wr n.y Mk[ti 1]*

*/// /// /// mss n.y c3 n.y mš^c=f hs.y 200
pd.t 502 mri.y wh3 b3k.w m hđ im3 n.y
hr(w) pf 7*

*ist iti.n mš^c (98) [n.y hm=f mnmn.t n(.t)
dmi pn /// /// /// 387.*

While His Majesty (93) /// [it was not permitted that an]y of them [should go forth] behind this wall.

Except to go forth in order to knock at the mouth of their fence.

Since all that His Majesty has done against this town, against this feeble enemy together with his feeble army, has been recording the day according to his name, in the name of the expedition, [in the name(s) of the] overseers (94) of the infantry.

/// [it was too numerous in order to record in writing on this inscription]

[They] were established upon a role of leather in the temple of [Amun] on this day.

Now, the chief(s) of this h3s.t had come upon their bellies in order to kiss the land because of the powers of His Majesty to ask for the breath for their noses

because of the greatness of his strength, because of the greatness of the power of [Amun over all] the (95) h3s.wt /// /// /// h3s.t.

[I]t was [all the chiefs] who, through the power of His Majesty, brought, carrying their gifts of silver, nbw-gold, lapis lazuli and turquoise, carrying corn, wine, oxen, small cattle for the army of His Majesty.

A single group among them were carrying gifts to the south. It is the case that His Majesty appointed officials anew to (96) [all towns] /// /// ///

Here is the list of the gifts reported by the army of His Majesty from the town of] Megiddo.

Living captives, 340; hands, 83; horses, 2041; young horses, 191; stallions, 6; colt /// /// ///

A chariot worked with nbw-gold, its pole (of the chariot) in nbw-gold of this enemy, 1.

A beautiful chariot worked with nbw-gold of the prince of (97) [Megiddo, 1]

/// /// /// chariots of his feeble army, 892, total, 924.

bronze, beautiful battle armour of this enemy, 1; bronze, beautiful battle armour of the prince of Meg[iddo, 1]

/// /// /// armour of his feeble army, 200.

bows, 502; cedar pole worked in silver of the tent of this enemy, 7.

As the army (98) [of His Majesty] had taken [the cattle of this city] /// /// /// 387

<i>k3 1929 ʿw.t nds.t 2000 ʿw.t ḥd.t 20500 rh.t iny.t ḥr-s3 in nsw m-ḥt-pri n.y ḥrw pf n.ty [m Yn]ʿm m Ngs m Ḥlkr</i>	Bulls, 1929; goats, 2000; sheep, 20500. Here is the list of what was carried by the king of the furniture of this enemy who is [at Yen]oam, at Nukhasse, and at Hulkour.
<i>ḥnʿ (i)ḥ.t n.t n3 n.y dmi(.w) rd(w.w) sn ḥr mw=f in.y n (99) [b3.w ḥm=f] /// /// ///</i>	Together with the things of those towns which were faithful to him. Here is what was brought by (99) [the powers of His Majesty] /// /// ///
<i>[ḥm(.w)t ḥr(w) pf ḥnʿ wr.w nt.y(w) ḥnʿ=f] /// [Mryn.w] n=sn imy 38 ms(.w) ḥr(w) pf ḥnʿ wr(.w) nty(.w) ḥnʿ=f 87 mryn.w n=sn imy 5 ḥm(.w) ḥm(.w)t ḥft ḥrd(.w)=sn 1796 ḥtpy(.w) irw(.w) pr.t n ḥkr m-ʿ(.w) ḥr(w) pf si 103 dmd 2503</i>	[women of this enemy together with chiefs who are with him /// to their [Maryanous], 38. Child(ren) of this enemy together with the chief(s) who are with him, 87; their Maryanous, 5. Male servants and female servants, as well as their children, 1796, non-combatants who went out because of the hunger due to this enemy, men, 103, total: 2503.
<i>ḥr(w)-r ʿ3.t nbw dd.(w)t ḥnw(.w) šbn(w.w) (100) /// /// /// ikn ʿ3 m b3k n.y ḥ3rw tb.(w)t dd.wt</i>	Besides, precious stones, <i>nbw</i> -gold, <i>dedet</i> -vases, various vases (100) /// /// /// A great jar worked in the Khorian (style), the jugs, the <i>dedet</i> -vases.
<i>ḥntw(.w) ḥnw(.w) šbn(w.w) n(.w) swr rhd.(w)t ʿ3(.wt) sft /// 27 ir(.w) n 1784 dbn nbw m sš.(w)y gm.yt ḥr ʿwy ḥmw(.w) ḥnʿ ḥd m sš.y ʿš3(.w) 966 dbn 1 ḳd.t</i>	Khenu-vases, various vases for drinking, large cauldrons, /// 27 knives, valued at 1784 deben. <i>Nbw</i> -gold in blocks found in the arms of the artisans, together with silver in numerous blocks, 966 deben and 1 kite.
<i>ḥd twt m ḳm3(w) (101) /// /// /// ḥr(w) pf n.ty im] tp m nbw</i>	A statue formed in silver (101) /// /// /// [a statue of that enemy who was there with] the head in <i>nbw</i> -gold.
<i>m3w.t m ḥr(w) pʿ.t 3 3b(w) ḥbn(y) ssndm b3k(.w) m nbw ḳni n.y ḥr(w) pf 6 hdmw n=sn imy 6 3b(w) ssndm ḥtp ʿ3 6</i>	Stick with a human head, 3; ivory, ebony, precious wood worked in <i>nbw</i> -gold, a carrier chair of this enemy, 6; their stools therein, 6; ivory, precious wood, 6 large altars.
<i>ssndm b3k(.w) m nbw m ʿ3.t nb(.t) ḥtʿ m šhr n.y krkr n.y ḥr(w) pf b3k(.w) m nbw r-3w=f ḥbn(y) b3k(w) (102) m nbw twt n.y ḥr(w) pf n.ty im tp=f m ḥ[sbd] /// /// ///</i>	Precious wood worked in <i>nbw</i> -gold, and all previous stones, a bed fashioned with kerker of this enemy, worked in <i>nbw</i> -gold to its width. Ebony worked (102) with <i>nbw</i> -gold, a statue of this enemy, which was the one whose head was in lapis [lazuli] /// /// ///
<i>[dmi p]n ḥnw(.w) n(.w) ḥsmn ḥbs(.w) ʿš3(.w) n(.w) ḥr(w) pf ist ir(.w) n3 n.y 3ḥ.t m iḥ.(w)t sip(.w) n rwdw.w n.w pr.w-nsw ʿnh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) r ʿw3y.t p3(y)=sn šmw(.w)</i>	[Th]is [town], bronze vases, and numerous clothes of this enemy. As these lands had been divided into plots. Assigned to the representatives of the king's house, may he live, prosper and be healthy, in order to collect their crops.
<i>rh.t šmw(.w) iny(.w) n ḥm=f m ʿh.(w)t Mkti</i>	Amount of the harvest brought by His Majesty in the area of Megiddo.

sw.t 207300 /// (103) hr(.w)-r šꜥd(.wt) m it̪i.t i<n> mšꜥ n.y hm=f /// ///

Year 40, Urk. IV, 668-671 (203).

[*rh.t in.w in.y n b3.w hm=f in wr.w*] *n.w Rtnw m rpn.t-sp 40*

in.w n.w wr n.y Issr hsbḏ m3ꜥ inr ʕ3 iri.n dbn 10 ḳd.t 9 hsbḏ m3ꜥ dbn 2 dmd

ḳn[ḳn.ḳ] ir.n dbn 30 dmd dbn 50 ḳd.t 9 hsbḏ nfr n.y bbr hr̪tt 3 hn̪w.w n.w Issr m iwn.w [ʕš3] /// /// (104) ʕš3 wr.t

in.w n(.w) wr.w n.w Rtnw s3.t wr ʕpr.w[=s] m nbw hr̪ hsbḏ n.y h3s.t[=s]

šms.w sdm-ʕš [hm.w hm.wt n=s im].y 30

hm.w hm.wt n in.w=f 65

ssm.t 12[4] wrr.yt b3k.ti m nbw ḏbw m nbw 5 wrr.yt b3k.ti m nbw ḏbw m ʕg.t dmd 10

tpiw wndw 45 k3.w 749 ʕwt 5703

nbw dd.t /// /// (105) n h3y=s

ḫḏ dd.t hn̪ ʕnḳn dbn 104 ḳd.t 5 nbw 3ḳrd²⁶ n3 sꜥm m hsbḏ

ḫsmn hn̪r sꜥm m nbw sh̪n.w t[h̪]n.t m3ꜥ(.t) /// ///

[*ḫsmn mss n.y*] *ʕh3 /// /// hr̪ /// /// ḫḏ /// /// mh̪ m ʕh3.w ʕš3.w isp̪.t mh̪ m /// ///*

(106) *sn̪r mni.w 423 ir̪p bit mni.w 1718 ʕg.t ḫt ʕg.t ḏr̪.wy ʕš3.w 3bw ssndm mrw psgw sp 2 n.y ḫt špss nb n.y h3s.t tn*

i[st mni.w nb.t spr hm=f r=s ssp̪d /// ///

[*ist wr.w n.w h3s.t tn hr̪ 3tp̪.t (i)h̪.t nb.t nfr̪.t*] (107) *r s.t nb n.t ph̪r n.y hm=f ir̪.w m i3m(w)*

Wheat, 207300; /// (103) independently from what was cut, seized by the army of His Majesty. /// ///

[Number of gifts that was brought because of the powers of His Majesty, by the princes] of Retenu. Regnal Year 40.

Gifts of the Prince of Assyria: real lapis lazuli, great stone, made 20 deben and 9/10 kite, true lapis lazuli, 2 deben, total: 3 deben.

Beating [out], made 30 deben, total, 50 deben and 9 kite. Beautiful lapis lazuli of Babylon, lumps (of lapis lazuli): 3. Great jars of Assyria with [numerous] colours /// /// (104) great and numerous.

Gifts of the princes of Retenu: daughter of a chief, [her] jewellery in *nbw*-gold with lapis lazuli of [her] *h3s.t*.

Followers, servants, [male slaves, female slaves, belonging to her]: 30.

Male slaves, female slaves for his gifts: 65.

Horses: 12[4]. Chariot worked in *nbw*-gold, the pole in *nbw*-gold: 5. Chariot, worked in *nbw*-gold, the pole in varnish: 5. Total: 10.

Oxen, short-horned cattle: 45. Bulls: 749. Small cattle: 5703,

nbw-hold dishes /// /// (105) it is not measured. Silver dishes together with flattened (bits), 104 deben, 5 kite. A *nbw*-gold battle axe that is inlaid with lapis lazuli.

A bronze rein inlaid with *nbw*-gold, decorated in real faience. /// ///

[Bronze coat of] mail /// /// upon /// /// silver /// /// filled with many arrows, a quiver of arrows filled with /// ///

(106) Incense: 423 jars. Honey wine: 1718 jars.

Resin varnish, precious wood, much paint, ivory, costly-wood, *mrw*-wood, *psgw*-wood, times 2 of wood, everything august of this *h3s.t*.

It [is the case that every stopping place to which His Majesty reached was supplied] /// ///

[It is the case that the chiefs of this *h3s.t* were loaded with every good thing] (107) to any place of the “turnabout” (i.e. Grand Tour) of His Majesty was made into a tent.

²⁶ See Goedicke for a discussion of this word and interpretation as a battle axe. Goedicke, *Battle of Megiddo*, 116.

Year 24, Urk. IV, 671-672 (203).

*rnp.t-sp 24 rh.t in.w in.y b3.w hm=f hr
h3s.t Rtnw*

*in.w n.w wr n.y Issr [h]s[b]d m3^c inr 3
/// iri.n dbn /// /// ///*

[in.w n.w wr.w n.w Rtnw] /// /// ///

(108) *mstkw m msqn m^c-(.w) h3w msst3
n.y wrr.yt m tp.w n.t ht tw r3 ht m kriwt
192 hr /// /// ///*

(109) */// /// ht /// hb ht 343 ssndm 50
mrw 190 nyb knkwt 206 kbw /// hn[.w]*

(110) */// /// h3 /// [7]5[2] kdt²⁷ 20 nri ///
/// /// ht nnw 2[75] sp 2 n ht nnw /// ///
///*

Regnal Year 24, Number of gifts that was brought because of the powers of His Majesty in Retenu.

Gifts of the Prince of Assyria: real [lapis] lazuli, great stone /// made deben /// /// ///

[Gifts of the chiefs of Retenu] /// /// ///

Amulets in leather together with hide. Framework of a chariot, from the best of the wood, a *tr*-device in *kriwt*-material: 192. Upon /// /// ///

(109) /// /// wood, ///-wood. Wood: 343. Costly wood: 50, *mrw*-wood: 190, Objects of *nyb*-wood: 206, plants /// vessels

(110) /// /// 1000 /// [7]5[2], *qedet*-wood: 20, *nri*-tree /// /// wood for a bed 2[75], times 2, wood for a bed, /// /// ///

[18.06.02] The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück II

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Vestibule of Thutmose III, reused in Room Va
Location: Cairo JE 29242 (called Elephantine)
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: H. 0.75 m, W. 1.04 m, D. 0.77 m
Sources: PM II², 99; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 675-678 (204); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 199-200 (204); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, 25, pl. 16; Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten* (Berlin, 1947), 10-15.
Description: Piece 2 of the Annals. A section of the Annals dating to Year 25, original position unknown. They represent excerpts of the day-books which were taken on Thutmose III's various campaigns.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP.

- (1) /// /// /// (2) /// /// /// *n.tt pri.w=s is.t=f m*
 /// /// ///
 (3) /// /// /// *m (i)h.t nb.t nfr.t n Imn.w-R^c.w*
nb ns.wt t3.wy n R^c.w-Hr.w-[3h.ty] /// /// ///
 (4) /// /// /// *[wn].in hm=f hr sd3y hr=f m*
[sti.t] /// /// ///
 (5) /// /// /// *[^ch^c.n sti.t] sd.t m nn dmi.w m-ht*
[nn] /// /// ///
 (6) /// /// /// *[ist sbi.n hm=f mš^c.w n(.w) htri r*
h3k wht¹ tn ^ch^c.n ini /// /// ///
 (7) /// /// /// *[hm=i] ^cnh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w)*
wd hm=f rdi.t nwy [tw rmt.w] /// /// ///
 (8) /// /// /// *[hb]hb mtn.w n.w [t3 pn] /// /// ///*
 (9) /// /// /// *r šd.t=f n=i m bnr.w [^ch^c.n] ///*
 /// ///

Translation: Burkhardt et al.; LP.

- (1) /// /// /// (2) /// /// /// which goes forth his
 company (of soldiers) in /// /// ///
 (3) /// /// /// with everything good for Amun-
 Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, and
 for Re-Har[akhty] /// /// ///
 (4) /// /// /// [Then] His Majesty took his
 recreation with shooting /// /// ///
 (5) /// /// /// [Then, shooting] the fire with these
 towns in the following of [these] /// /// ///
 (6) /// /// /// [Then His Majesty travelled with
 the army of chariots] in order to plunder this
 settlement. Then /// brought /// ///
 (7) /// /// /// [my Majesty], l.p.h. His Majesty
 commanded the doing of the return [of this
 people] /// /// ///
 (8) /// /// /// traversing the roads of [this flat
 land] /// /// ///
 (9) /// /// /// in order for him to cut for me
 outside [then] /// /// ///

¹ This noun has the meaning of a place in both the foreign lands and in Egypt. Considering the context, in which it is used with the verb “to plunder”, it likely has the former meaning. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 223.

[18.06.03] The Annals of Thutmose III, Stück V-VI

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Vestibule of Thutmose III, including rooms V-VII and the northern ambulatory wall around the bark shrine.
Location: in situ, and a part resides in the Louvre (C. 51)
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: 25 m x 12 m
Sources: KIU 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 5230; PM II², 89-90 (240-244); LD III, *text*, 25, *plates*, 30(a), 31(a); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 679-734 (206-207); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 200-223 (206-207); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 13; Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. xii; Birch, *Transactions*, 317-373; Pritchard, *ANET*, 234-238; Spalinger, “A Critical Analysis of the ‘Annals’ of Thutmose III (Stücke V-VI)”, *JARCE* 14 (1977), 41-54; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (2015), 113-183; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 470-471 (KIU 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480), 514 (KIU 5230).
Description: Years 29-42 of the Annals. They represent excerpts of the day-books which were taken on Thutmose III’s various campaigns.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 3479; Sethe, *Translation:* Spalinger, Burkhardt et al., Mariette, Dessoudeix, supplemented by Delange, LP. photographs supplied by Dr. Susanne Binder and Associate Professor Boyo Ockinga; *Transliteration:* KIU 3479; Dessoudeix, LP.

Part I: Stück V, KIU 5230; *Urk.* IV, 679-723 (206).

Encompassing the Years 29-38, and the beginning of the Year 29 of his reign.

Line 1: Titulary of the king

(2) *wḏ ḥm=f rḏ.t smn.tw [nḥt.w rḏi.n n=f it(=f) Imn.w] ss3t inr m ḥw.t-ntr* His Majesty commanded the making of establishing the [victories which (his) father Amun granted to him] (engraved) on a stone wall of the temple.

iri.n ḥm=f m m3.wt [n it(=f) Imn.w] His Majesty made it anew [for (his) father, Amun]

/// *[mi wḏ.]tw n [ntr pn] [ds=f] ḥft [smn].tw wḏy.t ḥr rn=f* /// as an inscription for [this god] [himself] in accordance with what was established on campaign, upon his name,

ḥnꜥ ḥ3k.w in.n ḥm=f im=s together with the plunder that His Majesty brought therein.

iri in tw mi [s.t-ib n.t ḥm=f r3=s] Made by one like the [favourite of His Majesty (by) its mouth]

/// /// /// *[ḥft wḏ.n it(=f) Imn.w]* /// /// /// [in accordance with what (his) father, Amun, commanded.

iw rnn kni m iri.tn=f nn ḥtm n t3 pn ḏ.t] It is the case that (one) rejoiced of the bravery in that which he made, there being no perishing in this flat land, forever.

(3) *rn̄p.t sp 29 ist ḥm[=f ḥr D̄3]hy ḥr sksk
ḥ3s.wt bšt.w(t) ḥr=f m wdy.t 5 n.t nḥt*

*ist ḥ3k n ḥm=f dmi n.y Wr̄tt /// /// r̄di.t
ḥkn.w n ḥm=f in mš3=f*

*r̄di.t i3w n (4) [Imn.w] ḥr nḥt.w r̄di[.n=f n]
s3=f*

*wn.in=s nfr ḥr-ib n.y ḥm=f r (i)ḥ.t nb.t m-
ḥt nn wd3 ḥm=f r šn̄ n.y wdn*

*r̄di.t m3̄ 3bt n Imn.w R̄.w-Hr.w-3ḥ.ty m
i3w.w wndm.w 3pd.w /// /// [ḥr(.y)-tp
ḥnh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) nsw.t bi.ty] (Mn-
ḥpr-[R̄.w])| d̄i(.w) ḥnh d̄.t*

*rḥt ḥ3k.w in.y m dmi pn m (5) iw̄.yt n.t ḥrw
pf n Tnp ḥ3s.t wr n.y dmi pn thr.w 329*

*ḥd dbn 10 nbw dbn 10 ḥsb̄d mfk3t ḥnw.w n.w
ḥsmn ḥm.t*

*ist mḥ m imw.w [2] [ḥpr m is.wt=s n] 3tp m
(i)ḥ.t nb(.t) m ḥm.w ḥm.wt ḥm.t dḥty (6)
(i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t*

*m-ḥt wd3 ḥm=f ḥnt.tyt r Km.t n it(=f)
[Imn.w-R̄.w] m 3w(.t)-ib*

*ist sk.n ḥm=f dmi n.y Ir̄tt m iti=s š̄d.w
ḥt.w=s nb bnr*

*ist gm[.n ḥm=f p3 t3 n.y] D̄3hy r 3w=f
mnw=s n mḥ m pr.t=s n gm.ntw n3y=s n (7)
irp.w w3ḥ.w m n3y=s n nmw mi ḥdd n3y=s n
iti m-ḥtw ḥr wb3m ḥ3 s.t r š̄.yw n.w wdb.w
mš3.w ḥr b̄ḥ m (i)ḥ.t iry*

rḥ.t in.w in.y n ḥm=f m wdy.t tn

ḥm.w ḥm.wt 51 ssm.t 32 ḥd dd.t 10

(3) Regnal Year 29. Now, [His] Majesty [was in Dj]ahy, destroying the *ḥ3s.wt* and the rebellion against him, in the fifth campaign of victory.

It is the case, the plunder of His Majesty (from) the town of Ullaza /// /// giving the acclaim for His Majesty by his army, giving the praises for (4) [Amun] upon the victories [that he] made [for] his son.

Then they were in the perfect midst of His Majesty, for everything was in the following of this proceeding of His Majesty for the labour establishment of the offerings.

Giving true offerings for Amun and Re-Harakhty, small cattle, short-horned cattle, fowl /// /// [chief, l.p.h., King of Upper and Lower Egypt,] (Menkheper[re])|, may he be given life, forever.

Number of the booty brought from his town with (5) the troops of this enemy from the *ḥ3s.t* of Tunip and the chief of this town, and the northern Levantine warriors: 329.

Silver: 10 deben. *nbw*-gold: 10 deben, lapis lazuli, turquoise, jars of bronze and copper.

Now one seized with ships, [equipped with their 2 crews], loaded with everything, with male slaves, female slaves, copper, lead, emery, (6) and everything good,

in the following of the proceeding of His Majesty in the southward voyage to Egypt, for (his) father, [Amun-Re] in happiness.

Then His Majesty destroyed the town of Ardata with its grain and cut down all its fruit trees.

Then, [His Majesty foun]d [the flat land of] Djahy at its widest, and their trees filled with their fruit, their wine (7) was found set aside in their vats, like water travelling downstream and their grain on the forecourt(?), crushed grain, it was more plentiful than the sand of the river bank! The army was inundated with their things!

Number of the gifts that were brought to His Majesty on this campaign:

Male and female slaves: 51, horses: 32, silver dishes: 10

(8) *sntr b3k bit mni.w 470 irp mni.w 6428
hm.t dhṯy ḥsbd w3d.w k3.w 618 ʿwt 3636 t
nfr t n.y ʿšʿ wr.t sšr swt wnmt /// /// /// dkr.w
nb nfr n ḥ3s.t tn*

*ist wnn mšʿ.w n.y ḥm=f thw gs.w m b3k (9)
rʿ.w nb mi nty m ḥb.w m T3-mri*

*rnp.t-sp 30 ist ḥm=f hr ḥ3s.t Rtnw m wdy.t
6-nw n.t nḥt n.t ḥm=f*

*spr r dmi n.y Kdšw sk=s¹ šʿd mnw=s wh3²
iti=s wd3 hr sšr.ytw spr r dmi n.y Dmr spr r
dmi n.y Irṯw ir.t mi.tt r=s*

*rh.t in.w (10) ini.y n b3.w ḥm=f in wr.w n.w
Rtnw m rnp.t tn ist ini ms.w wr.w sn.w=s n r
wnn m nḥtw³ hr Km.t*

*ist ir p3 nty nb hr mw.t m nn n.y wr.w hr di
ḥm=f šm [s3]=f r ʿhʿ hr s.t=f*

*rh.t ms.w wr.w in.y m rnp.t tn si 36 ḥm.t
ḥm.wt 181 ssm.t 188 wrt.yt (11) b3k m nbw
hr ḥd nʿ 40*

*rnp.t-sp 31 (3bd 1) šm.w sw 3 šḥwy ḥ3k.w
ḥm=f m rnp.t tn ḥ3k in.y m dmi n.y Twn-r3-t
n.ty hr sp.t Nsrn*

*skr-ʿnh.w 492 ḥnty /// /// n.y p3 šri n.y hr n.y
Tnp
hry /// /// n.ty im 1 dmd si 494 ssm.t 26 wrt.yt
13*

(8) incense, moringa oil, honey: 470 jars, wine: 6428 jars, copper, lead, lapis lazuli, malachite, oxen: 618, flocks: 3636, good bread, bread of a great variety, corn, wheat, food, /// /// /// all good [fruit] of this *ḥ3s.t*.

Then, the army of His Majesty were drunkards and were anointed with moringa oil (9) every day, like it was festivity in Egypt!

Regnal Year 30. Now, His Majesty was in the *ḥ3s.t* of Retenu on the sixth campaign of victory of His Majesty.

Arrival at the town of Kadesh, destroying it, cutting down its trees, and tearing off its grain. Setting out by the arid region, arriving at the town of Sumur, arriving at the town of Ardata, and doing the like to it,

counting the (10) gifts brought because of the powers of His Majesty by the chiefs of Retenu in this year. Now, the children of the princes and their brothers⁴ were brought to be hostages in Egypt.

Now, when any of these chiefs died, His Majesty would have his [son] to go to stand in his place.

Number of the children of the chiefs brought in this year: 36. Male slaves and female slaves: 181, horses: 188. Chariots (11) worked in *nbw*-gold and silver, and undecorated: 40.

Regnal Year 31, (first month) of summer, day 3. Compendium of the plunder of His Majesty in this year. Plunder brought from the town of Ullaza which is on the shores of Nesren:

living captives: 492. Commander of /// /// of the younger son of the fallen one of Tunip.

The chief /// /// who were there: 1. Total of men: 494, horses: 26, chariots: 13,

¹ *Wb* IV, 311.9-312.17; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (2015), 135.

² To break, pick, or pluck. *Wb* I, 346.15-347.5. However, Burkhardt et al. translate this as “ihr Getreide ausraufen”; perhaps, instead of the Egyptian’s plucking the grain, Burkhardt et al. read it as the Egyptians digging up the trees, i.e. completely destroying the plants. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 203 (206).

³ Though translated as “hostage”, it actually has the sense of “spoils”. *Wb* II, 317; Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 139; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 203 (206); Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (2015), 135.

⁴ See Redford for a commentary on “brothers”. Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 71; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (2015), 134-135 (no. 33).

(12) *ḥpr.w=sn m ḥḥ.w nb n.w r3-ḥ.w-ḥ.t*

ḥḥ.n ḥ3k.n ḥm=f dmi pn n wn.wt šri.t
(i) *ḥ.t=f nb m isi ḥ3k*

in.w n.y wr.w n.w Rtnw iwi.w r sn t3 n b3.w
ḥm=f m rnp.t tn

ḥm[.w] ḥm[.wt] /// /// n ḥ3s.t tn 72 ḥd dbn
761 kd.t 2 wrr.yt b3k m ḥd 19

(13) *ḥpr.w m ḥḥ.w=sn n.w r3-3.w-ḥ.t iw3.w ḥr*
tpi.w 104 wndw ḥr k3.w 172 dmd 276

ḥwt 4622 ḥm.t ḥr ḥ3s.t=f db.t 40 dhṯy [db.t]
/// /// nbw š3kw⁵ sš m ss.wt 41 ḥnḥ
m3ḥ.w=sn nb(.w) (14) ḥnḥ ḥ3.w nb(.w) nfr
ḥ3s.t tn

ist mni.wt nb(.w)t spr ḥm=f rs sspd m t nfr
m t šbn m b3k.w sntr irp.w bit d[kr nb nfr n
ḥ3s.t tn]

/// /// ḥ3 is nb (i)ḥ.t nb.t r rh mšḥ n.y ḥm=f
nn m iwms (15) iw=sn mn ḥr hrwyṯ pr.w-
nsw ḥnḥ(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w)

tn tw rdi.t rh.t=sn ḥr wd pn r tm m sḥ3
md.wt r ir.t ḥr.wt=sn ḥr 3.t s.t irys[=t im] ///
/// ///

[*ist grt n*] *smi.tw šm.w n.w ḥ3s.t Rtnw m šr.t*
ḥ3.w (16) iti sw.t bdt sntr b3k.w w3d irp dkr
(i) *ḥ.t nb.t ndm.t n.y ḥ3s.t*

iw tw n šn.tw s.t r pr.w-ḥd mi ip b3k.w n n3
/// /// ///

šbn 33 ḥnḥ šsmt ḥ3.t nb.t n.t ḥ3s.t tn ḥnḥ inr.w
ḥ3.w (17) n.w <w>[t]ḥn.t [i]m /// /// [(i)ḥ.t
nb.t nfr.t n.t ḥ3s.t tn

(12) their military equipment, with all weapons of war.

Then His Majesty plundered this town in a short moment, and all its property as easy prey,

and gifts of the chiefs of Retenu who came to kiss the earth in obeisance because of the powers of His Majesty in this year:

Male [slaves] and [female] slaves /// /// of this *ḥ3s.t*: 72. Silver: 761 deben, 2 kite. Chariots worked with silver: 19.

(13) Their military equipment of weapons of war. Long horned cattle and oxen: 104, short-horned cattle and bulls: 172. Total: 276.

Flocks: 4622, copper of its *ḥ3s.t*, 40 ingots, lead: [ingots] /// /// *nbw*-gold, a bag(?) inscribed with a metallic inlay: 41. Together with all their offerings (14) and all the good plants of this *ḥ3s.t*.

Now, every harbour His Majesty arrived at was supplied with fine bread, various bread, moringa oil, incense, wine, honey, [various fine] fr[uits of this *ḥ3s.t*]

/// /// it was more numerous than anything, more than the knowledge of the army of His Majesty, and that is no misstatement! (15) They remain on the day-book of the king's house, l.p.h.

The tally of them is not given in this inscription in order to not magnify the words and in order to make their shares in this place [there, they] having completed /// ///

[Now], a report was made in the summer of the *ḥ3s.t* of Retenu, with much grain, (16) barley, wheat, emmer, incense, fresh moringa oil, wine, fruit, and all sweet things of the *ḥ3s.t*.

One is questioned about it at the treasury, like the accounting of the work produce of the /// ///

Various, 33, with malachite and every precious stone of this *ḥ3s.t*, together with numerous blocks (17) of glass, [i the flat land in /// /// [and everything] good in this *ḥ3s.t*.

⁵ Redford translates this as “boxes” (p. 72). Similar words might mean “bag” (Faulkner) or “ring” (Hannig). The addition of O27 does indicate an item made of leather or another animal skin.

*spr hm=f r T3-mri iw.t wp.wt n.w gnb.tw hr
in.w=sn m ntyw k3 /// /// ///*

[b3k.w Kš hs.t m rnp.t tn nbw dbn] /// /// ///
3hs.w w t3y r šms 10 iw3 (18) wndm 113 k3.w
230 dmd 343 hr r h̄.w 3tp m 3bw hbny inm
n.y 3by m3̄.w [nb.w nfr.w n.w h3s.t tn hn̄
šm.w n.w h3s.t tn

[b3k.w n.w W3w3.t nbw dbn] /// /// /// W3w3.t
iw3 wndm 31 k3.w 61 dmd 92

(19) hr r h̄.w 3tp m (i)h̄.t nb.t n.t h3s.t tn
šm.w n.w W3w3.t m m̄.t

rnp.t-sp 31 ist hm=f hr h3s.t Rtnw spr [r w
n.y Kdn m wdy.t 8-nw n.t nht] /// /// ///

i3b.ty mw pn smn.n=f ky r-gs wd n.y it=f
(20) nsw.t bi.ty (3-hpr-k3-R̄.w)|

ist hdi.n hm=f hr h3k dmi.w hr hb3 wh̄.wyt
n.y hr pf n.y Nhrn hs.t

/// /// /// [h̄.n hd].n=f itr n skd.t m s3=sn n
nw m3.n w̄ (21) h3-tp=f

wp.tw hr ifd m dwn mi h3ir.t n.t wt ist htr.w
pw šrs w /// /// ///

[rht h3w in.y m s.t tn] m mš̄.w r-dr=f wr.w
3 (22) hm.wt=sn 30 rmt.w kf̄ 80 hm.w
hm.wt hn̄ hrd.w=sn 606 htp.yw hm.wt[=sn]
/// /// /// [w]h3=sn

spr hm=f r dmi (23) n.y Nyy m hnty.t hft iy.t
hm=f smn.n=f wd=f m Nhrn hr sw̄h t3s.w
Km.t /// /// ///

[rht] in.w in.y n hm=f in wr.w n.w h3s.t tn

(24) hm.w hm.wt 513 ssm.wt 260 nbw dbn
45 kd.t 9 hd hn̄.w m b3k n.y D3hy /// /// ///

Then His Majesty arrived in Egypt, coming with messengers, and foreign peoples from Pwenet, under their gifts: with myrrh /// /// /// [Work produce of feeble Kush in this year. nbw-gold, deben] /// /// /// male warriors and their followers: 10. Long-horned cattle (18) and short-horned cattle: 113. Bulls: 230. Total: 343. Ships from a distance, loaded with ivory, ebony, skins of panther, [every good] product [of this h3s.t, with the harvest of this h3s.t]

[Work produce of Wawat, nbw-gold: deben] /// /// /// Wawat: long-horned cattle and short-horned cattle: 31. Bulls: 61. Total: 92.

(19) Ships from a distance, loaded with every good thing of this h3s.t, the harvest of Wawat likewise.

Regnal Year 31. Now His Majesty was in the h3s.t of Retenu. Arr[iving at the district of Keden in the Eighth Campaign of victory] /// /// ///

to the east of this water, he established also beside the stela of his father, (20) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Aakheperkare)|

Then His Majesty sailed north, plundering the towns and ravaging the villages of the fallen one of feeble Naharin.

/// /// /// [Then] he went [sailing] in a river, for the travelling behind them (i.e. in pursuit). Not one of them looked (21) behind him.

One fled continually like herds of flocks, while the horses were fast /// /// ///

[Number of booty brought from this place] with the entire army. Chiefs: 3, (22) their wives: 30, captured men: 80, male slaves and female slaves together with their children 606. The non-combatants and [their] wives /// /// /// cut their crops.

Arrival of His Majesty at the town (23) of Niya on the southward voyage, His Majesty had come having established his stela in Naharin, upon widening the borders of Egypt /// /// ///

[Number] of the gifts brought to His Majesty by the chiefs of this h3s.t

(24) Male slaves and female slaves: 513, horses: 260, nbw-gold: 45 deben and 9 kite.

<i>[wrr.yt b3k m ḥd] /// [ʿpr.w] m ḥʿ.w=sn nb r3-ʿ.w-ḥt</i>	Silver, jars worked in Djahy /// /// [chariots worked in silver] /// [equipped with all their weapons of war.]
<i>iw3.w (25) wndm.w tpi.w 28 k3.w 564 ʿwt 5323 sntr mni.w 828 b3k.w ḥr /// /// [ḥ3.w] nb ndm n.y ḥ3s.t tn dkr nb ʿš3</i>	Long-horned cattle (25) short-horned cattle, oxen: 28. Bulls: 564, flocks: 5323, jars of incense 828, moringa oil with /// /// all the sweet [plants] of this ḥ3s.t and all numerous fruits.
<i>ist (26) n n3 mni.wt sspd m (i)ḥ.t nb mi ḥtr=sn mi ntʿ=sn n.t tnw rnp.t ḥnʿ b3k n.y Rmnn mi ntʿ=sn n tnw rnp.t ḥnʿ wr.w n.w Rmnn /// ///</i>	And so (26) the harbours were supplied with everything in accordance with their tax levy, like their yearly due, together with the work produce of Remenen, like their yearly due, with the chiefs of Remenen /// ///
<i>n rh.tw 3pd.w 4 (27) n.y ḥ3s.t tn ist st ḥr ms.t rʿ.w-nb in.w n.y wr n.y Sngr</i>	without knowing. 4 birds (27) of this ḥ3s.t who, it is the case, give birth daily! Gifts of the chief of Babylon.
<i>ḥsbd m3ʿ dbn 4 ḥsbd iry.t dbn 24 ḥsbd Bbr /// ///</i> <i>[in.w n.y wr n.y Issr m] rnp.t tn ḥsbd m3ʿ ḥr n.y šfšh.t ḥsbd m3ʿ (28) kd.t 15 ḥnʿ ḥn.w šbn</i>	True lapis lazuli, 4(?) deben, fabricated lapis lazuli, 24 deben, lapis lazuli of Babel /// /// [Gifts of the chief of Assur in] this year: real lapis lazuli upon a ram's head, real lapis lazuli (28) 15 kite, with [various] vessels
<i>in.w n.y ḥt ʿ3 m rnp.t tn ḥd sšw 8 ir.n dbn 401 ʿ3.t ḥd.t inr ʿ3 2 t3gw /// ///</i>	Gifts of the great Hatti in this year: silver, 8 sheets, making 401 deben. White stone: 2 large blocks, timber /// ///
<i>[spr ḥm=f m ḥtp] r T3-mri m iwi=f m (29) Nhrn ḥr [sw]s[h] t3š.w Km.t</i>	[His Majesty arrived in peace] to Egypt, when he came from (29) Naharin, [widening] the borders of Egypt.
<i>bi3.ywt in.ywt n ḥm=f ḥr ḥ3s.t Pwn.t</i>	Wonders were brought for His Majesty from the ḥ3s.t of Punt
<i>m rnp.t tn ʿntyw ḥk3.t 1685 nbw /// ///</i>	in this year: myrrh, 1685 hekat measures, nbw-gold /// ///
<i>[b3k.w n.w Kš ḥ.t m rnp.t tn] nbw dbn 155 kd.t 2 ḥm.w ḥm.wt 134 iw3.w (30) wndw.w 114 k3.w [305] dmd k3.w 419 ḥr r ʿḥʿ.w 3tp m 3bw ḥbny inm n.y 3by (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t n.t ḥ3s.t [tn šm.w n.t ḥ3s.t tn mi.tt]</i>	[Work produce of feeble Kush in this year: nbw-gold: 155 deben, 2 kite. Male slaves and female slaves: 134. Long-horned cattle and (30) short-horned cattle: 115, bulls: [305]. Total bulls/cattle: 419. Ships from a distance, loaded with ivory, ebony, skins of panther. Every good thing of [this] ḥ3s.t, [the harvest of this ḥ3s.t likewise.
<i>[b3k.w n.w W3w3.t m rnp.t tn nbw dbn] /// ///</i> <i>[ḥm.w ḥm.wt 8 N]ḥsy t3y 12 dmd 20 iw3 wndw 44 (31) k3 60 dmd 104 ḥr r ʿḥʿ.w 3tp m (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t n.t ḥ3s.t tn šm.w n.w s.t tn m mi.tt</i>	[Work produce of Wawat in this year: nbw-gold, deben] /// /// [male slaves and female slaves: 8, N]ubian men: 12, Total: 20. Long-horned cattle and short-horned cattle: 44. (31) bulls: 60. Total: 104. Ships from a distance, loaded with every good thing of this ḥ3s.t, the harvest of this place likewise.

*rnp.t sp 34 ist hm=f hr h3s.t D3hy [m wdy.t
9-nw n.t nht] /// /// /// =f htp n hm=f r 3w.w
m hims*

*rht (32) dmi.w h3k m rnp.t tn dmi 2 dmi.w iri
htp m p3 w n.y Ngs 1 dmd 3*

*h3k.w in.n hm[=f m nn dmi.w] /// /// /// [rmt
in].y m kf 90 htp.yw hm.wt=sn (33)
hrd.w=sn /// /// /// ssm.t 40 wrr.yt b3k m hd
nbw 15 nbw hn.w*

*nbw m šsw dbn 50 kd.t 8 [hd hn.w] n.y h3s.t
tn hn^c šsw dbn 153 hm.t [dhty] hsmn h^c.w nb
n.w] r3-^c.w-h.t k3.w 326 ^cw.t hd.t 40 ^cw.t [ib]
nds.t 60 ^c3.w 70 ht .w ^cš3.w n.y t3gw*

*(34) ht km.t ssdm kni htp ^cš3 hn^c whw n i3m
b3k m hsmn m mh m ^c3.t 6 hn^c (i)ht nb nfr
n.y h3s.t tn*

*in.w n.w wr.w n.w Rtnw rnp.t tn
ss[m.t] 40 [wrr.yt b3]k m hd nbw*

*hn^c n^cw 90
hm.w hm.wt 702
nbw dbn 55 kd.t 6
hd hn.w šbn (35) m b3k n.y h3s.t
[dbn] /// [kd.t] /// nbw hd [hsbd]
mni.w ^c3.t nb.t hn.w [šbn]*

*hm.t hr h3s.t=f db.t 80
dhty db.t 11
sš.w dbn 100
^cntyw w3d sšm.t /// /// ///
iw3 wndm 13
k3.w 530
^c3 84
hsmn
h^c.w ^cš3.w
hn.w n.y hm.t ^cš3
sntr mni.w 693*

Regnal Year 34. Now His Majesty was in Djahy [on his Ninth Campaign of Victory] /// /// his, peace to His Majesty to the width with humbleness.

Number (32) of the towns plundered in this year: 2 towns. Towns which made peace in the region of Nukhashshe: 1. Total: 3.

Individuals as plunder which [his] Majesty brought [from these towns] /// /// [people brought by capture: 90. The non-combatants, their wives (33) and their children /// /// horses: 40, chariots worked in silver and nbw-gold: 15. Nbw-gold vessels Nbw-gold in sheets, 50 deben, 8 kite. [Silver vessels] of this h3s.t, together with sheets: 153 deben, copper, [lead, bronze, their military equipment, with all weapons of war. Cattle: 326, flocks of sheep: 40, flocks of small goats: 50, donkeys: 70. Numerous wood of timber.

(34) Black wood, costly-wood, palanquins, numerous furniture wood, together with tent-poles for the tent worked with bronze and filled with precious stones: 6, together with all good things of this h3s.t.

Gifts of the chiefs of Retenu in this year:

ho[rse]: 40, [chariots work]ed in silver and nbw-gold,

together with the undecorated: 90,

male slaves and female slaves: 702,

nbw-gold: 55 deben, 6 kite,

various silver vessels (35) worked by the h3s.t, /// [deben] /// [kite], nbw-gold, silver,

[lapis lazuli], vessels with every precious

stone, [various] vessels,

copper of its h3s.t, 80 ingots,

lead: 11 ingots,

paint: 100 deben,

myrrh, green stone, malachite /// /// ///

long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle: 13,

bulls: 530,

donkeys: 84,

bronze,

many weapons,

many vessels of copper,

jars of incense: 693

(36) *b3k hr b3k w3d [mni.w] 2080*
irp mni.w 608
t3gw [ht] [w]rry.t 3
ssndm knkn.wt
ht nb n.y h3s.t tn

ist mni.wt nb n.t hm=f sspd(.w) m (i)h.t nb.t
nfr.t

n.t šsp⁶ hm[=f hr h3s.t D3]hy
m š kf.tyw⁷
kbn.wt⁸
sk.twt⁹

3tp m wh3.w ss3.t hn^c (37) ht š3.w n mdh.w
š3.w n hm=f

in.w n.w wr.w n.w Isy m rnp.t tn hm.t db.t
108 ½ hm.t stfw dbn 2040 dh ty db.t 5 hsb
dbn 110 3by ndh.t [t3gw] m3w.t 2

b3k.w n.w Kš hs.t nbw dbn 300(?) /// [hm.w
hm.wt N]hsy 60 s3 wr n.y Irm (38) dmd 64
iw3 [wndm 105 k3.w] 170 dmd 275 hr r
[šh^c.w] 3tp m 3b.w hbny m3^c.w nb(.w) n.t
h3s.t tn šm.w n.y Kš m mi.tt

[b3k.w] n.w W3w3.t nbw dbn [2555] hm.t
hm.wt Nhsy 10 iw3 wndm /// /// (39) m
(i)h.t nb.t nfr.t n.t h3s.t [tn šm.w n.w W3]w3.t
m mi.tt

rnp.t sp 35 ist hm[=f hr] D3hy m wdy.t md.w
n.t nh.t

ist spr.n hm=f r dmi n.y Irnn ist shwy hr pf
hs [n.y Nhr]n htr.w hn^c rmt=sn /// ///

(40) *n.w ph.w t3 š3 s.t pr š^c.yw n wdb.w] w3*
r h3 hn^c hm=f

(36) moringa oil with fresh moringa oil: 2080 [jars],
 wine: 608 jars,
 wood [of timber], chariots: 3,
 costly wood and wooden objects,
 and all the woods of this *h3s.t*.

Now, all the harbours of His Majesty were stocked with every good thing which [his] Majesty took [in the *h3s.t* of Dj]ahy, in cedar *keftiu*-ships, *kebenout*-ships, *sektu*-vessels, loaded with poles and floor boards together with (37) large wood for the great hewing of His Majesty.

Gifts of the chiefs of Isy in this year. Copper: 108 ½ ingots, copper sheets: 2040 deben, lead: 5 ingots, lapis lazuli: 110 deben, ivory: 1 tusk, [timber], 2 shafts.

Work produce of feeble Kush: *nbw*-gold: 300(?) deben /// [Nu]bian [male slaves and female slaves]: 60. The son of the chief of Irem (38) total: 64. Long-horned [and short-horned cattle: 105. Bulls:] 170. Total: 275. Ships from a distance, loaded with ivory, ebony, and all products of this *h3s.t*, (together with) the harvest of Kush likewise.

[Work produce] of Wawat, *nbw*-gold: 2555 deben, Nubian male and female slaves: 10, long-horned and short-horned cattle: /// /// (39) with everything good of [this], (together with) [the harvest of Wa]wat likewise.

Regnal Year 35. It is the case that [his] Majesty [was in] Djahy on his Tenth Campaign of victory.

Now, His Majesty arrived at the town of Arinna, and that feeble enemy [of Nahar]in had collected horses with their people /// ///

(40) of the ends of the flat land, it was [more] numerous [than the sands of the river-bank] intent on fighting with His Majesty.

⁶ To “receive” or to “take”. *Wb* IV, 530-533; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 903; Delange, *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (2015), 143.

⁷ A large sea-going vessel from associated with Crete and Greece. *Wb* V, 122.

⁸ A sea-going vessel associated with Byblos and Greece. In the Persian Period, the word is used in such contexts that indicate it was a war-ship. Though this was perhaps a later development, the term *knb.t* does appear to refer to a large ship associated with the Mediterranean. *Wb* V, 118; Alan B. Lloyd, “Triremes and the Saïte Navy”, *JEA* 58 (1972), 268-279.

⁹ A sea-going vessel associated with foreign lands. *Wb* IV, 315.

<i>ḥḥ.n th[n.n] ḥm=f ḥnḥ=sn ḥḥ.n iri.n mšḥ n.y ḥm=f sp n hdhd m ḥni n iti.tt in.t</i>	Then His Majesty en[gaged] with then, and then His Majesty made an expedition with the charge: with stopping for the seizing for the gifts.
<i>ḥḥ.n shm.n ḥm=f m [nn] ḥ3s.tyw m b3.w it(=f) Imn.w [rd.n=f kni.t nht] /// /// ///</i>	Then His Majesty prevailed over [these] ḥ3s.tyw with the powers of (his) father, Amun. [He did it bravely (and with) victory] /// /// ///
(41) <i>n.y Nhrn /// wn.in=sn ḥr bh3 gbgb.w m wḥ ḥr wḥ ḥr ḥ3.t ḥm=f</i>	(41) of Naharin /// Then they were fleeing, headlong in flight upon one upon one in front of His Majesty.
<i>rht kf in[n] ḥm=f ds=f m nn ḥ3s.tyw n.w Nhrn /// [ḥsmn mss n.y] (42) ḥ3 ḥsmn dhn n.y tp /// rht kf in.n mšḥ.w n.w ḥm=f m [nn ḥr.w] skr-ḥh(.w) 10 ssm.t 180 wrt.yt 60 /// (43) ///</i>	Number of the captures which His Majesty bro[ught] himself from these ḥ3s.tyw of Naharin /// [bronze, tunics] (42) of mail. Bronze [helmet(?)] /// Number of the captures which the army of His Majesty brought from [these enemies]: living captives: 10, horses: 180, chariots: 60 /// (43) ///
<i>[ḥsmn] ḥnrw sḥm 15 ḥsmn mss ḥ3 ḥsmn dhn n.y tp 5 pd.t Ḥ3rw 5 ḥ3k.w ir.y m k.t[-s.t] /// (44) ///</i>	[bronze] inlaid reins 15, bronze suits of mail /// bronze helmets: 5, Bows of Kharu: 5 The plunder done in another place] /// (44) ///
<i>[in.w n.w wr.w n.w Rtnw m rnp.t tn ssm.t] 226 wrt.yt b3k m nbw 1 wrt.yt ḥd nbw 10 /// [nbw ḥn.w] /// nbw m /// (45) ///</i>	[Gifts of the chiefs of Retenu in this year: Horse: 226. Chariot worked in nbw-gold: 1. Chariot worked in silver and nbw-gold 10 (?) /// [nbw-gold vessels] /// nbw-gold in /// (45) ///
<i>[sntr] mn[i] [84] [b3k] mni 9[89] [irp mni] 3099 /// (46) ///</i>	[Incense: 84] jars, moringa oil: 989 jars, [wine:] 3099 [jars] /// (46) ///
<i>[ist mni.wt nb sspd m (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t mi nt- ḥ.w=sn n tnw rnp.t] b3k.w [n.y Rmnn m mi.tt šmw n.y D3hy m [sšr.w ntr b3k irp] /// (47) ///</i>	[Now, every harbor was supplied with every good thing in accordance with the custom of the yearly number], the work produce [of Remenen likewise], the harvest of Djahy in [corn, incense, moringa oil, wine] /// (47) ///
<i>[nbw] ḥs[t] nbw /// ḥ.t n.y t3gw ḥ3.w [nb nfr n.y ḥ3s.t tn] /// (48) ///</i>	Vessels [of nbw-gold], nbw-gold /// wood of timber, and [all the good] plants [of this ḥ3s.t] /// (48) ///
<i>[ḥr.t r ḥḥ.w 3tp] m (i)ḥ[t] nb.t nfr.t iw [rh.t] in.w n.w [wr.w]¹⁰ ///</i>	[Ships from a distance, loaded] with every good thing. [Number of] gifts [of the chiefs] ///

Lines 48- 84: Lost, detailing campaigns of Years 36 and 37.

¹⁰ The remaining of Sethe's reconstruction has been left out, after Redford, who states "Sethe's fanciful and unjustified restoration remains beyond recall". See Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 86-87; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 714.

(85) *škr didi ibh.ty msdm.t* /// /// /// *ʿwt ḥ3s.t*
ḥ.t m sd.y

b3k.w n.w Kš ḥs.t nbw dbn 70 ḳd.t ḥm.t
[*ḥm.wt Nhšy*] /// *iw3 wndw* [*tpi.w k3.w*] ///
[*dmd*] /// [*ḥr.w r ʿḥ.w 3tp*]

(86) *m ḥbny 3b.w m3ʿ nb nfr n.y ḥ3s.t tn ḥnʿ*
šmw [*n.y ḥ3s.t tn*]

[*b3k.w n.w W3w3.t nbw dbn*] /// /// [*ḥm.w*]
ḥm.wt Nhšy 34 iw3.w wndw k3.w 94

ḥr.w r ʿḥ.w 3tp m (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t šmw n.y
W3w3.t

[*rnp.t sp 38 ist ḥm=f ḥr ḥ3s.t D3hy*]

(87) *m wdy.t mh.t 13-nw n.t nḥt*
ist ḥm=f ḥr sk[sk dmi n.y] /// /// [*ḥ3s.t ḥnʿ n*
n3 dmi.w nty m w] *n.y Ngs*

rh.t kʿ in.n mšʿ.w n.y ḥm=f m p3 w n.y Ngs

sḳr-ʿnh.w 50 ssm.t /// *wrr.yt* [*b3k m ḥd*
nbw] /// [*ʿpr.w*] *m ḥʿ.w=sn* (88) *n.w r3-3.w-*
ḥ.t
ḥtp.yw n.y p3 w n.y Ngs [*ḥm.wt=sn*
hrd.w=sn]

[*rh.t*] *in.w in.y n b3.w ḥm=f m rnp.t tn*

ssm.t 328 ḥm.w ḥm.wt 522 wrr.yt b3k m ḥd
nbw 9 nʿt 61 dmd 70

ḥsbḳ m3ʿ wsh 1 /// /// ///
[*ḥd*] *ik3n dd.wt* (89) *ḥr.w ʿ.wt ḥr n.y m3i*
ḥn.w m b3k nb n.y [*D3hy*] /// /// ///

[*dbn*] 2821 *ḳd.t 3 ½ ḥm.t ḥr ḥ3s.t=f dbt 276*
dḥty dbt 26 sntr ḥbnt 656

b3ḳ ḥr ḥr b3ḳ w3ḳ sft mni.w 1752 irp 155
iw3 12 /// /// ///
[*ʿ.wt*] 1200 ʿ3 46 *hnn 1*

(85) *Skr*-mineral¹¹, hematite, anorthosite,
black eye paint /// /// /// [herds] of the *ḥ3s.t*,
fire sticks.

Work produce of feeble Kush: *nbw*-gold: 70
deben, 1 kite, [Nubian] male [and female
slaves] /// long-horned and short-horned
cattle /// [oxen and bulls] /// [total] /// [Ships
from a distance loaded] (86) with ebony and
real ivory, and everything good of this *ḥ3s.t*,
with the harvest [of this *ḥ3s.t*]

[Work produce of Wawat: *nbw*-gold: deben]
/// /// Nubian [male] and female slaves: 34,
long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, bulls:
94.

Ships from a distance loaded with every good
thing (and) the harvest of Wawat [likewise].
[Regnal Year 38. Now His Majesty was in
Djahy]

(87) on the 13th campaign of victory.
Now, His Majesty des[troyed the town of] ///
/// [*ḥ3s.t* with these towns that are in the
district] of Nukhashshe.

Number of the captures which His Majesty
brought in the district of Nukhashshe:
living captives: 50, horses /// chariots
[worked with silver and *nbw*-gold] ///
[equipped] with their (88) weapons of war.
The non-combatants of the district of
Nukhashsh, [their wives and their children]
///

Number of the gifts brought because of the
powers of His Majesty in this year.

Horses: 328, male and female slaves: 522,
chariots worked with silver and *nbw*-gold: 9,
undecorated: 61. Total: 70.

True lapis lazuli, one collar /// /// ///
[Silver] amphora, dishes (89) (adorned with)
faces of flocks and the face of a lion, and
vessels with all work-produce of [Djahy] ///
/// ///

2821 [deben], 3 ½ kite, copper upon his *ḥ3s.t*:
276 ingots, lead: 26 ingots. Incense: 656
hebnet measures

Moringa oil, fresh oil, oil: 1752 jars, wine:
155, long-horned cattle: 12 /// /// ///
[Flocks]: 1200, donkeys: 46, deer: 1.

¹¹ For a discussion of his rare word and mineral, See Redford, *The Wars of Syria and Palestine*, 87 (no. 180).

(90) 3bw ndh.t 5 htp.w n.w 3bw n.y ssndm
mni.w hḏ dbn 68 [hsmn mss n.y ḥ3 4]l

[hsmn] hni.yt ikm.w pd.wt ḥ.w nb n.w r3-
ḥ.w-h.t ht ndm n.t ḥ3s.t tn m3ḥ.w nb nfr n.t
ḥ3s.t tn

ist mni.wt nb.(w)t sspd m (i)h.t nb.(t) nfr.t
mi nt-ḥ.w=sn n.t tnw rnp.t m [hdi] m hn.tyt

b3k n.y Rmn (91) r mi.tt šmw n.y D3hy m
sšr b3k w3d sntr [irp bit]

in.w n.y p3 wr n.y Isy
hm.t hr ḥ3s.t=f[db.t] /// htr.w [2]
in.w n.y wr n.y Irrh rnp.t tn
hm.t hm.wt 5 hm.t hr ḥ3s.t=fdb.t 2

ssndm h.t 65 hnḥ ḥ3.w nb ndm n.t ḥ3s.t=f

bi3[.wyt] in[.y]t n b3.w hm=fm Pwn.t

ḥntyw ḥk3.t 240
b3k n.y Kš ḥs.t
nbw dbn 1[00] /// kd.t 6
hm.w hn.wt Nh3y 36
iw3.w wndw 111
k3.w 185 dmd 306
hr.w r wsh.w 3tp m 3bw hbny m3ḥ.w nb nfr
n.y ḥ3s.t tn
hnḥ šmw n.y ḥ3s.t tn
b3k.w n.w W3w3.t [nbw dbn] 2844

hm.w hm.wt (93) Nh3y 16
iw3.w wndw 77
hr.w r [ḥḥ.w] 3tp m m3ḥ nb nfr n.y ḥ3s.t tn

rnp.t sp 39
ist hm=fhr ḥ3s.t Rtnw m wd.yt mh.t 14-nw
n.t nh.t
m-hḥt šm.t /// /// [n3] n.y hr.w n Š3sw

rh.t in[.w n.w wr.w Rtnw m rnp.t tn]

[hm.w] hm.wt 197
(94) ssm.t 229 nbw dd.t 2

(90) Ivory: 5 tusks, altars of ivory and costly-
wood, silver-jars: 68 deben, [bronze: suits of
mail: [4]1

[Bronze], spears, shields, bows, and all
weapons of war, sweet wood of this ḥ3s.t, and
all true things of this ḥ3s.t.

Now, all the harbours were supplied with
every good thing, in accordance with their
yearly custom for [the northward] and
southward journeys,

with the work produce of Remenen (91)
likewise, and the harvest of Djahy, with corn,
fresh moringa oil, incense, [wine, and
honey].

Gifts of the chief of Isy:

Copper of his ḥ3s.t: /// [bricks], horses: [2]

Gifts of the chief of Alalakh in this year:

Male and female servants: 5. Copper of his
ḥ3s.t, 2 bricks.

Costly-wood: 65 sticks, with the sweet plans
of his ḥ3s.t.

Won[ders] brou[ght] from Punt because of
the powers of His Majesty.

(92) myrrh: 240 hekats.

Work produce of feeble Kush.

nbw-gold: 1[00] deben /// 6 [kite]

Nubian male and female servants: 36.

Long-horned and short-horned cattle: 111

Bulls: 185. Total: 306.

Barges from a distance loaded with ivory,
real ebony, everything good of this ḥ3s.t,
together with the harvest of this ḥ3s.t,

Work produce of [Wawat]: [nbw-gold]: 2844
[deben]

Nubian male and (93) female servants: 16

Long-horned and short-horned cattle: 77

[Ships] from a distance loaded with, truly,
everything good of this ḥ3s.t.

Regnal Year 39

Now, His Majesty was in the ḥ3s.t of Retenu
on the 14th campaign of victory

after coming /// /// from the enemy of the
Shasu

Number [of the gifts of the chiefs of Retenu
in this year]

[Male] and female servants: 197

(94) Horses: 229, nbw-gold dishes: 2

hn^c sšw dbn 12 kḏ.t ///
[hsbd] m3^c dbn 30
ḥḏ dd.t ikn hnm.t hr n.y k3

hn.w šbn 325 hn^c ḥḏ m sšw iri.n dbn 1495
kḏ.t 1
wrr.yt [b3k m nbw ḥḏ] /// /// ///

ir.yt (95) 3^c.t ḥḏ.t mni.w ḥḏ ḥsmn mnw

3^c.t nb.t šbn.w n.y ḥ3s[.t tn]
sntr b3k.w b3k w3ḏ sf.t bit [mni.w] 364

irp mni.w 1405 k3.w 84 3^c.t 1183
ḥsmn /// /// ///
[ḥ3w nb] (96) ndm sn.t n.y ḥ3s.t tn

hn^c m3^c.w nb nfr n.y ḥ3s.t tn
ist mni.w nb sspḏ m (i)ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t)

mi nt-3^c.w=sn n.t tnw m ḥḏi [m hn.] tyt [b3k
n.y Rmnn] m mi.tt

šmw (97) D3hy m sšr sntr

b3k [w3ḏ] [b3k] ndm i[rp]

Part II: Stück VI, KIU 3479; *Urk.* IV, 724-734 (207).

The Nubian and Later Campaigns, Years 39-42.

(1) /// /// /// [*in.w n.y p3 wr.w*] *n.y Isy*
3bw nḥḏ.t 2
ḥm.t ḏb.t 40
ḏḥty ḏb.t 1
in.w

(2) /// /// /// [*b3k.w n.w Kš ḥs.t m*] *rnp.t tn*

nbw dbn 144 kḏ.wt 3
ḥm.w ḥm.wt Nḥsw 101
iw3w

(3) /// /// /// *wndw 35*
idr 54
dmd 89

hr.w-r 3^c.w 3tp.w
 (4) [*m (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t n.y ḥ3s.t tn*]
šmw n.y ḥ3s.t tn m mi.tt
rnp.t 40
ist ḥm=f hr ḥ3s.t] /// /// ///

with a dish: 12 deben, /// kite
 [real lapis lazuli]: 30 deben
 Silver dishes and an amphorae endowed with
 a head of a bull

Various vessels: 325, with a silver disc,
 making 1495 deben, 1 kite.

Chariot [worked in *nbw*-gold and silver] /// ///
 ///

made (95) white precious stones, silver jars,
 natron, *menu*-stone,

and all various precious stones of this *ḥ3s.t*
 Incense, moringa oil, fresh oil, oil, honey,
 364 [jars]

wine: 1405 jars, bulls: 84, small cattle: 1183
 bronze /// /// ///

[all] (96) sweet-smelling [vegetables] of this
ḥ3s.t.

with all good gifts of this *ḥ3s.t*.

Now, all the harbours were supplied with
 every good thing,

as was the (yearly) custom, with the
 northward and [southward] journeys, the
 [work produce of Remenen] likewise,
 the harvest (97) of Djahy, with corn,
 incense,

[fresh] moringa oil, sweet [moringa oil],
 w[ine]

(1) /// /// /// [Gifts of the chiefs] of Isy:

2 ivory tusks,
 40 copper ingots,
 1 lead ingot,
 gifts

(2) /// /// /// [Work produce of feeble Kush as]
 this year:

144 plus 3/10 deben of gold,
 101 Nubian male and female servants,
 long-horned cattle

(3) /// /// /// 35 short-horned cattle,
 54 herds,
 total: 89,

as well as loaded ships

(4) [with every good thing of this *ḥ3s.t*,
 the harvest-tax of this *ḥ3s.t*, likewise.

Regnal Year 40.

His Majesty upon the *ḥ3s.t*] /// /// ///

sp 2

n.w rh.t in.w n.w wr.w Rtnw

in.n b3.w hm=f

m (5) [rnp.t 41] /// /// ///

[dh.ty] db.t 40

hsmn /// ///

hpšw n ikhw

hsmn hnywt

(6) /// /// /// [n.y h3s.t tn] 3bw nhd.t 19

ssndm ht 241 k3.w 184 ʕ.wt hd.t

(7) /// /// /// sntr mi.tt in.w n.w p3 wr n.t Ht

ʕ3 m rnp.t tn hd

(8) /// /// /// [b3k.w n.w Kš hs.t

m rnp.t tn

nbw dbn] 94 kd.t 2

hm.w hm.wt Nhsy 8

/// /// t3.yw in.y r šms 13

dmd 21

iw3.w

(9) [wndw] /// /// ///

nbw dbn 3144 kd.t 3

iw3.w wndw 35

idr 79

dmd 114

hr.w-r ʕh3.w 3tp.w m 3bw

(10) /// /// /// Fnhw

ist hm=f hr p3 mt n.y mr.yt

r sksk dmi n.y ʕrk.t

hnʕ n3-n.y dmi.w nty

(11) /// /// /// k3n3

sksk dmi pn

hnʕ w=f

spr r Twnp

sksk dmi

wh3 šmw=f

hr šʕd mnw=f

(12) /// /// /// [ist ir n n3 h3k.w

rdi.n s.t hm=f

n] ʕnh.w n.w mšʕ.w

ini st

iy.t m htp

spr r w

n.y Kdš h3k dmi.w 3 im

rh.t h3k.t in.t im=sn

(13) /// /// /// n.y Nhrn hs.t

n.ty m mwnf.w

times two,

of the number of gifts of the chiefs of Retenu,

brought by the powers of His Majesty

in (5) [Regnal Year 41] /// /// ///

40 [lead] ingots,

bronze /// ///

scimitars for weapons,

bronze spears

(6) /// /// /// [of this h3s.t]: 19 ivory tusks, 241

timbers of costly wood, 183 bulls, sheep

(7) /// /// /// incense likewise. Gifts of the chiefs

of Hatti, great in your year, silver

(8) /// /// /// [Work produce of feeble Kush

in this year],

94 and 2/10 (?) [deben of nbw-gold],

8 male and female Nubian servants

/// /// 13 men brought as followers,

total: 21.

Long-horned cattle

(9) [short-horned cattle] /// /// ///

3133 and 3/10 nbw-gold deben,

35 long-horned cattle and short-horned cattle,

79 herds,

total: 114,

as well as loaded ships with ivory

(10) /// /// /// Fenkhau.

His Majesty upon the road of the shore

to destroy the town of Irqata

with this town which

(11) /// /// /// Kana(?),

destroy this town,

with his district,

to arrive at Tunip,

to destroy the town,

cutting his harvest-tax,

cutting his plantation

(12) /// /// /// [It is the case by this plunder,

it was placed by His Majesty,

for] the living of the army,

brought them,

coming in peace

in order to arrive at the district

of the three towns of the captured Kadesh

therein.

The amount of plunder brought therein

(13) /// /// /// of feeble Naharin,

who are in the garrison

im=sn hn^c ssm.wt=sn
tp 691
dr.t 29
ssm.wt 48
 (14) */// /// /// m rnp.t tn*
hm.w hm.wt 295
ssm.wt 68
nbw ddwt 3
hd ddw.t
iknw wd^h hn^c hd
 (15) */// /// /// dh.ty db.t 47*
dh.ty dbn 1100
trw
ismr
ʕ3.t nb.t nfr.t n.t h3s.t tn
hsmn mss n.y ʕh3 h^c.w n.w r-ht
 (16) */// /// /// ndm n.y h3s.t tn*
ist mni.wt nb.t
sspd m-ht nb.t nfr.t
mi nt^{w-c}.w=sn n.w tnw rnp.t
šm.w n.y h3s.t tn
 (17) */// /// /// hn^c dd.wt hr.w n.w k3.w¹²*
iri.n dbn 341 kd.t 2
hsbd m3^c inr 1
iri.n kd.t 33
tgw
m3.wt nfr.t
hm.t hr h3s.t
 (18) */// /// /// n.y Tny¹³*
hd šwbty
m b3k n.w Kftyw
hn^c hn^w n.w b3
dr.t m hd 4
iri.n dbn 56 kd.t 3
 (19) */// /// /// m-ht nb.t nfr.t n.t h3s.t tn*
šm.w n.y Kš hs.t
m mi.tt b3k.w n.w W3w3.t
m rnp.t tn
nbw dbn 2374 kd.t 1
 (20) */// /// /// W3w3.t*

therein with their horses:
 691 heads,
 29 hands,
 and 48 horses
 (14) */// /// ///* in this year:
 295 male and female servants,
 68 horses,
 three *nbw*-gold dishes,
 silver dishes,
 jars cast with silver
 (15) */// /// ///* 47 ingots of lead,
 1100 ingots of lead,
 ochre,
 emery,
 everything great and beautiful of this *h3s.t*,
 bronze, shirt of mail, weapons of war
 (16) */// /// ///* sweet of this *h3s.t*.
 Every port
 was equipped with all the good things
 as is their yearly due,
 the harvest of this *h3s.t*.
 (17) */// /// //* with dishes (with?) faces of bulls,
 made 341 and 2/10 deben,
 1 true lapis-lazuli stone,
 which made 33 kite,
tjgaw-wood,
 new and beautiful wood,
 copper of the *h3s.t*.
 (18) */// /// ///* of Teni,
 silver shabtis
 as the work produce of Keftiu,
 with jars of bronze,
 4 hands of silver,
 made 56 deben and 3 kite.
 (19) */// /// ///* after everything good of this *h3s.t*.
 The harvest of feeble Kush
 with the like work produce of Wawat
 in this year,
nbw-gold: 2474 deben and 1 kite.
 (20) */// /// ///* Wawat.

¹² Burkhardt et al. also seem confused by this translation, choosing to describe it as “ddt-Schauen (verziert mit ?) Stierköpfen” (p. 222). However, what is appears to be denoting is the decoration of a type of dish, specifically described as the “heads/faces of bulls”. Accordingly, it may be a *protome*, namely, a dish with a frontal view of an animal. It probably describes vessel originating from the Aegean (perhaps Minoan in origin) and may be a something like a *rhyton* or *aryballos*. It is unclear if the bulls were carved or painted. Its “foreign” nature is suggested by the fact it is described as a dish with “faces of bulls” rather than named as a specific type of vessel. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 222 (207).

¹³ A region associated with modern-Rhodes in the south Aegean. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1202-1203.

ist wd.n hm=f
smn.t nht.w iri.n=f š3^c-m h3.t-sp 23

nfr.yt-r h3.t-sp 32
hft smn.t
wd pn hr sh-ntr pn
iri=f di(.w) nh d.t

It is the case that His Majesty commanded
to establish the victories that he made
from Regnal Year 23
until Regnal Year 32
in accordance with what he establishes
as this command upon this shrine.
May he be given life, forever.

[18.06.04] Reused Blocks of the Annals, Stück VII

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: This part of the Annals was engraved on the south wall of the axial courtyard of the Sixth Pylon. This wall was dismantled under the reign of Seti II.

Location: unknown

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: The two blocks published by Legrain measure approximately 0.65 cm x 83 cm.

Sources: KIU 7208; PM II², 90 (246-247); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 735-738 (208); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 224-225 (208); Legrain, “Mémoire sur la porte située au sud de l’avant-sanctuaire à Karnak et sur son arche fortuite”, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 228-229; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8517-8518; Grimal, Adly, and Arnaudière, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 2004-2005”, *Orientalia NS* 75 (2006), 232; Grimal, “Nouveaux fragments des Annales de Thoutmosis III à Karnak”, *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed* (2009), 105-120; Luc Gabolde and Marc Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 44-111; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 549 (KIU 7208).

Description: Fragmentary blocks with bas-relief inscription believed to have been from the Annals. Legrain discovered two of the blocks, which were included in the *Urkunden*, whilst CFEETK discovered a dozen more blocks in a wall of Seti II in 2005. The ordering is after Gabolde, with the *Urkunden* blocks indicated within the layout.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Gabolde and Gabolde, KIU 7208; *Transliteration:* KIU 7208, LP.

(1) [ḥ^c.n iri.n ḥm=i it=fImn.w-R^c.w]¹ ///
/// [twṯ ḥm] n.y [ntr] pn šps ḥn^c twṯ n.y [ḥm]=i
[m] nbw ḥm.t km.t s3.wy

iw iri.n n=f ḥm=i šḥ-ntr n.y ḥ^c m3^c [b3k m
d^cm] /// ///

(2) /// /// [Imn.w-R^c.w] /// [iw s^cḥ^c.n n=f
ḥm=i šḥ-ntr (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w)| Imn.w wts ḥ^c.w
m m3.wt m m3^t rwd.t n.t 3bw m ḥ^c.t w^c.t ḥr
wr.t=f nb.t] m sb3.w m ḥ^c.t² w^c.t k3p m inr n.y
m3^t ḥ^c.w m ḥ^c.wt 2/3 n km3.w m ḥsmn šw.t ntr
ḥr=sn [m twṯ n.y ḥm n.y ntr pn šps ḥn^c twṯ n.y
ḥm=i n.y ḥm n.y nbw ḥm.t km.t s3.wy iw
ḥm=i]

Translation: Burkhardt et al., Gabolde and Gabolde, LP.

(1) [My Majesty made for his father, Amun-Re] /// /// [an image of the Majesty] of this august [god], with an image of my [Majesty] [in] nbw-gold, black copper, and sawy-gold.

A shrine was made for him by my Majesty of true cedar [worked in *djam*-gold] /// ///

(2) /// /// [Amun-Re] /// [My Majesty caused to erect for him a shrine (named) “The support of appearances of Amun, (Menkheperre)” anew with hard granite of Elephantine for each of its walls (lit.: for each of its parts upon its every way)] with one piece-doors covered with a block of granite, and whose leaves are made up of two half-casters with hammered bronze, the divine figure in it is [in the image of the Majesty of

¹ The following reconstructions are after Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 56ff.

² *Wb* I, 160.1-161.1.

(3) [*hr hhy.t³ 3h.w n it=i Imn.w-R^c.w*] *iw*
ib[=i hr hrp=i r ir.t n=f] /// /// ///

[*3.w m 3.wy*] 1/2 *n.y 3 b3k(.w) m nbw hp.w*
mh m hsb^d h3.yt n.t wh3.w m-b3h-f Imn.w-3-
df3.w b3k(.w) [m nbw n.y tp.w n.w h3s.wt]

(4) /// /// /// *hnw* /// /// /// [*iw iri.n n=f hm=i*
sbht⁴ m inr (hd nfr) n.y rwd.t b3k m d^cm
hpw.w] *n.ty hr=s twt.w n.w hm n.y ntr [pn]*
šps

hn^c twt n.y hm=i m nbw hm.t km.t s3.wy iw
iri.n n=f hm=i /// /// ///

(5) [*š ndb.w m hm.t Km.t b3k m*] *d^cm šw.t ntr*
hr[=f m twt n.y hm n.y ntr pn šps

hn^c twt n.y hm=i m nbw hm.t km.t s3.wy iw

iri.n hm=i sbh.t] *w3d.w n.y inr [(hd nfr) n.y*
rwd.t b3k m d^cm]

/// *wnbw ir.yw m s3.wy iri.w(=i) h3.wt R^c.w*
im m [m3t rwd.t n.t 3bw]

(6) /// /// /// *Imn.w* /// /// /// [*3*] *wr[.t] m [nbw*
iw s^ch^c.n hm=i iwn.wy n] Šm^c.w Mh.w m 3.wy
[n] it=f Imn.w m m3t rwd.t n.y 3bw b3k(.w) m
///

(7) /// /// /// =*n* /// /// /// [*3=f m 3^c m3^c.w b3k*
m d^cm ntr šw.t n.ty hr=f m twt n.y hm n.y] ntr
pn šps

[*hn^c twt n.y hm=i*] *m nbw hm.t km.t s3.wy*
ndb.w m hm.t km irr n=f pr.w Imn.w Ip.t-S.wt

this august god, together with the image of
my Majesty of *nbw*-gold, black copper, *sawy*-
gold. My Majesty]

(3) [looking for something beneficial for my
father, Amun-Re], [my] heart [(urged) me to
dedicate the making of (something?) for him]
/// /// /// [with door leaves with] 1/2? cedar
worked in *nbw*-gold, (inlaid) figures filled
with lapis-lazuli, a portico of pillars stands
before him of “Amun, Great-of-Provisions”,
worked with [*nbw*-gold of the best of the
h3s.wt]

(4) /// /// // rest(?) /// /// /// [My Majesty made
for him a *sbht* (type of gateway) in (fine
white) sandstone, worked with *djam*-gold and
the figures] which are on them are in the
image of the Majesty of [this] august god
together with the image of my Majesty in
nbw-gold, black copper, and *sawy*-gold. My
Majesty made for him /// /// ///

(5) [cedar, banded with black copper, worked
with] *djam*-gold, the divine image upon [it is
in the image of this august god,
together with an image of my Majesty in *nbw*-
gold, black copper, and *sawy*-gold.

Then, my Majesty made a *sbh.t*] and columns
of stone [of (fine white) sandstone worked in
djam-gold]

/// (its) flowers were in *sawy*-gold, (I) made
there an altar of Re therein in [hard granite of
Elephantine]

(6) /// /// /// Amun /// /// /// very great (amount)
in [*nbw*-gold. My Majesty erected two pillars
for] Upper and Lower Egypt, the two arms
[for] his father, Amun, with hard granite of
Elephantine worked in ///

(7) /// /// /// our /// /// /// [Its door in true cedar,
worked in *djam*-gold, the divine figure that is
upon it is the image of the Majesty of] this
august god,

[together with an image of my Majesty] in
nbw-gold, black copper, *sawy*-gold, banded
with black copper, made for him in the House
of Amun of Karnak.

³ Wb III, 151.3-152.4.

⁴ Wb IV, 92.1-9.

[*iw gr.t sḥḥ.n n=f ḥm=i r*] *s.t wr.t k3.t m tnt r*
p3.wt ḥpr

(8) */// /// /// [sbḥ.t] m inr n.y [rwd.t sb3.w ir.w]*
m m3t [rwd.t n.t 3bw] ʕ3.w m ʕš n ndb.w m
[ḥm.t km.t Stt]

/// /// /// [iw ʕpr].n=i r3-pr.w=f m iw3.w wndw

(9) */// /// /// dd.wt n /// /// /// [wdḥw kṛḥ.t] ʕš3*
mni.t m dʕm 3bw [ḥbny]

[*i*] *w ir.n n=f ḥm=i /// /// /// m tnt iw rh.t ir.yw*
ḥr ḥrp mnw

(10) *ḥpr.n=i n it=i [Imn.w] /// /// /// [i]w mh.n*
n=f ḥm=i pr.w-ḥd m ḥd nbw ḥsbḏ [mfk3t] ḥḥ
m [ʕ3.t nb.t šps.t] n it=i Imn.w-Rʕ.w

iw /// /// /// [wn.t nn s.t ʕpr ḥr in.w⁵ wr nbw ʕš3
ḥkr.w

(11) *3pd.w sntr [(i)ḥ.t nb.t nn dr.w=sn] /// ///*
/// [r shpt] it=i Imn.w ḥft ʕk r ḥw.t-ʕ3 sn.t [r
3ḥ.t n.t p.t] ʕ3.w

/// /// /// rh.t ḥm n.y ntr pn šps iw=i rh.kwi

(12) *r dd mr nb=i m3[.wt] [bw it=f isf.t nn iw*
ms.w nn] grg.w m nn n.y dd.tn=i nb.t iw
wnw.tyw /// /// ///

[*iw sḥḥ.n n=f ḥm=i bnḥ.t wr.t m inr (ḥd nfr)*
n.y rwd.t] /// r imy.wt bḥn.ty iri.n it=i nsw.t
bi.ty (ʕ3-ḥpr-k3-Rʕ.w)|

(13) *sḥḥ.n(=i) n=f sb3 ʕ3 m [m3t rwd.t n.t 3bw*
n.ty ʕrr.wt ḥnʕ bnš.w ir.w b3k] m nbw m
b3k.wt n.wt Kš ḥs.t n mh 31 ʕ3[.wy] [ʕ3.wy m
ʕš m3ʕ.w n.t tp n.y Htyw

[Now, my Majesty caused to erect for him at the] great place, of a size that distinguishes it from what had been implemented (previously)

(8) */// /// /// sbḥ.t* with [gates] made in hard stone] with [hard] granite of Elephantine], cedar door leaves in copper that were banded with [black copper from Asia]

/// /// /// I [provided] his temple with long-horned cattle and short-horned cattle

(9) */// /// /// dishes of /// /// /// [offering table,*
numerous vessels, necklace(s) *///* in *djam-*
gold, ivory, and ebony.

Then, my Majesty made for him */// /// ///* numerous, knowing that which came into being as an image of the god

(10) I controlled for my father, [Amun] */// /// ///* my Majesty filled for him the treasury with silver, *nbw*-gold, lapis lazuli, [turquoise], a million in [every kind of precious stone] for my father, Amun-Re.

/// /// /// [what was not previously] provided, carrying gifts great of *nbw*-gold, numerous ornaments

(11) fowl, incense, [everything, without their limits/// /// /// [to satisfy] my father, Amun, in accordance with the entering to the palace, which is similar [to the horizon of the sky], great

/// /// /// knowing the (inventory list of) the Majesty of his august god, I knowing that my master loves the truth, [that he has evil in chaos, there is no] falsehood in any of these words that I speak. The priesthood */// /// ///*

[My Majesty caused to erect for him a great pylon in (fine white) sandstone] *///* for that which is on the two pylons made by my father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Aakheperkare)|

(13) (I) causing to erect for him a great gate in [hard granite of Elephantine, whose lintel, together with the doorposts are worked] in *nbw*-gold as the work produce of feeble Kush,

⁵ The use of *in.w* indicates gifts given directly to the king and considering that this reference is found in the Annals, it is probable that it was given by people of foreign lands to the Egyptian king. This can be narrowed further, as *nbw*-gold was commonly given by peoples to the south of Egypt, and in line 13 *nbw*-gold is given by “feeble Kush” though in this instance it is a work-product rather than a gift.

*ini.n hm=i ds=i m hnty b3k m dꜥm ntr šw.t hr
r=f m twt n.y] hm=i m nbw hm.t km.t*

(14) *s3.wy irr n=f m pr.w it[=I Imn.w-Rꜥ.w
hnty Ip.t-S.wt
iw sꜥhꜥ.n n=f hm=i] thn.wy wr.wt m m3t rwd.t
n.t 3bw r rw.ty hw.t-ntr [tn bnb.t=sn b3k m
dꜥm tkn=sn hr.t*

*iw sꜥhꜥ.n n=f hm=i sh-ntr m m3ꜥ.t m šs b3k n
Hw.t-nbw m] inr wꜥ hr w3.t=f nb.t r-mn-m
bnšw n.w sb3*

(15) *n.y h3.t=f n.y ph=f p3.y=f k3p [m šs w3b
n.y Hw.t-nbw iw dns] dmd inr [ir.w m h3.w hr
ir.tn ky.w nsw.t hpr.w hr h3.t*

*n dd=i ꜥbꜥ iw it=i Imn.w-Rꜥ.w rh n=f] m
m3.wt iri.n=i m ki nb n.y sh-ntr pn*

(16) */// /// /// [iw iri.n n=f hm=i] thn.wy wr.wt
[nbi.y m dꜥm n.y tp.(y)w n.w h3s.wt] /// /// ///
[dbh.w ir.w] m dꜥm n.y mh 120/130 n.ty
im=sn b3k m nbw*

(17) */// /// /// it=i nsw.t bi.ty /// /// /// [iw mhd.n
hm=i it=f Imn.w-Rꜥ.w wi3 ꜥ3 n.y tp itr Imn.w
wsr h3.t*

*m ꜥš m3ꜥ n.y tp.(yw) htyw in] hm=i stp st ds=f
hr dw k3 n.y Rmn*

(18) *m h3.t-sp 36(?) ꜥhꜥ.n s[ꜥš3.w hm=i mn.w
n it=i Imn.w m sꜥhꜥ.n=f /// /// ///*

(19) *bhnb.ty wr.ty m*

(from a height) of 31 cubits, [great double]
doors in true cedar of the best (quality) of the
Htyw,

which were brought back by my Majesty
himself in the gardens, worked with *djam*-
gold, the divine figure upon it as an image of]
my Majesty in *nbw*-gold, black copper,

(14) *sawy*-gold, made for him in the house of
[my] father, [Amun-Re, foremost of Karnak.
My Majesty caused to erect for him] two great
obelisks⁶ in hard granite of Elephantine for
the dual gates of [this] temple. [Their
pyramidion is worked in *djam*-gold, they
touch the sky.

My Majesty caused to erect for him a shrine
anew with translucent alabaster (calcite) of
Hatnub], with a single stone upon every side,
as far as the jambs of the gate

(15) the anterior part and the posterior part of
it, (its) covering [in pure alabaster (calcite) of
Hatnub. The] total [mass] of the stone [related
is in excess to that which could come into
being by another king before.

There is nothing in my speech that is a boast
because my father, Amun-Re, knows] all that
which I have done anew [for him] in this
shrine.

(16) */// /// ///* [My Majesty made for him] two
great obelisks [melted in *djam*-gold of the
best (quality) of the *h3s.wt*] */// /// ///* [the
necessary parts] in *djam*-gold of 120/130(?)
cubits, that which was therein, worked with
nbw-gold

(17) */// /// ///* my father, the king of Upper and
Lower Egypt */// /// ///* [My Majesty has carved
for his father, Amun-Re, the great sacred river
bark (named) “Amun-great-at-the-bow”

with cedar of the best (quality) of the *Htyw*,
which] my Majesty picked/cut it himself upon
the high mountain of Remenen

(18) in Regnal Year 36 (?). Then, [my
Majesty caused to multiply the monuments of
my father, Amun, he causing to erect]

(19) the great double pylon⁷ in

⁶ As argued by Gabolde and Gabolde, this is a reference to the obelisks before the Fourth Pylon. Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 64.

⁷ The Seventh Pylon. Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 68.

Block B: *Urk.* IV, 737-738 (208B).

[*inr rwd.t sb3=s*] *wr m m3t rwd.t*

(20) *n.y 3bw n.y mh 30 k3=f* [*3=f wr m hm.t ntr šw.t*] *hr=f m*

(21) [*twf*] *nhw ntr pn* [*šps hn^c twt n.y*] *hm=i m d^cm m33.tw*

(22) *tw s.t m šf.yt wr.t* [*iri.w rn=f r Imn.w 3 h^c.w iw s^ch^c.n n=f*] (23) [*hm=i*]

[*sn.wt m 3š š^cd.n hm=i m*] *Rmnn r bhⁿ.ty*

(24) [*tn iri.tn hm=i iw=sn b3k m hm.t km.t dm=sn*] *n hr.t tp.w=sn m*

(25) [*d^cm n.y tp.(y)w n.w h3s.wt spt.w n.ty smn=sn*] *im=sn m hsmn*

(26) [*iw s^ch^c.n n=f hm=i thⁿ.w wr.w m m3t*] *bnnb.(w)t m*

(27) [*d^cm iri.n s.t hm=i m m3.wt st gm.n hm=i bhⁿ.t*] *tn m db.t*

(28) [*m k3.wt nds.t r w3s iw iri.n n=f hm=i*] *twt.wy(?) n.y d.t=i*

(29) [*m m3t n.t 3bw smn.n=sn hm=i r rwt*] *sb3 pn*

iw (30) [*iri.n n=f hm=i s.t w3b dr.w m h^d r*] *3w=f m*

Block B: Finishes. Text resumes with the new

(31) [*sn.t r 3h.t n.t p.t iw š^cd.n n=f hm=i š rs.y*] (32) [*kbb.y m m3.wt s3w.w r wn.t m-b3h iw iri.n n=f hm=i*]

[hard stone, its] great [door] in hard granite

(20) of Elephantine of 30 cubits in height. [Its great leaf in copper, the divine figure] upon it with an

(21) [ithyphallic image] of the Majesty of this [august] god [together with the image of] my Majesty in *djam*-gold, whose appearance

(22) it with great respect. [His name is made as: “Amun-is-great-in-appearances.”] It is the case (23) [my Majesty] caused to erect for him

[the flag masts in cedar, which my Majesty cut in] Remenen for the double pylon

(24) [that which my Majesty made, they are worked in black copper, they pierce] the sky, their tips in

(25) [*djam*-gold in the best of the *h3s.wt*, the remnants which are established (sockets)] therein are in bronze.

(26) [My Majesty caused to erect for him great obelisks in granite⁸], the pyramidion(s) in

(27) [*djam*-gold. My Majesty made this anew, since my Majesty had found] this [pylon]⁹ (made) in bricks

(28) [in poor construction and falling into ruin. My Majesty made for him] two statues of my body¹⁰

(29) [in granite of Elephantine. My Majesty established them at the outside] of this door.

(30) My Majesty made for him a pure place, weared/plated(?) in silver to] it’s width in

blocks discovered by CFEETK.

(31) [the image of the horizon of the sky. My Majesty dug for him a southern lake] (32) [fresh, anew and lengthened to that which had existed before. My Majesty made for him]

⁸ The two obelisks erected before the Seventh Pylon in the Second Court. See Chapter 8.2, [18.06.11] and [18.06.12]. Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 70.

⁹ Burkhardt et al. translate this as “temple” (after Sethe’s transcription in *Urk.* IV, 738.12 (208 B)), though Gabolde and Gabolde have corrected this to “pylon”. This suits the context better, as the Seventh Pylon is believed to have replaced an earlier mud brick version. The Seventh Pylon. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225 (208 B); Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 71.

¹⁰ This appears to be a reference to the two colossal statues situated before the south face of the Seventh Pylon. Gabolde and Gabolde, “Les textes de la paroi sud de la salle des Annales de Thoutmosis III”, *Kyphi* 7 (2015), 95,

- (33) [*hr.t š m m3.wt m*] *šwb.w d3bw i3rr.t hrr.wt* (33) [upon the garden anew with] persea-trees, fig-trees, vines, flowers
- (34) [*nb rnp.wt nb.t bnr.wt*] *sšn.w nḥb.wt mnḥ.w* (34) [all, all sweet vegetables], lotuses, lotus buds, papyrus plants,
- (35) [*hn.w sm.w nb nfr*] *i3yḥ isw hrr.wt nb.wt* (35) [marsh plants, all beautiful herbs], *iayah*-plants, reeds, all flowers
- (36) [*nfr.t r hrp ntr ḥtp.w r*] *wd w3ḥw n it=i Imn.w irr.w n=f* (36) [beautiful for the providing of the god's offering in order] to give the wreath/necklace to my father, Amun, that was made for him
- (37) [*m pr.w Imn.w iw sḥḥ.n n*]=*f ḥm=i sh-ntr hr gs imn.ty n.y š pn m* (37) [in the house of Amun.] My Majesty [erected] for him a shrine upon the western side of this lake in
- (38) [*šs b3k n.y Hw.t-nbw m ḥ*].*t wḥ.t hr w3.t=f nb.t r s.t šmḥ-ib n* (38) [translucent alabaster (calcite) of Hatnub] of a single stone on each of its sides, to be a place of recreation for
- (39) [*nb ntr.w iw šd.n n*]=*f ḥm=i š mḥ.ty m m3.wt sḥ.w* (39) [Lord of the Gods]. My Majesty [dug] [for] him a northern lake anew, made bigger,
- (40) [*swsh r wn.t m-b3ḥ w3.t*] *ssrdw m ḥt nb šps* (40) [wider than that which existed before, borders] being planted with all kinds of precious things
- (41) [*m stp T3-ntr m š3 nb*] *ndm s[t](i-š3) sšnw hn.yw* (41) [selected from the God's Land with all kinds of plants], sweet (flowers), lotuses, rushes
- (42) [*r hrp ntr ḥtp.w m (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t ḥn ntr im m hr.t-hrw n.t rḥ.w*]-*nb* (42) that which was offered for the God's offerings with everything good through which the god lives], daily
- (43) - (52) (lost) (43) - (52) (lost)
- (53) */// /// /// [ist] (i)r=fḥḥ.n rdī.n ḥm=i šd.tw pḥr.w [ḥw.t-ntr tn n.t it=i Imn.w-Rḥ.w]/// ///* (53) */// /// ///* It is the case that my Majesty made sure that one cleared the surroundings [from this temple of my father, Amun-Re] */// /// ///*
- Block A: *Urk.* IV, 736-737 (208A).
- (54) */// /// /// swḥb snfr pḥr.w n.w ḥw.t-ntr tn n.t [it]=i [Imn.w-Rḥ.w] iw iri.n n[=f ḥm]=i sh.w-ntr* (54) */// /// ///* to cause to purify and cause to make beautiful that which is enclosed by this temple for [my] father, [Amun-Re]. My [Majesty] made for him the shrines
- (55) [*iw=i rh.kwi*] *r dd s.t pw dšr.t n.t [Imn.w-Rḥ.w] nb [ns.wt] t3[.wy]* (55) [For I knowing the] saying it is the holy place of [Amun-Re], [Lord of Thrones] of the [Two] Land[s],
- iri.n s.y n=f ḥm=f m ḥw.t-ntr mi irr [s3 3ḥ n it=f]* His Majesty made it for him with the temple as that which was made [(by) the beneficent son of his father]
- (56) [*in it=i Imn.w-Rḥ.w wd.n=i*] *ir.t ḥw.t-ntr dšr.t m shr n ḥw.t-k3 n-mr.wt [ir.t] s.y m s.t dšr.t m hn.w /// ///* (56) [by my father, Amun-Re, I commanded the] making the temple, sanctifying (it) with the desire that it be a chapel, [making] it as a sacred place and a repository */// /// ///*
- (57) */// /// /// [iw]=i rh.kwi dšr.w=f* (57) */// /// ///* I knowing his splendiddness

<i>mi ʕ3 b3.w[=f</i>	like the greatness of [his] powers
<i>r ntr.w nb(.w)] /// /// ///</i>	[more than all the gods] /// /// ///
(58) <i>/// /// /// s3.w dd ky.t-ht iri n=f s.y r hw.t-</i>	(58) <i>/// /// ///</i> the guardians saying (to) one
<i>k3 [n.y it=i Imn.w-Rʕ.w</i>	other: “Make it for him for the chapel, for my
	father, Amun-Re.
<i>ink irr mn.w m ib mri n it]=i Imn.w iw iri.n=i</i>	I making monuments with a loving heart for]
<i>s.y n hm n.y ntr pn šps /// /// ///</i>	my [father], Amun. I made it for the Majesty
	of this august god /// /// ///
(59) <i>/// /// // [iw]=i rh.kwi r dd hnw pw n.y</i>	(59) <i>/// /// ///</i> I knowing the saying, it is the
<i>[it(=i) Imn.w iri.n=i n=f sy r rdi.t htp nb</i>	repository of [(my) father, Amun. I made it
<i>ntr.w] im=f ist gm.n hm=i db.t w3.w r w3s h3</i>	for him, in order to place all offerings (for)
	the Lord of the Gods, (since what) my
	Majesty found (was made out of) bricks,
	going to ruin and crumbling
(60) <i>/// /// /// [i]w swʕb.n hm=f m ʕs m3ʕ</i>	(60) <i>/// /// ///</i> caused to purify His Majesty
	with true cedar (oil)

[18.06.05] King Receiving Life from Amun, Stück VIII

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Vestibule of Thutmose III

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 3474, 3475; PM II², 90 (245); LD III, 30b, 1-33, Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 735-756 (209); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225-232 (209); Pritchard, *ANET*, 238; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments* (1862), pl. XLIII-XLIV; Breasted, “The Length and Season of Thutmose III’s First Campaign”, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 123-4; Sethe, “Neue Spuren der Hyksos in Inscriften der 18. Dynastie”, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 74-84; Barguet, *Temple*, 119, no. 4; Hari, *Horemheb*, 391-392; Schaden, “Tutankhamon-Ay Shrine at Karnak and Western Valley of the Kings Project”, *NARCE* 138 (1987), 14; Brand, “Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period”, *JARCE* 36 (1999), 115-117; Bleiberg, “Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III”, *JSSEA* 11:2 (1981), 107-110; Bleiberg, “Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom”, *BES* 7 (1986), 5-14; Vernus, “Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire (Urk. VII, 36; Caire JE. 51911)”, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 176-177; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119-126; Redford, *Wars in Syria and Palestine*, 137-145; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 140; O’Connor, “An Enigmatic Pharaoh”, *Thutmose III*, 28-42; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 470 (KIU 3474, 3475).

Description: Piece 8 of the Annals, based around the early campaign in Year 23. King receiving life from Amun, with text of the annals. Horemheb has left a restoration text behind Amun.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 3474, 3475, Sethe;

Translation: Burkhardt et al., LP.

Transliteration: KIU 3474, 3475, LP.

(1) [rnp.t 23 /// iyi.tt hm(=i) m wdy.t tp.(y)t
n.t nht ///

iti.n=f² 3bd 3] /// hr h3s.t Rtnw

m mnn.w kd.n hm=i m nht.w=f

hry-ib n wr.w n.w Rmnn

n.ty rn=f r (Mn-hpr-R^c.w) | w^cf.w šm3.w⁴

(1) [Year 23 /// my Majesty coming from the
first campaign of victory¹ ///

after he had seized 3 months] /// upon the h3s.t³
of Retenu,

in the fortress which my Majesty built in his
victories

in the midst of the officials of Remenen,

the name of which is “(Menkheperre)|, subduing
the wanderers”.⁵

¹ Strangely, Goedicke translates this as “the First belligerent Campaign” (p. 120), while Burkhardt et al. as “vom ersten siegreichen Feldzug” (p. 225). Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225 (209); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119.

² Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

³ Both Burkhardt et al. and Goedicke translate this as “Lande”/ “land” which obfuscates the meaning and connotations of h3s.t. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 225 (209); Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 119.

⁴ *Wb* IV, 471.1-6.

⁵ As discussed by Goedicke, this appears to be the name of a fortress. Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*, 122.

ist mni.n=f r W3s.t
iw it=i Imn.w (2) [m 3w.t-ib] /// /// Ip.t-s.wt

iw w3h.n n=f hm=i
hb nht m m3.wt
hft iyi.t hm=i
m wdy.t tp.yt n.t nh.t
hr shr Rtnw hsi.t
hr swsh tš.w Km.t
m h3.t-sp 23 m nht.w wd.n=f n=i

sšm.[n=f] (3) [wi r w3.t-nft.t] /// ///
[iri-tp n hb n /// hb nht] [m] ///
hrw n.y hb tp n.y Imn.w r rdi.t hpr=f m hrw
5 iri sn.nw n.y hb n.y p3 hb nht m hrw n.y
sčk-ntr n.y hb sn.nw n.y Imn.w r rdi.t hpr=f
m hrw 5

Lines 3-6: Dedication of a Feast to Amun and List of Offerings.

(7) /// /// [n it=i Imn.w sšm] *wi r w3.t-nfr.t rh.t 3m 3m.t Nhsy Nhsy.t*

rdi.n hm=i n it=i Imn.w š3 m h3.t-sp 23
nfr.yt r smn.t wd pn hr sh-ntr pn H3rw.w⁶
h3 1588

(8) /// /// [w iri.n n=f hm=i iry.t k3 m k3.w n.y] *Šm.w Mh.w ir.yt 2 m iw3.w n.y D3h.y*
ir.yt 1 m iw3.w n.y Kš

dmd ir.yt 4 r shr irtt ir.w r mhr n.w dcm m
hr.t hrw n.t r.w-nb r rdi.t m3 n it=i (9)
[Imn.w] /// ///
[iw rdi].n n=f hm=i dmi.w m Rtnw hr.t in
Tw-gs3 rn n.y w Yn m rn n.y ky Hrnkr rn
n.y ky htr m b3k n hr.t rnp.t r htp-ntr n it=i Imn.w

(10) *[iw hrp.n n=f hm=i] /// /// špss.w*
nb.w m dcm nbw hsb.d.w mfk3t

Now, he moored at Thebes,
my father, Amun being (2) [in happiness] /// ///
Karnak.

My Majesty having laid down for him
a festival of victory anew,
at the returning of my Majesty
from the first campaign of victory,
overthrowing the feeble Retenu,
widening the boundaries of Egypt,
in Regnal Year 23, in the victories he had
commanded to me.

He guided (3) [me to the beautiful path] /// ///
The first festival of victory /// in ///
day of the first festival of Amun, in order to
make it come into being in 5 days. The second
festival of victory was celebrated at the festival
in the “Day of the Bringing of the God”, the
festival of the second festival of Amun, in order
to make it come into being in five days.

(7) /// /// [for my father, Amun, (who) led] me
to the beautiful way, with a number of Asiatic
men and Asiatic women, Nubian men and
Nubian women,

which my Majesty gave to my father Amun,
beginning in year 23, at the bottom, to establish
this inscription upon this god’s booth, Khorians
in a number of 1588.

(8) /// /// [My Majesty made for him one milk
cow as the cattle of Upper and Lower] Egypt,
one milk cow as long-horned cattle of Djahy,
two milk cows as long-horned cattle of Kush,
total: four milk cows, and to enclose the milk,
by milk jars of *djam*-gold, as under the sun daily,
as rightly given by my father, (9) [Amun]. /// ///
My Majesty [gave] to him the towns in Upper
Retenu, by Gasa (area in Africa), as the name of
one, Januammu as the name of another.
Herenecker, as the name of another. A provision
of work under a year for the god’s offering of
my father, Amun.

(10) [My Majesty provided for him] /// ///
everything [august], in *djam*-gold, *nbw*-gold,
lapis lazuli, turquoise.

⁶ A person of the northern Levant, often called “Syrian”. *Wb* III, 232.

*iw hrp.n n=f hm=i nbw ḥd ḥsbḏ.w mfk3.t
hm.t km ḥsmn dhṯy trw ismr ʕš3 wr.t r ir.t
mn.w nb(.w) n it=i Imn.w n (11) [ʕ3.t n
mrr=i sw n ntr.w nb.w] /// ///*

My Majesty provided for him *nbw*-gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and turquoise, black copper, bronze, lead, ochre, emery, great and countless for the making of all monuments for my father, Amun, for (11) [my great love of him, for all gods] ///
///

Line 11: Reference to the creation of a herd

of geese for the God's Offering.

(12) /// /// /// [*iw w3h.n n=f hm=i htp-ntr m
m3.wt m hr.t sw n.t rʕ.w nb mh wn.t m-b3h*]
m t n.y 1000

(12) /// /// /// My Majesty set down for him a god's offering anew as required for the day, daily, as to fill that in front in bread of a number 1000.

*iw wd.n hm=i k3b htp-ntr pn m t n.y 1000
m-ht iy.t hm=i hr dr Rtnw m wdy.t tp.yt n.t
nh.t r ir.t ḥss.wt m ḥw.t-ʕ3.t (Mn-hpr-
Rʕ.w)| 3h-mn.w*

My Majesty commanded to double this god's offering in bread of 1000, after the returning of my Majesty from subjugating Retenu, on campaign as chief of victory, for the making of praises of them in the palace, (Menkheperre)|, effective of monuments.

Line 13-15: Further offerings listed for the festival.

(15) (...) *ist gm.n⁷ hm=i nfr wr.t sk3 šr.wt
[m3.wt] n.y (16) [Dwhy] /// /// ///*

(15) (...) My Majesty found a great beautiful grain to cultivate on the [banks] of (16) [Djahy] ///
/// ///

Line 16-33: Further offerings and dedications listed, including obelisks and a garden, followed by praises to the king and a detailed offering list.

[*iw*] *w3[h.n n=f] hm=i htp-[ntr] m m3.wt m
hr.t-hrw.w n.t rʕ.w-nb mh wn.t m-b3h m t
n.y htp-ntr 3305 ḥnk.t ds.w 33 dk t-ḥd 2 3h
nd3 2 bnr.w nd3 2 ht-ʕ3 šdw 2*

My Majesty set [down for him] the [gods]-offering anew that which belongs to the day, daily, as to fill that which is in front, with bread of the god's offering, 3305; jars of beer, 33; flour for white bread, 2; bread in two measures; dates in two measures; edible birds of water fowl, 2.

(31) /// /// /// [*wdn n mš]rw(.t) ht-ʕ3 2 ʕš3 2,
sntr ʕb.w 6 irp mni 2 bi.t pg3 4 k3w mni 2
ḥnk.t ʕʕ 1 dk t-ḥd 2 t-ḥd.w hr htp.t 25 ʕdp
w3d 3šr /// (32) /// /// ///*

(31) /// /// /// [to offer to the even]ing meal two edible birds, a multitude, six bowls of incense, two jars of wine, four bowls of honey, two jars of grain, a measure of beer, flour (for) two loaves of white bread, white bread for 25 offerings, fat of the papyrus plant (?), roast ///
(32) /// /// ///

[*m3ḥd*] *2 n3w 7 gḥs 9 ht-ʕ3 šd 125 ht-ʕ3 gb
idr 1100 ʕš3 šd 258 ʕš3 idr gb 5237 irp
1440 sntr thn.w 4 sntr t-ḥd 318 sntr (33)
/// /// /// [sn]tr it 104 sntr pd.t 334 sntr w3d
mni.w 21 ʕntyw ḥ3i 5 šʕ.yt mt-iw(?) 236 šʕ.t
r 258 šʕ.t thn.s 32 šʕ.t t-ḥd 562*

2 [oryx], 7 ibexes, 9 gazelles, 125 edible birds and water fowl, 1100 edible and bound geese, 258 many water fowl, 5237 many bound geese, 1440 wine, incense, 4 obelisks, incense and white bread of 318, incense (33) ///
/// /// [ince]nse, corn, 104, 334 measures of incense, green incense in 21 jars, 5 measures of myrrh, cakes of (?) 236, 258 cakes in the shape of a

⁷ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

goose, 32 cakes in the shape of obelisks, 562
cakes of white bread.

[18.06.06] Thutmose III's Poetical Stela (Cairo CG 34010)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: North Court
Location: Cairo Museum CG 34010
Material: granite
Dimensions: H. 1.7 m and W. 1.03 m
Sources: PM II², 94; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 610-619 (199); Lacau, *Stèles*, pl. vii (p. 17-21); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 11; Reinisch, *Aegyptische Chrestomathie*, pl. 8; Pier, *Inscriptions*, fig. 1; Maspero, *Guide*, 127-128; Legrain, *Repertoire*, no. 149; Lange, *Egypt*, pl. 145; Pritchard, *ANET*, 373-375; Tobin, "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³ (2003), 351-355; De Buck, *Egyptian Reading Book* (1948), 53-56; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II* (1976), 35-39; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes II* (2012), 239-252.

Description: Thutmose III's poetical stela with a hymn of victory, and a scene with Waset with bows and arrows.

Translation:

Transcription: Lacau, Mariette,

Translation: Lichtheim, Tobin, Dessoudeix, LP.

Dessoudeix; *Transliteration:*

Dessoudeix, LP.

Line 1-2: Prologue regarding words spoken by Amun to the King.

*smn=i*¹ (3) *tw m iwnn=i*

I will establish (3) you in my sanctuary,

bi3i.y=i n=k

and I will delight in you

di=i n=k kn.t nht r h3s.wt nb.(w)t

in that I give to you valour and strength against all the *h3s.wt*,

di=i b3.w=k snd.w=k² m t3.w nb.w

in that I place your power and fear of you in all the flat lands,

hry.t=k r-dr.w (4) shn.t 4 n.t p.t

(and) dread of you as far as (4) the four supports of heaven³,

s3.y=i ššf(.t)=k m h.(w)t nb.(w)t

I will make great respect of you in everybody,

di=i hmhm.t hm=k ht psd.t pd.wt

in that I place the war cry of your Majesty throughout the Nine Bows,

wr.w⁴ h3s.wt nb.(w)t dmd(.w) m hf^c=k

(and) the princes of all the *h3s.wt* united in your grasp;

(5) *3wi.y=i 3.wwy=i ds=i*

(5) I will extend my own arms,

nwh=i n=k st

and I binding them for you,

¹ A series of future (prospective) phrases follows. Notably, the use of the future tense is not acknowledged in Lichtheim's work, who translates them as present perfect tense "I placed you..." or "I let them see...". This is unfortunate, as it does not impress on the reader the "prophesy" aspect of the inscription. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 35-39.

² Tobin translates this as "awe" which obfuscates the terror and fear that is likewise associated with this term. Tobin, "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 352.

³ These "pillars" relate to the four ends of the world, and as such, are a reflection of boundaries. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 52.

⁴ Tobin alternatively translates this as "nobles" and "rulers", though it has the sense of a high office, whether they are a prince, official, or ruler of a foreign land. Tobin, "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354-55.

dm3=i Iwn.tyw-St.tyw m db^c.w h3.w
mḥ.tyw m ḥfn.w m sḳr.w-^cnh(.w)

(6) *dī=i ḥr rḳy(.w)=k ḥr ṭb.ty=k*

titi=k šn.tyw h3k.w-ib

mi wḏ=i n=k t3 m 3w=f wsh=f

imn.tyw i3b.tyw ḥr st-ḥr=k

(7) *ḥnd=k h3s.wt nb.(w)t*

ib=k 3w(.w)

nn wn ḥs.y sw m h3w ḥm=k

tī wī m sšm.y=k spr=k r=s n

d3.n=k⁵ mw phr-wr (8) Nhrn

m nḥt m wsr wḏ.n=i⁶ n=k

sdm=sn⁷ hmhm.t=k ^cḳ(w.w) m b3b3.w

g3.n=i⁸ fnd(.w)=sn m t3w n.y ^cnh

(9) *dī=i⁹ nrw n.y ḥm=k ḥt ib.w=sn*

3ḥ.t=i¹⁰ im(y).t tp=k sswn=s st

iri=s is-h3k m nbd.w-kḏ

(10) *3m=s im(y).w nb.wt=s n m*

ns(r).wt=s

dn=s tp.w ^c3m.w

nn nhw=sn

ḥr(.w) mss(.w) n sḥm.w=s

(11) *dī=i phr nḥt=k m t3.w nb.w*

sḥḏ.t tp.t m nd.t=k

nn ḥpr bšt(w) (r)=k r šnn.(w)t p.t

iw(w)=sn¹¹ ḥr in.w ḥr psḏ.w=sn

m (12) ksw n ḥm=k mi wḏ=i

dī=i bdš tkk.w iw(w.w) m h3w=k m3ḥ.n

ib.w=sn ḥ^c.w=sn sd3.w

Poem of Victory:

I tying up the Nubian nomads by tens of thousands, and the northerners by hundreds of thousands as living captives.

(6) I will cause your enemies to fall under your sandals,

so that you can trample the rebellious and the disaffected,

for I will assign to you the earth in its length and its breadth,

and the westerners and easterners are under your supervision,

(7) you will trample down on all *h3s.wt*,

your heart rejoicing.

there will be none who will turn back as he descends, your Majesty.

As I am your guide, you will reach them.

That you crossed the water of the Euphrates of (8) Naharin,

is with the strength and might, which I ordained to you.

They will hear your battle cry and enter into hide-outs,

I having deprived their noses of the breath of life,

(9) I will place the fear of your Majesty in their hearts,

my uraeus upon your brow, it will destroy them, and make easy prey of those of bad character.

(10) It (the Uraeus) will burn the islanders with its flame,

it will sever the heads of the Asiatics,

they having no protection,

the enemy staggers on account of its might.

(11) I will make your victory pervade all lands,

when the uraeus has enlightened as a protector,

there will be no rebellion (towards) you in the furthest reaches of heaven.

They come bearing gifts upon their backs,

(12) bowing to your Majesty as I commanded.

I will weaken the opponents who come against you, their hearts burned as their bodies trembled.

⁵ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

⁶ The tense changes to present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

⁷ Future (prospective). Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

⁸ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

⁹ Future (prospective). Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹⁰ A return to the future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹¹ Aorist. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §70.

Stanza One:

(13) *iyi.n=i¹² di=i titi=k wr.w D3hy*

sš=i¹³ s.t hr rd.wy=k(y) ht h3s.wt=sn

di=i¹⁴ m3=sn¹⁵ hm=k m nb st.wt

shd=k m-hr(.w)=sn m snn=i

(13) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the princes of Djahy,

I will place them under your feet (lit.: two legs) throughout their *h3s.wt*,

I will let them see your Majesty as the lord of sunlight, when you shine before them as my image.

Stanza Two:

(14) *iyi.n¹⁶=i di=i titi=k im(y).w Stt*

skri=k¹⁷ tp.w 3m.w n.w Rtnw

di=i m3=sn hm=k 3pr(.w) hkr=k

šsp=k h3(.w) (n.w) 3h3 hr wrry.t

Stanza Three:

(15) *iyi.n=i¹⁸ di=i titi=k t3 i3b.ty*

hnd=k¹⁹ n.tyw m w.w n.w T3-ntr

di=i²⁰ m3=sn hm=k mi sšd st(w)

bs=f m sd.t di=f i(3)d.t=f

(14) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample those who are in Asia,

and you will strike the heads of the Asiatics of Retenu.

I will let them see your Majesty adorned in your royal insignia

when you take up the weapons on the chariot.

(15) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the eastern land,

you will trample those in the districts of the God's Land.

I cause them to see your Majesty as a thunderbolt, it shedding when it darts its flame in fire and when it emits its destruction.

Stanza Four:

(16) *iyi.n=i²¹ di titi=k t3 imn.ty*

Kftyw Isy hr šfsf.t=k

di=i²² m3=sn hm=k m k3 rnpī

mn-ib spd 3b.wy n h3.ntw=f

(16) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the western land, Keftiu and Isy will stand in awe of you.

I will let them see your Majesty as a young bull, stout-hearted, sharp of horns, whom none can hinder.

Stanza Five

(17) *iyi.n=i²³ di=i titi=k im(y).w*

nb.wt=sn²⁴

(17) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the islanders,

¹² Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

¹³ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹⁴ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹⁵ To “see” as in “to know”. See Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 353 (no. 6).

¹⁶ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

¹⁷ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

¹⁸ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

¹⁹ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

²⁰ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

²¹ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

²² Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

²³ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

²⁴ Tobin translates this as “I have come to empower you to crush the heathen”. However, on the stela the islands are very clear. It is uncertain where Tobin has derived “heathen”. Lichtheim correctly translates this as “islands”, while Dessoudeix goes so far as to translate it as “les habitants des îles égéens.” Tobin,

t3.w n.w Mtn sd3(.w)²⁵ hr snd=k

the flat lands of the Mitanni will tremble through fear of you.

*di=i²⁶ m3=sn hm=k m dpy
nb snd.w m mw n tkn.ntw=f*

I will let them see your Majesty as a crocodile, lord of fear in the water, whom none will dare approach.

Stanza Six:

(18) *iyi.n=i²⁷ di=i titi=k im.(y)w iw.w
hr.yw-ib
w3d-wr hr hmhm.t=k*

(18) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample those on the islands, the Sea Peoples will be under your war-cry.

*di=i²⁸ m3=sn hm=k m nd.ty
h^c.w hr psd.w n.y sm3=f*

I will let them see your Majesty as the avenger, appearing on the back of his wild bull.

Stanza Seven:

(19) *iyi.n=i²⁹ di=i titi=k Thnw*

(19) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the Tjehenu, the islands of Utjentiū belong to the strength of your powers.³⁰

iw.w wtnty.w n.y shm b3.w=k

I will let them see your Majesty as a hostile lion, as you make them into corpses throughout their valley.

*di=i³¹ m3=sn hm=k m m3i-hs3
iri=k s.t m h3.wt ht in.t=sn³²*

Stanza Eight:

(20) *iyi.n=i³³ di=i titi=k ph.ww t3.w*

(20) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the boundaries of the earth, that which the ocean surrounds is enclosed within your grasp.

šnn(w).t šn-wr r^cfl(.w) m hf^c=k

I will let them see your Majesty as lord of the wings of Horus,

di=i³⁴ m3=sn hm=k m nb dm3.t Hr.w

one who seizes with his look that which he desires.

iti(.w) m dgg.(w)t=f r mrr=f

Stanza Nine:

(21) *iyt.n=i³⁵ di=i titi=k im.(y)w h3.t t3*

(21) That I have come is that I may cause you to trample the first inhabitants of the land, wnd you will fetter the Bedouins as living captives.

snh=k hr.(y)w-š m skr(.w)-nh(.w)

“The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 37; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II, 250.

²⁵ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

²⁶ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

²⁷ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

²⁸ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

²⁹ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

³⁰ Lichtheim translates this as “the Utjentiū isles are in your power”, while the original clearly has two terms associated with power: *shm* and *b3.w*. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 37.

³¹ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

³² Both Tobin and Lichtheim translates this in the plural “valleys” though singular is in the original. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 37; Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354.

³³ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

³⁴ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

³⁵ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

$\underline{di}=i^{36}$ $m3=sn$ $hm=k$ mi $s3b$ $šm^c(.w)$ nb I will let them see your Majesty as an Upper
 $gs.t$ $hp.wty$ $hns(.w)$ $t3.wy$ Egyptian jackal, the swift runner, who traverses
the Two Lands.

Stanza Ten:

(22) $iyi.n=i^{37}$ $\underline{di}=i$ $titi=k$ $Iwn(.tyw)-$ (22) That I have come is that I may cause you to
 $St(.tyw)$ trample the Nubian tribesmen,
 $r-mn-m$ $\check{S}3.t$ m $3mm.t=k$ as far as Shat is in your grasp.
 $\underline{di}=i^{38}$ $m3=sn$ $hm=k$ mi $sn.wy=k^{39}$ I will let them see your Majesty as your two
 $dmd.n=i$ $^c.wy=sn$ $n=k$ m nht brothers, whose two hands I have united for you
in victory.

Line 23-25: Epilogue, including the establishment of the stela.

³⁶ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

³⁷ Present perfect. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §71.

³⁸ Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

³⁹ Namely, Horus and Seth. Tobin, "The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 355, no. 15.

[18.06.07] Fragmentary Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo CG 34011)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, South Face

Location: Cairo Museum CG 34011 (JE 36330)

Material: granite

Dimensions: H. 1.42m, W. 0.98m.

Sources: PM II², 171; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 619-24 (200); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 176-179; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 128 (421); Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 17-20; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 21-4; Barguet, *Temple*, 270 (no. 1).

Description: The fragmentary copy of Cairo CG 34010.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

LP.

Lines 1 - 2: Prologue, including words spoken by Amun to king.

(2) (...) *wḏ.n=i hmhm.t*

(3) *hm=k r ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt)*

ḏi=i b3.w=k snd.w=k m t3.w nb.w

ḥry.t=k r ḏr.w šḥn.wt <4> {3}¹ n.t p.t

s3=i šḥf.w(t)=k m ḥ.t nb(.t)

psḏ.t pḏ.wt m (4) ksw(.w)² r bw ḥr.y=k

wr.w³ ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) dmd(.w) m ḥf=k

iwi(.w)=sn m hims n wr nrw.w=k

ini.n=k Twn.tyw-St.tyw (5) m ḏb^c.w ḥ3.w

Stt m ḥfn.w m škr(.w)-ḥnh(.w)

m ph.ty Imn.w it=k špss

ḏi=i ḥr rk.yw=k ḥr tb.ty=k

titi.n=k ḥ3k.w-ib

(6) [*mi wḏ=i*] *n[=k] t3*

m 3w=f wsh=f

ink it=k pw [Imn.w-R^c.w] [s3=i] ///

(2) (...) that I commanded a war cry

(3) of your Majesty against all the *ḥ3s.wt*,

was in that I placed your power and fear of you in all the flat lands,

and dread of you as far as the <four> supports of heaven,

in that I made great the respect of you in every body,

the Nine Bows (4) bowing at the place under you,

the princes of all the *ḥ3s.wt* are united in your grasp,

they coming humbly because of the greatness of your terror,

you having brought the tribesmen of Nubia (5) by the tens of thousands,

and Asiatics by hundreds of thousands as living captives,

with the strength of Amun, your august father.

I will cause your enemies to fall under your sandals,

so that you can trample the disaffected,

(6) [for I assigned] to[you] the earth

in its length and its breadth,

for I am your father, [Amun-Re], [my son] ///

¹ This is probably a scribal error, as the pillars of heaven are traditionally four in number as a reflection of the boundaries. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 52. It has been corrected to “four” in the translation of Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 177 (200).

² Future (prospective) tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §74.

³ Tobin alternatively translates this as “nobles” and “rulers”, though it has the sense of a high office, whether they are a prince, official, or ruler of a foreign land. Tobin, “The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*³, 354-55.

[*hr ns.t=i*] (*Mn-hpr-R^c.w*)|
wt_t(.w)n m ntr h^c.w
(*Dhwt_y-msiw-sm³-hpr*)|
iri.n=f mrr.wt nb.(w)t k³
(7) */// /// /// [ir.yt] dr b³h*
r iri.tn(=i) nsw.t bi.ty
n.w [hpr hr-h³.t] /// /// ///
m [in.w] n(.w) t³.w nb.w
sd^f3yw n[=f h³wt]=i m (8) /// /// ///

[who is upon my throne], (Menkheperre)|,
who was begat from the body of the god
(Thutmose III, united-with-Khepri)|,
he made as the beloved of every ka.
(7) */// /// ///* [than what was made] before,
for I made the King of Upper and Lower Egypt
of what [came into being in the front] */// /// ///*
the [gifts] of all the flat lands,
providing for [him] my [offering tables] in (8) *///*
/// ///

Lines 8-22: Fragments, including words spoken by the king in praise of Amun and descriptions of monuments established (presumably) at the Temple of Karnak.

[18.06.08] Granite Stela from the Temple of Ptah (Cairo CG 34013)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Temple of Ptah, near Fourth Gate

Location: Cairo CG 34013

Material: granite

Dimensions: H. 1.44 m, W. 0.75 m

Sources: PM II², 198 (6); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 763-772 (211); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 234-238 (211); Maspero, “La consécration du nouvel temple de Ptah thébain par Thoutmôsis III”, *CRAIBL* 1 (1900), 113-123; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 27-30, pl. IX; Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 107-111; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 119, Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 135-136 (458); Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 93-94; Barguet, *Temple*, 14; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis fondateur de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 219-223; Piccione, “The Women of Thutmose III in the Stelae of Egyptian Museum”, *JSSEA* 30 (2003), 91-94; Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 84-85, fig. 51; Thiers and Zignani, “The Temple of Ptah at Karnak”, *EA* 38 (2011), 20; Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King*, 265-266 (no. 33); Azim, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I. 349 (4-11/17), II. 326 (4-11/17).

Description: A stela of Thutmose III discovered at the Temple of Ptah. It contains a depiction of Thutmose III with Neferure in the lunette though it was later usurped by a later wife, Satiah. This provides evidence for dating this stela to the early years of the sole reign of Thutmose III. Further, the text, with some 27 lines of a dedicatory inscription, refers to campaigns that occurred in Year 22 to 23. It was later restored by Seti I.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

Lunette:

Lines 1-10: Titulary of king and queen.

Stela:

Line 1: Titulary of the king, beloved of Ptah, South-of-his-Wall

(2) *wḏ ḥm=i ḳd ḥw.t-ntr n.t Pth rs.y inb=f* (2) My Majesty commanded to build a Temple of Ptah, South-of-his-Wall in Thebes, that

m W3s.t n.tt m w3ḥy.t n.t it=i Imn.w-Rḥ.w

nb ns.wt t3.wy

temenos of my father, Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands.

ḏi=f im=s sw n.y ntr=s ḳ n ḥb.w=f nb.w

(3) *hr.t rnp.t ḥft wḏ3=fr pr.w-ḥd n.y tp rs.y*

He (i.e. Ptah) places in him the “Day of Divine Initiation” for all his festivals (3) for the annual allowance in accordance with his attainment for the treasury of the South.

ist gm.n ḥm=i ḥw.t-ntr tn m ḳd m ḏb.wt
wḥ3.w sb3=s ḥ.t w3 r w3s

It is the case that my Majesty found this temple as built in bricks and pillars, its wooden doors fallen into ruin.

(4) *wḏ ḥm=i pḏ šs.w ḥr ḥw.t-ntr tn m m3.wt*
sḥḥ.ti m inr ḥd nfr n.y rwd.t inr inb.w ḥ3=s
ḏb.t m k3.wt rwd.t n ḏ.t

(4) My Majesty commanded a founding ceremony about this temple anew, causing to erect walls in fine white sandstone behind it constructed in brick, enduring for eternity.

iw (5) *sḥ n=sn ḥm=i ʕ3.w m ʕš m3ʕ n.y*
tp(.yw) Ḥtyw ndb.w m ḥm.t Stt ḥft ḥwt n.y
Pth m m3.wt ḥr rn=i n.y ḥm=i

It is the case (5) my Majesty caused to erect for them doors in true cedar of the best (quality) of the *Ḥtyw*, banded with Asiatic copper in front of the Temple of Ptah anew, upon my name of my Majesty.

(6) *n sp ir.t n=f mi.tt ḥr ḥ3.t ḥm=i*

(6) The like was never done for him before my Majesty.

in ḥm=i rdi wsr=f sʕ3.n=i sw r im.t ḥ3.t
swʕb=i n=f s.t=f wr.t m dʕm n.y tp(.yw)
ḥ3s.wt

It is my Majesty who caused that he might be strong, I having made him greater than the ancestors, I consecrated for him his great place in *djam*-gold of the best (quality) of the *ḥ3s.wt*.

(7) *krḥ.t nb.t m nbw m ḥd ʕ3.t nb.t šps.t*
mnḥ.t m p(3)k.wt ḥd.wt nwd.w n.w (i)ḥ.wt-
ntr r ir.t ḥss.tw=f m ḥb.w (8) *tp tr.w ḥpr m*
r3-pr.w pn

(7) Every vessel in *nbw*-gold, all august limbs in silver, clothing in fine linen, white linen, unguents of divine offerings for the giving of his favours in the (8) great annual festivals that occur in this temple.

r ntt rdi.n ḥm=i wd3=f r ḥtp s.t=f iw
mḥ.n(=i) r3-pr.w=f m (i)ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t m
k3.w 3pd.w sntr irp (9) *rnp.t nb.t ḥft iyi.t*
ḥm=i ḥr ḥ3s.t Rtnw

Then, my Majesty caused him (Ptah) to go to in the place of offering. (I) filled his temple with every good thing, namely, bulls, fowl, incense, wine, (9) and every vegetable, at the coming of my Majesty from the *ḥ3s.t* of Retenu,

m sp tp n.w nḥt.w rdi.n n=i it=i Imn.w m
rdi.t=f n=i ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) n.(w)t D3hy

on the first occasion of the victories which my father, Amun, gave to me in his giving to me all the *ḥ3s.wt* of Djahy,

(10) *shw.w ddḥw.w m dmi wʕ snd.t ḥm=i*
ḥt ib.w=sn ḥr bdš¹ spr=i r=sn nn nhw (11)
wth

(10) who were drawn together and who were imprisoned in one town, the fear of my Majesty being throughout their hearts, the enemy being weak, I reaching them without loss (11) (or) fleeing.

ʕḥ=i s.t m dmi wʕ kd.n=i ḥr=s m inb n wtt
inb r ns=sn m tʕw n.y ʕnh m b3.w (12) *it=i*
Imn.w sšm.w=i r w3.t-nfr.t m shr.w=f nb.w
nfr.w

I enclosing it in this one town, I built upon it with walls as the creator of the wall for their seat with the breath of life with the powers (12) of my father, Amun. I lead the way to the beautiful way with all his beautiful plans.

iri.n=f n ḥm=i sʕ3.n=f nḥt.w ḥm=i r nsw
nb ḥpr dr b3ḥ

He made (it) for my Majesty. He made the victories of my Majesty greater than those of any king who had existed before.

Lines 13-27: Offering Lists for Amun, Ptah and Hathor

¹ This is a restoration by Seti I. This implies that the same values had relevance in the reign of Seti I, and furthermore, that the reign of Thutmose III was perceived as a period to uphold in Egyptian history. See Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 767.

[18.06.09] Stela of Thutmose III from the Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Karnak, Chapel of Osiris Wep-Ished

Location: in situ(?)

Material: black granite (granodiorite)

Dimensions: H. 1.56 m and W. 1.4 m

Sources: PM II², 204; Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak”, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 555; Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1950-1951. 1”, *Orientalia NS* 20:4 (1951), 464; Redford, “New Light on Temple J at Karnak”, *Orientalia NS* 55:1 (1986), 1-15; Gabolde and Goyon, “Une stèle en granit noir remployée sur le parvis de la chapelle d’«Osiris-qui-inaugure-l’arbre-iched»”, *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 5-23.

Description: The remains of a stela previously attributed to Seti I. The descriptions in the texts of works by the king has allowed this stela to be re-dated to the reign of Thutmose III. The inscription refers to *h3s.wt* and the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Gabolde and Goyon;

Translation: Gabolde and Goyon, LP.

Transliteration: Gabolde and Goyon, LP.

(x+1) /// *km3.w m s3* /// /// *k3p.w nsw.t Km.t* /// ///

(x+1) /// created as the son /// /// child of the king of Egypt /// ///

(x+2) /// *i3d r-dr mi nb msn shm-ib mi [s3 Nw.t]* /// *sm3(.w) rs.yw ptpt mh.tyw* /// *h3s.wt bšt.ywt* ///

(x+2) /// to remove (?) to its limit as the Lord of Mesen, stout-hearted as [the son of Nut] /// who kills the southerners and tramples the northerners /// the rebellious *h3s.wt* ///

(x+3) /// *3 nsr.t wr b3.w 3 hmhm.t m t3.w Fnḥw¹* /// *t3.w h3s.wt nb.w(t) tš=f rs.y r wp t3* ///

(x+3) /// great, great of flame, great of powers, (whose) war cry is in the flat lands of the Fenhkhou /// all flat lands and *h3s.wt*. His southern border is at the Horns of the Earth ///

(x+4) /// *=i mh.ty=f r ph.w-t3 r mw-kbh.w* /// *h3s.wt (?) i3b.ty=f r šn-wr Fnḥw b[3h.w]=f Imn.ty r iw* /// *pw* /// *h3s.t(?)* ///

(x+4) /// my /// his northern (border) reaches to the ends of the earth, to the (place) of cold water [section missing, mountain determinative], his eastern (border) to the ocean of the Fenhkhou² in the East; the western (border) is at /// it is *h3s.t(?)* ///

(x+5) /// *=f b3k(.w)=sn n=f dmd sm3 Km.t Dšr.t mi h.t w^c psd.t pd.wt hb3 ir.yw n nsw.t ds=f* /// *[t]wt sw m ir.w=f* ///

(x+5) /// his /// their work products are for him. If the Black Land and the Red Land are united together as one body, the Nine Bows

¹ This same phrase is encountered in [18.01.01], line 13. Gabolde and Goyon, “Une stèle en granit noir remployée sur le parvis de la chapelle d’«Osiris-qui-inaugure-l’arbre-iched»”, *Kyphi* 6 (2008), 10.

² This qualification of Fenhkhou is not seen elsewhere at Karnak during the reign of Thutmose III, or even until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This lack of parallels does cause some doubt as to the attribution to the reign of Thutmose III by Gabolde and Goyon, though the other evidence on the stela still provides justification for this date.

(x+6) /// *n* /// [*wh*]*m mn.w m Ip.t-Rs.yt* /// ///
/// *tw* /// /// =*f šꜥ.tn=f hpr=sn n* /// /// ///

(x+7) /// *mnḥ n d.t r ḥḥ m k3.t rwd.t m m3w*
ws[h.ti] /// /// *dd.ti wr.t iw sꜥḥꜥ.n n=f ḥm=i*
Ip.t-Rs.y m [m3.wt] /// /// ///

(x+8) *r* /// *s.t ḥtp n nb ntr.w sb3.w m m3t* /// ///
mi ḥm.t ḥp[w] m dꜥm sꜥ3.w r ir.yt hr.yw ḥ3.t m
/// /// ///

(x+9) /// /// *n it=f Imn.w wnn rn=f rwd nhḥ*
iw kd n=f ḥm=i bhꜥn.t m m3t sb3 /// /// ///

(x+10) /// /// *ꜥ3.w m ꜥš ndbw m ḥm.t sꜥḥꜥ.n n=f*
ḥm=i sn.wt ḥ.t m m3w m ꜥš m3ꜥ tp(.yw) Htyw
/// /// ///

(x+11) /// [*s*]*wꜥb.[n n=f] ḥm[=i] ḥ[n]w n.y*
ḥw.t-ntr tn m m3.w(t) m ḥ.t gm.t sw ḥm=i
sm3.n sh.t m 3[h.wt]

(x+12) /// [*iw wn m ḥ*]*nw[=f n] ḥb.wt [šꜥ n dꜥ]*
/// /// *šꜥd.n sw ḥm=i m [m3.wt] swꜥb.n=i*
m3ꜥ /// /// ///

(x+13) /// /// *w* /// *r-3w=f m ꜥ3.wt šps r* ///
/// *m iyi(=i) s3 ḥ3 tp* /// /// ///

(x+14) /// /// (x+15) /// ///

(x+16) /// /// *km3(.w) sw ḥr.y-tp ꜥnh(.w)*
wḏ3(.w) snb(.w)[ḥm=i] /// /// ///

(x+17) /// /// *ḥr ꜥ.wy=fy ḥr.y-tp ꜥnh(.w)*
wḏ3(.w) snb(.w) ḥm=i ist iri.n ḥm=i w3ḥ.wyt
m (i)ḥ.t m ḥtm /// /// ///

(x+18) /// /// *n r* /// /// (x+19) /// /// *n*
/// *i* /// ///

are diminished. This is what the king himself
/// his image as he does ///

(x+6) /// for /// [repeat]ing the monuments at
the Luxor Temple /// /// it is /// him, that
which he predestined, they came into being
for /// ///

(x+7) /// effective forever and eternity, in
hard work made wide /// very stable. It is
the case that my Majesty caused to erect for
him in the Luxor Temple [anew] /// ///

(x+8) at /// the place of peace for the Lord of
the Gods, the doors in granite /// in copper
with figure[s] in *djam*-gold, it was caused to
be made great as those who had formerly
been in /// ///

(x+9) /// for his father, Amun, so that his
name may endure for eternity. My Majesty
built for him a pylon in granite, the door ///
///

(x+10) /// doors in cedar of the area in
copper. My Majesty caused to erect for him
double-masts anew in true cedar of the best
(quality) of *Htyw* ///

(x+11) /// [my] Majesty has consecrated the
canal of this temple anew, after my Majesty
had found it as a marshland with arable land
(x+12) /// [it was insi]de [its lo]tus bud, [sand
for a storm] /// My Majesty cut it
[anew], I consecrated truly ///

(x+13) /// (?) /// to its width with
precious august stones for /// in (my)
coming, protecting being upon the head ///

(x+14) /// (x+15) ///

(x+16) /// who created him, who is upon
life, prosperity, health, [my Majesty] ///
(x+17) /// upon his two arms, upon life,
prosperity, health, of my Majesty. It is the
case that my Majesty made a temenos with
things in the storehouse (?) ///

(x+18) /// without /// (x+19) ///
/// of(?) ///

[18.06.10] Thutmose III thanking Amun for Victory at Megiddo from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Exterior, South Side

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 126 (462); Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1251-75 (371); Helck, *Übersetzung* (1961), 16-24 (371); Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun", *JEA* 38 (1952), 6-23, pls. ii-ix; Cumming, *Historical Records* I, 11-17 (371); Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (1950), 947 (no. 10), Tab. 16.

Description: Remains of a long text located on the exterior south side of the Festival Temple of Thutmose III, with the king thanking Amun for his victory at Megiddo.

Translation:

Transcription: Gardiner, Helck; *Translation:* Gardiner, Helck, Cumming, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Cross Line Above Text:

Titulary of the king.

The Main Inscription:

Lines 1-6: Year 23, with Thutmose III visiting Karnak and opening the annual festivals.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (7) <i>r im.tw d̄w.w D3hy</i> /// /// /// | (7) between the mountains of Djahy /// /// /// |
| [<i>ḥḥ.n dd.n ḥm=i</i>] (8) <i>n smr.w imy-ḥt=i</i> /// /// /// | [stood up in order for His Majesty to say] (8) to the companions who were in my following /// /// /// |
| (9) <i>iyi.n r ḥ3s.t=tn ḥr p3 [wr m-ḥ(.w)]=k sw m k3pw ḥḥ[.n]</i> /// /// /// | (9) came to your land. Now this [prince, be]hold, he was in hiding. Then /// /// /// |
| (10) <i>ḥr=s wr.t dd ḥm=i ḥr=s[n] ḥnh mri.y n]=i Rḥ.w ḥs.w=i it=i [Imn.w]</i> /// /// /// | (10) upon it greatly. My Majesty said to the[m], as Re [lives and loves for] me, as my father, [Amun] praises me /// /// /// |
| (11) <i>wrry.t šsp.n=i</i> /// <i>ḥni.kwi ḥr</i> /// /// /// | (11) chariot. I took /// alighting in /// /// /// |
| (12) <i>m skw mḥ.n(=i) [3ḥ.t m st.wt] wbn=i wth̄.n=sn</i> /// /// /// | (12) with troops. I filled [arable land with rays] of my rising. They fled /// /// /// |
| (13) <i>sp.t im m ḥ.w=i r</i> /// /// /// | (13) what remained therein in my arm to /// /// /// |
| (14) <i>šn.w m inb wmtt iri.w rn=f</i> /// /// /// | (14) enclosing with a thick wall, the name of which /// /// /// |
| (15) <i>n tpr.n=sn ḥw n.y ḥnh ḥrwyw ḥr ḥpr im m</i> /// /// /// | (15) they could not breathe the breath of life. A war occurred there in /// /// /// |
| (16) <i>pḥr.yt 3w.t dd=sn wr.wy b3.w=k nb=n ity [s3 Imn.w] ntr [mnḥ]</i> /// /// /// | (16) a long transitory state, they saying: "how great is your power, our lord and sovereign, [the son of Amun, effective] god. /// /// /// |
| (17) <i>im wn.in ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t n.t pḥw.w t3 ḥr iyi.t m ks.w [n b3.w n.y ḥm=i r] dbḥ [t3w n.y ḥnh]</i> /// /// /// | (17) there. Then came all <i>ḥ3s.wt</i> of the ends of the earth, bowing down [because of the powers of my Majesty, in order] to beg for the [breath of life] /// /// /// |

(18) *hm=i hr phr(.n) n=sn m-ht sdm=i sp ʕš3 m sš3 [n hm=i] hft /// ///* (18) My Majesty turned to them after I had heard many occasions of praying [for my Majesty] /// /// ///

(19) *hrp=n n=f b3k=n nb [mi] <n>d.t nb.t n.t hm=f ʕḥ.n /// ///* (19) “We offer to him all our work produce [like] all servants of His Majesty.” Then /// /// ///

Lines 20-23: Thutmose III commands to establish a new festival, followed by a list of offerings.

(24) *iw grt wd.n hm=i w3h htp-ntr m m3.wt n it(=f) Imn.w m Ip.t-Sw.t m t /// ///* (24) My Majesty further commanded to establish the god’s-offerings anew for (his) father, Amun, in Karnak with bread /// /// ///

m ʕk.w (25) *imn.yt n.t rʕ.w-nb m mh.w wn.t m-b3h hft iyi [hm=i] hr h3s.t Rtnw m [wdyt tp.t n.t nḥt] /// ///* with the loaves of (25) the daily offerings in excess of what there was there before. The return of [my Majesty] from the *h3s.t* of Retenu on the [first campaign of victory] /// /// ///

(26) *rnp.t-sp 7 3bd 2 3h.t sw 2[6] m t šbn 1000 hnk.t ds 30 smw /// ///* (26) Regnal Year 7, Second Month of the Inundation, Day 26, in bread, mixed of 1000; beer, 30 jugs; vegetables /// /// ///

(27) *irp mni.w 3 r šdw /// /// šʕy.t I[0] /// ///* (27) wine, 3 jars; fattened geese /// /// cakes, 1[0], /// /// (28) *hb.w tp-trw hp[r.t m] /// ///* (28) the calendar festivals which occur [in] /// ///

(29) *sm.w nb.w nfr.w r hrp [m tp.w n.y h3s.wt nb.(w)t m] hr.t-hrw.w n[.t rʕ.w-nb] /// ///* (29) all good vegetables to offer [with the chiefs of all *h3s.wt* with] what belongs to the day, [daily] /// ///

Line 30-33: Fragments, reference to field workers and the creation of a cult statue.

(34) *t3.w Fṇhw m-ht [iri.n=sn hsf] hm[=i] i[n] b3.w [n.w] hm=i n ntr pn šps shr st m 3.t sḥm=f /// ///* (34) the flat lands of the Fenḥhou after [they had seen the approach of my] Majesty b[y] the powers [of] my Majesty for this august god, caused them to fall in a moment, his power /// ///

(35) *hṇ hrw=sn mṇmn.t[=sn] (i)ḥ.t=sn nb.t rḥ.t-ir.y ms.w [wr.w] /// ʕ3m.t 5[00] /// ///* (35) with their relatives, [their] cattle, and all their things. List thereof: children [of the chiefs] /// 5[00] Asiatic women /// ///

Lines 36-38: Fragments, references to moringa oil and divine offerings.

(39) *in.w ʕ3 n.w h3s.wt /// /// hft hm=i m m3.wt /// ///* (39) great gifts of *h3s.wt* /// /// my Majesty /// a[new] /// ///

Lines 40-42: Fragments, references to gold, silver, and carnelian.

(43) */// hrp m tp.w [n.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t m hr.t-hrw.w n.t rʕ.w-nb m b3k.w n.w /// ///* (43) /// bringing with the chiefs [of all *h3s.wt*] with that which belongs to the day, daily, with work produce of /// ///

Lines 44-45: Fragments, references to farm lands and serfs.

(46) *ḳbḥw h3s.t m 3pd[.w] [r] sdf3y iẉnn=sn šps swsḥ.n=f t3š=s[n] /// ///* (46) the *h3s.t* of wild fowl with birds [in order to] provide their august sanctuary, (and) to widen [the]ir boundaries /// ///

(47) *in.w=sn hr psḍ.w=sn /// m pḥ.ty it=i [Imn.w] wḍ.n [n]=i kṇ.t nḥt imi /// ///* (47) their gifts upon their backs /// in the strength of my father [Amun]. Decreed [for] me was might and victory, given /// ///

Line 48-50: Amun assigning Thutmose III as king.

- (51) ʕ3.w m ʕš b3k m /// /// /// m dʕm (51) the doors in cedar, worked in /// /// /// in *djam-*
m [hḏ] nbw ḥsbḏ mfk3.t /// /// /// gold, in [silver] and *nbw*-gold, lapis-lazuli, turquoise
/// /// ///

Lines 52-67: Commandments of the king regarding festivals and their offering lists.

Priests present myrrh in the Akhmenu.

- (67) (...) rʕ.w-nb ʕb [m] (68) b3ḥ mi (67) (...) daily meal [in the] (68) presence like the
nist [hr.y]-ḥ3b(.t) m [Imn.w pr.w] m- lector priest is summoned in [the house of Amun] in
b3ḥ it=i [Imn.w] m 3ḥ-Mnw /// šʕy.t the presence of my father [Amun] in the Akhmenu
wr.t /// sp 2 [iw grt rḏi.t m3ʕ.]tw /// great cakes /// x 2. [Further, offerings were given
tp.(y)w n.w [ḥ3s.]wt /// /// by] the best of the [ḥ3s.]wt /// /// ///

Lines 68-78: List of offerings and dedications to the temple.

- (79) Imn.w rḏi /// b3k m nbw [n.y] (79) Amun placed /// worked in *nbw*-gold [of] the
tp.(y)w ḥ3s.wt iw grt sʕḥ[ʕ.n n=f best of the ḥ3s.wt. [My Majesty] further [erec]ted [for
ḥm=i] /// /// iw sʕḥ[ʕ.n n=f ḥm=i him] /// /// [My Majesty] erect[ed for him two]
thn.wy] (80) wr.wy /// wr.w=f 3w.w great (80) [obelisks], /// its greatness in width great
ʕ3.w /// /// ḥnk.t /// /// beer /// /// ///

- (81) Imn.w // /// (i)ḥ[.t] m hr.t- (81) Amun /// /// [thi]ngs which belong to the day,
hrw.w n.t rʕ.w-nb ḥft ir.t ḥss[.t hr=s] daily, in accordance with making the praise[s upon
it].

- [iw grt sʕḥ[ʕ.n n=f ḥm=i s]ḥ [m m3.wt [My Majesty further erected for him] a booth [anew
m ʕš m3ʕ n.y Tp-ḥt]yw b3[k m] /// in real cedar from the best of the] terraces, work[ed
/// [iw sʕḥ[ʕ.n n=f ḥm=i sb3] ʕ3 m with] /// /// [my Majesty erected for him a] great
m3.wt Imn.w /// [door] anew, Amun /// ///

- (82) ʕ3 mr.y=f m [pr.w rn=f b3k m] (82) great, beloved in the [house of his name, worked
ḥmsn ntr.t šw.t m dʕm iw sʕḥ[ʕ.n n=f with] bronze, the sacred figure in *djam*-gold. [My
ḥm=i] /// /// [My Majesty] erected for [him] /// ///

- [ini.]n ḥm=i dś[=f] /// /// [r ir.t My Majesty [himself] brought /// /// [for the
ḥss.t hr]=s sʕ3.n [n=f ḥm=i ʕ3].wy making of praises upon] it, [my Majesty] making
great [for him] two doors

- (83)¹ Imn.w /// [m ʕš] m3ʕ n.y tp- (83) Amun /// [in] real [cedar] from the best of the
Ḥtyw b3k m /// [b3k m] nbw n terraces, worked in /// [worked in] *nbw*-gold
ḥ3s.[wt nb.(w)t] r iri.t (84) ḥn[.ty=f from [all] ḥ3s.[wt] for the making (84) his stat[ue
im=f ḥb.w=f nb.w [kḏ].n=i pr.w n therein for all his festivals]. I [built] a house for his
nb=f m inr /// lord in stone /// ///

Lines 85-103: Praises to Amun and references to rituals.

The Festival Calendar

Lines 1-23: Marked festivals with quantities of various types of offerings.

¹ Helck accidentally repeats the line 82, so the remainder of the lines have been fixed accordingly. As such, what is line 83 in Helck is line 82, and so forth. Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1268 (371).

[18.06.11] Obelisk of Theodosius

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: South of the Seventh Pylon

Location: Hippodrome, Istanbul

Material: red granite.

Dimensions: H. 20 m

Sources: PM VII, 400; LD III, pl. 60; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 586-9 (187); Laskowski, “Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program of Thutmose III”, *Thutmose III* (2006), 183-237; Breasted, “Obelisks of Thutmosis III”, *AZ* 39 (1901), 56-7. pl. iii (1); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 253; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 145-151; Spalinger, “A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia”, *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37-38.

Description: An obelisk, originally set up as a pair before the south face of the Seventh Pylon, on the west side of the doorway, that refers to military campaigns in Naharin. It is believed to have been erected in the Year 33 of Thutmose III, after the Eighth campaign to the northern Levant.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

South Side:

*Hr.w k3-nḥt ḥꜥ(.w) m W3s.t nb.ty w3ḥ.t
ns.yt*

mī Rꜥ.w m p.t Hr.w-nbw ḥrp(.w) ḥꜥ.w

*ḥrp(.w) pḥ.ty nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-
Rꜥ.w-stp.n-Rꜥ.w)|*

*iri.n=f m mn.w=f n it=f Imn.w-Rꜥ.w
nb ns.wt t3.wy sꜥḥ[.n]=f /// /// ///*

Horus, Strong Bull, who appears in Thebes, the
Two Ladies, enduring of kingship,

like Re in the heaven, Horus of Gold, who controls
the crowns,

who governs with strength, King of Upper and
Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre-chosen-by-Re)|.

He made as his monument for his father, Amun-Re,
Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands. He erect[ed] ///
/// ///

North Side:

Hr.w k3-nḥt mri.y Rꜥ.w nsw.t bi.ty

(Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ.w-sꜥ3.n-Rꜥ.w)|

*rnn(.w) Itm.w m wdḥ ḥr ꜥ.wy N(i)t ntr
mw.t r nsw.t*

*iti(.w) t3.w nb(.w) 3w ꜥḥ(.w) nb ḥb-sd ///
/// ///*

Horus, Victorious Bull, beloved of Re, the King of
Upper and Lower Egypt,

(Menkheperre-whom-Re-caused-to-be-Great)|,

whom Atum raised as a child, in the two arms of
Neith, divine mother, to be king,

who seizes all flat lands, to the extent of a lifetime,
Lord of Jubilees /// /// ///

East Side:

*Hr.w ḥd.t k3i mri.y Rꜥ.w nsw.t bi.ty
nb.ty*

shꜥ(.w) M3ꜥ.t mri.y t3.wy

(Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ.w-tit-Rꜥ.w)| nb nḥt

Horus, Exalted in the White Crown, beloved of Re,
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two
Ladies,

who causes to appear as Maat, beloved of the Two
Lands

(Menkheperre, the-image-of-Re)|, Lord of Victory,

<i>wʕf(.w) t3 nb¹</i>	who subdues every flat land,
<i>iri(.w) t3š=fr wp.t t3 hnm.wt r Nhrn ///</i>	who makes his boundary as far as the Horns of the
<i>/// ///</i>	Earth, and the marshes as far as Naharin /// /// ///
West Side:	
<i>Hr.w K3-nht hʕ(.w)-m-M3ʕ.t nsw.t</i>	Horus, Victorious Bull, who appears as Maat, the
<i>bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rʕ.w-iri.n-Rʕ.w) </i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Menkheperre,
	made-by-Re) ,
<i>d3i(.w) phr-wr² Nhrn</i>	who crossed the Euphrates River of Naharin,
<i>m knt m nht r h3.t [mšʕ.]w=f</i>	with valour and victory at the head of his [army],
<i>iri(.w) h3y.t ʕ3.t /// /// ///</i>	who makes a great slaughter (among them) /// /// ///

¹ This is very similar to the titulary of Thutmose I on his obelisk of the Wadjet Hall, where the king “*iti(.w) t3.w nb(.w)*”. See [18.03.01].

² This term is unique to the reign of Thutmose III in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Spalinger, “A New Reference”, *JNES* 37:1 (1978), 37.

[18.06.12] Obelisk Fragment from before the Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Second Court, near the obelisks before the Seventh Pylon
Location: in situ (?)
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 171 (L); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 589 (188); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 154 (188).
Description: Fragment of the western granite obelisk before the Seventh Pylon (the larger portion today of which is in Istanbul), with a reference to the Mitanni.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Luc Gabolde (personal communication)³; *Transliteration:* LP.

<p><i>iri ḥ3y.t ʕ3.t m t3.w di Mṯn ʕš3.w r šʕy nn</i> <i>dr=ʕ=s s3 Rʕ.w (Dḥwty-msiw-ḥk3-M3ʕ.t) </i> <i>mri.y Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy di(.w) ʕnh [d.t]</i></p>	<p>... [the one who] made a great heap of corpses in the flat lands of the Mitanni, (they being) more numerous than the sand, without its (the heap's) end, the Son of Re, (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Maat) , beloved of Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, [forever]</p>
--	---

³ I thank Luc Gabolde for providing the new hieroglyphic transcription of the obelisk, which is to be published in a forthcoming article: Luc Gabolde, “Les obélisques de karnak dans les nouveaux cahiers de terrain de G. Legrain” (forthcoming).

[18.06.13] Le Texte de la Jeunesse of Thutmose III

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Central Bark Shrine of Thutmose III. The fragments were found around the area of the Philip Arrhidæus shrine.

Location: in situ

Material: red-grey granite.

Dimensions: The shrine was 6.37 m wide and 14.08 m deep.

Sources: KIU 944; PM II², 106 (328); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 155 - 76 (64); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 75-83; Mariette, *Karnak*, 48-49, pl. 14-16; Legrain, "Mémoire sur la porte située au sud de l'avant-sanctuaire à Karnak et sur son arche fortuite", *ASAE* 2 (1901), 227; Habachi, "Devotion of Tuthmosis III to his predecessors", *Melanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar I* (Cairo, 1985), 349-359; Blyth, *Karnak*, 82 (fig. 6.2); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 168-170; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 55-68; Barguet, *Temple*, 128-9, note 3; Lacau, "L'or dans l'architecture égyptienne", *ASAE* 53 (1956), 227-9; Larché, "Nouvelles observations", *Karnak* 12 (2007), pl. III; Carlotti, Czerny and Gabolde, "Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès de la «Cour du Moyen Empire», *Karnak* 13 (2010), 151, n. 160; Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes* II (2012), 159-180; Biston-Moulin, "Remarques sur la transformation des épithètes nfr ḥpr(w) dans les cartouches du nom de naissance de Thoutmosis III", *ZÄS* 139:1 (2012), 20, 26; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 395 (KIU 944).

Description: Images of the god Amun-Re that formed part of the shrine's original decoration were removed during the Amarna Period. The relief scenes show signs of later repairs during the reign of Seti I.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Dessoudeix,

Translation: Sethe, Dessoudeix, LP.

Habachi, Mariette, KIU 944;

Transliteration: KIU988, Dessoudeix,

LP.

Lines 1-14: Year 42, detailing titles and childhood of Thutmose III, including his selection as king by the Amun and his subsequent coronation.

(15) /// /// /// *ḏi.n=f[iwi.t] [ḥ3s].wt nb.(w)t* (15) /// /// /// he caused that all [ḥ3s].wt [should come],

m ksw n b3.w ḥm=i

bowing because of my Majesty's power.

ḥry.t=i m ib.w psd.t pd.wt

My terror is in the hearts of the Nine Bows,

t3.w nb.w ḥr.(y)w tb.ty(=i)

all flat lands under (my) sandals,

ḏi.n=f nḥt m r(3)-ḥ.wy=i

he having given victory to my two arms,

r swsh (16) [t3š.w Km.t]

in order to widen (16) [the borders of Egypt]

/// /// ///

/// /// ///

iri.n it=i Imn.w n.w] /// n 3.t n.y [mr(w).t

[my father, Amun, having made] /// because of

ḥ]r=f ḥ3i(.w) sw im=i

the greatness of the love I inspired in him,

r nsw.t nb ḥpr.w m t3 ḏr whḥ.tw=f

more than any king who had been in the earth

since it was created.

ink s3=f mri.y ḥm=f mr.ti k3=f pw iri.ti

I am his son, beloved of His Majesty, whom his ka desires, it is that which he makes.

*hrp=i t3 pn r b(w) hr=f di=i r̥f(17) [pr.w-
h̥d=f špss m in.w n.y h̥3s.wt nb.(w)t] /// ///
///*

Lines 17-23: Building of monuments and their associated embellishments at Karnak, offerings, taxes, and various libations.

(24) */// /// tm [ntr.w] im[y.w] p.t m
h̥r̥[w.t] wd(.w) n=k
ns.yt=f smn(.w) h̥r̥(.w)=k hr s.t Hr.w*

smn(.w) gnw.t=k m nsw.t bi.ty

*sm3=f n=k t3.wy m h̥tp.w h̥3s.wt nb.(w)t m
w3h-tp*

Lines 25-28: Further discussions of the works of the king at Karnak, including gates and a pylon.

(29) */// /// [b3k(.w) m d]r̥m s̥h̥r̥.n=i n=f
r̥3 r̥3 ms(.w) m r̥š m3(.wy) b3k(.w) m nbw*

*ndb(.w) m hm.t km(.t) m3r̥ /// m h̥smn rn-
wr hr=f m d̥r̥m s3.wy hm.t km(.t)*

Line 30: More descriptions on portals.

(31) */// /// mh̥.ty k3i(.w) m inr r̥3.w m r̥š
m3(.wy) r̥ šms twt(.w) n.w [hm=i] r̥=s hn̥r̥
twt(.w) n.w it.w=i bi.tyw*

(32) */// /// it=i Imn.w-R̥r̥.w m Ip̥.t-S.wt m
iri.t n=f mn.w m m3.wt m sw3.t im(y).w-h̥3.t
m s̥dsr n=f r3-pr.w=f h̥ws.n n=f (33)
[hm=i] /// ///*

*ist gm.n hm=i nw m db̥.t w3s.y wr̥.t m ir̥.tn
im(y).w-[h̥3.wt] hm=i ds̥=f ir̥(w) m r̥.wy=f
hr̥ pd̥ šs hr̥ mnw pn*

(34) */// /// [r]n=f nfr̥ iri.n hm=i wr̥ ph̥.ty
(Mn-h̥pr-R̥r̥.w) Imn.w d(w)3 r̥hy.t r̥3=f r̥3
m [r̥š] n.y Hnty-š b3k(.w) m h̥smn rn-wr̥
hr̥=f m d̥r̥m*

Lines 35-38: Praises to Thutmose III and his works, the dedication of divine offerings to Amun.

(38) (...) *iw grt r̥di.n hm=i 3h̥.t (39) [s]t3.t
1800 r̥h̥.wt n.t h̥tp(.w)-ntr̥ w.w r̥š3 m šm̥r̥
mh̥.w /// /// gr̥g(.w) m mr̥.wt*

I present this land at the pla(ce) where he resides. I cause to contain (17) [his splendid treasury with gifts of all *h̥3s.wt*] /// ///

(24) /// /// the [gods] who are in the heavens are rejoicing. His kingship is entrusted to you, your coronation is established upon the Horus-throne,

and established are your annals as King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

He has united for you two lands in peace, all *h̥3s.wt* bow their heads.

(29) /// /// [worked with *djam*]-gold. I erected for him a great door, fashioned in new cedar, worked with *nbw*-gold, banded with real black copper /// in bronze, the great name upon it was in *djam*-gold, doubly (refined) gold, and black copper

(31) /// /// northern, shrines of stone, doors of new cedar, the statues of worshipped for it, together with the statues of my fathers, the kings.

(32) /// /// my father, Amun-Re, in Karnak, by making for him a monument anew, surpassing those who were there before, by causing to sanctify for him his temple, which [my Majesty] (33) built for him /// ///

Behold, my Majesty found this made of brick, greatly ruinous, that which was made by those [before.] My Majesty himself made with his two arms, at the feast of the “Stretching of the Cord” upon this monument.

(34) /// /// it’s beautiful [name] which my Majesty made was “(Menkheperre)|, great of strength of Amun, adored of the people”. Its great door was of [cedar] of *Hnty-š*. It was worked with bronze, the great name upon it in *djam*-gold.

(38) (...) My Majesty furthermore gave land (39) 1800 stat to be farm land of divine

	offerings, many regions in the south and north /// /// /// supplied with servants.
<i>mḥ.n=i sw m ḥ[3k.t]=i m ḥ3s.wt rs(y.w)t mḥt(y.w)t m ms(w.w) (40) wr.w n.w Rtnw ms(w.w) [wr.w] n.w Hn.t-ḥn-nfr</i>	I filled it with my ca[ptives] from the southern and northern ḥ3s.wt, being child(ren) (40) of the chiefs of Retenu, and child(ren) of [the chiefs] of Khenthennefer,
<i>mi wd(w).tn it=i [Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy]</i>	as commanded by my father, [Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands].
<i>[iw grt rdi.n n=f ḥm=i mn^c(.w)t r shr] irt.t im m hr(y).t hrw n.t r^c.w-nb r n3 n.y mh[r].w n.w ḥd nbw ḥsmn iri.n n=f ḥm=i (41) m m3w.t</i>	My Majesty further placed milk cows to milk] milk therein, each day for these [vessels] of silver, nbw-gold, and bronze, which my Majesty made for him, (41) anew.
Lines 41-45: Presentation of offerings to the god in Year 15.	
<i>(...) iw grt iri.n n=f ḥm=i sbḥ(.w)t ṣ3(.w)t b3k(.w) (46) m d^cm ḥm.t km(.t) s^cḥ^c(.w) m- dri s.t /// /// ///</i>	(...) My Majesty furthermore made for him many portals worked (46) in djam-gold and black copper, erecting an enclosure wall and seat /// /// ///
<i>[iw grt iri.n n=f ḥm]=i bin.t šps.t b3k.ti m ḥd nbw ḥsbd mfk3.t ṣ3.t nb.t šps.t</i>	My [Majesty furthermore made for him] a splendid harp worked with silver, nbw-gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every splendid costly stone
<i>(47) r dw3 nfr.w ḥm=f m ḥ^c(.w)=f m rn.w[=f] /// /// ///</i>	(47) for the praise of the beauty of His Majesty, at his appearances in [his] names /// /// ///
Line 47-49: Further offerings to Amun, including gold and bronze.	
Captions (after Habachi):	
Inscription above the king:	
Captions A-B: Dedications to Senwosret I.	
Caption behind the two Nile Gods:	
<i>(C) ṣnh dd w3s nb t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt nb(.w)t rd.wy ntr nfr pn</i>	(C) All life, stability and dominion, all flat lands and all ḥ3s.wt are at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of this Good God.
Caption D: A text referring to a sitting of the courtiers in Year 9.	

[18.06.14] Doorway of the Seventh Pylon of Thutmose III

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, doorway

Location: in situ

Material: granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 169-170 (498c); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 178-191 (66); Sethe, *Übersetzung* (1914), 85-89; Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 25 septembre au 31 octobre 1901”, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 274-9; Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 9, pl. 3; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 6008, 10160; Barguet, *Temple*, 271; Nims, “Places About Thebes”, *JNES* 14 (1955), 122 (fig. 1).

Description: Inscription of Thutmose III which contains references to *h3s.wt*, including Retenu and the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Sethe, LP.

Lines 1-3: Titulary of the king, and events from Year 1 detailing the coronation of the king.

(4) (...) *Mntyw* /// /// /// [*iwi*] *n pr.w=f m* ///
/// /// [*nfr.wy snfr=k hw.t-ntr n.t it=k Imn.w-*
R^c.w] *nsw ntr.w m k3.wt m3.wt hn.ty d.t*

[*iw^c n=k hr=f*] *iri=k sp 2 whm=k ir.t n^ch.ti*
m3.ti rnp.ti mi R^c.w r^c.w nb

Lines 4-6: Detailing the creation of monuments at Karnak.

(6) (...) [*d3.w hm=f r*] *Rtnw r dr h3s.wt*
m^h.ty m wd.yt=f tp.(y)t n.t nht hft wd.n
(it)=f Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy

sšm=f mn^h rd[i.n=f n]t-^c m nb h3s.wt
nb.(w)t psd.t pd.wt dm3.(w) hr [tb.ty=f]

(7) /// /// /// *nb.t n* /// /// /// [*h*] *trw.w=sn m* ///
/// /// *iri.n=i h3y.t [c3.t im=sn]* /// /// /// *rdi.w*
m hnt n.t kd.t=sn šnw hr=s m sb.ty mn^h

hm=i hmsi hr=s mi m3i hr rs.kwi hr=s grh
[*mi r^c.w*]

(8) /// /// /// [*is*] *t wr.w nb.w n.w h3s.wt=tn*
iwi.w r c^h3 n [hm=f] /// /// ///

(4) (...) The Bedouins /// /// /// come to his
house to /// /// /// [how beautiful is it that you
have caused to be beautiful the temple of
your father, Amun-Re], King of the Gods,
with new works for the two sides, forever.

[As a reward for you through him], you are
making, twice, and you repeat the living
works, which will be new and young like
Re, every day.

(6) (...) [His Majesty moved to] Retenu, in
order to subdue the northern *h3s.wt* on his
first campaign of victory, as commanded by
his (father), Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of
the Two Lands.

He led excellently, [he execu]ted the [ta]sk
in all *h3s.wt*. The Nine Bows were bound
under [his sandals]

(7) /// /// /// all in /// /// /// their [ho]rses /// ///
/// I made a [great] slaughter [among them]
/// /// /// made in a prison of their
construction, a ring lay around it as a solid
wall.

My Majesty sat upon it like a lion making
ready. I watched them at night [like by day]

(8) /// /// /// all the chiefs of your *h3s.wt* come
to fight for [His Majesty] /// /// ///

*ist ini.n hm=i hm.wt n.t hr.w pf hn^c ms.w hn^c
hm.wt n.t wr.w wn.nw [hn^c=f] [hn]^c ms.w
[nb.w]*

*h[^c].n rdi.n hm=i n3 n.y hm[.wt hn^c] (9) [n3
n.y ms.w r šn^c it=fImn.w r mr.wt] /// /// ///*

*[hrp.tw] b3k.w=sn r hw.t-ntr n.t Imn.w
iw grt wd.n hm=i /// /// ///*

*[iw grt rdi.n hm=i dmi.w n it=i Imn.w iniw
Ngs rn n.y w^c Yn^cm 3 rn n.y ky Hrnkr] rn
n.y ky*

*hrp.tw b3k.w=sn r hw.t-ntr n.t it=i Imn.w m
htr r tnw rnp.t
ist h3k.n hm=i n3 n.y hm.wt n.t hrw n.y
Kdšw /// ///*

*(10) /// /// /// i[t]=fImn.w htr(.w) m b3k n.y
hr.t rnp.t ist /// /// ///
n.w Km.t hr swsh t3š=sn d.t [nhh] h^c.n rdi.n
hm=i 3pr.w pn r ht3 wts.(w)t nfr[.wt=f]*

*ist [wi3] 3 n tp itr Wsr-h3.t-Imn.w s^cd [3š
m3^c] (11) [r ir.t=f m m3.wt] /// /// ///*

*ist iri.n hm=i sp n.y nht m hps=i ds=i m -3b
[nn h3s.tyw] /// /// ///*

pri.n=i hr t3 hr.kwi r=s ib=i wsr

*wn.in=sn hr /// /// /// hr h3.t [hm=i wn.i]n
niw.wt=sn h3k[.w]
(12) /// /// /// bhw(?) nn h^c m h3w [hm=i] ///
/// ///*

*m in.w nb n(.wt) h3s.wt mh.y(w)t hft iyi.t
hm=i hr h3s.t=tn
[iw] grt wd.n hm=i w3h [hb.w] (13) m m3.wt
n it=i [Imn.w] /// /// ///*

Line 13-14: dedication of the god's offerings.

*(15) (...) [rnp.t-sp 33 ist hm=f m 3k] w n.y
Kdn m wdy.t 8-nw.t n.t nht r /// /// ///*

My Majesty brought the women of that enemy with the children and with the women of the chiefs who had been [with him], [wi]th all the children.

Then my Majesty placed these women [with] (9) [these children to the labour establishment of his father Amun to be servants] /// /// ///

Their works [are presented] to the temple of Amun. My Majesty further commanded /// /// ///

[My Majesty further gave the towns to my father, Amun, Neges is the name of one, Yanamu is the name of another, Hulkur] is the name of (yet) another.

Their works are presented to the temple of my father, Amun, every year as a tax.

My Majesty captured these women of the enemy of Kadesh /// /// ///

(10) /// /// /// my fat[her], Amun, was provided with annual work produce /// /// /// of Egypt, widening its borders forever and ever. Then my Majesty gave this equipment in order to insert and display his beauty

The great [bark] which is upon the river, "Mighty is the forehead of Amun" (from) [real] cut [cedar] (11) [in order to make it anew] /// /// ///

My Majesty made a deed of victory with my own strong arm, in the midst of [these h3s.tyw] /// /// ///

I went forth upon the land, I set down against it, my heart being strong.

Then they /// /// /// before [my Majesty. The]n their cities were plundered

(12) /// /// /// (?) there was none one who was standing near [my Majesty] /// /// ///

with all the gifts of the northern h3s.wt when my Majesty came back from your h3s.t.

My Majesty further commanded to establish the [festivals] (13) anew for my father, [Amun] /// /// ///

(15) (...) [Regnal Year 33]. His Majesty entered the district of Keden on the eighth (day) of the campaign of victory to /// /// ///

[n in.t dr] ph.ty=f im 'h[n]¹ /// /// /// n=i /// [Without bringing the end] of his strength
 [n]h.tt n.t it.w(=i) nn /// /// (16) /// /// /// therein. Then /// // /// victoriousness of my
 fathers, without /// /// (16) /// /// ///
 r iri.t² pd(.wt) nht(.w) gm.t(y)=fy³ nht.t in order to make the bows of victory. We
 im=sn h3.w /// /// /// will find victory in them measured /// /// ///

Lines 16-21: Fragmentary references to strength and the commands of the king, including the dedication of precious stones and palms.

¹ Auxiliary verb indicating a narrative form. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §95.

² r + infinitive indicating purpose. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §85.

³ Future verbal adjective. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §112.

[18.06.15] Thutmose III before Amun on the NW Face Sixth Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Sixth Pylon, west side of the north wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 4912; PM II², 88 (234); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 757-763 (210 A and B); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5386-7, 8415-16, 8421, 8589; Dümichen, *Altaegyptische Kalenderinschriften*, pl. xl; Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.* II, 38a; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408 (KIU 4912).

Description: Thutmose III dedicating offering to Amun with references to northern Levant.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

A. Title of the Scene (above the king)

[rdi.t m3^c htp.w-ntr in nsw ds=f n it=f] Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy hft.y shr.t Rtnw
hs.t

[Giving truly a god's offerings by the king himself, for his father] Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, the enemy of feeble Retenu has fallen.

B. Speech of the King

(1) [nsw.t ds=f dd=f] /// /// /// [iw w3h.n hm=i htp.w-ntr] m m3.wt n it=i Imn.w [nb ns.wt t3.wy hn.t Ip.t-S.wt

(1) [The king himself, he says] /// /// /// [my Majesty established the god's offerings anew for my father, Amun, [Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak].

(2) [hft iyi.t hm=i m wdy.t tp.t n.t nht] ///
/// ///

(2) [My Majesty came afterwards from the first campaign of victory] /// /// ///

[hr dr bštw hr=i m] t3.w Fnhw wn.w w3 r
tkk t3.w=i

[upon subduing the rebellion against me in] the flat lands of the Fenhkhou, far from my borders that were violated.

(3) /// /// /// [tsw].n=f skw r msdyt hm=i
hr.in=sn hr hr.w=sn

(3) /// /// /// he [commanded] the troops for that which is hateful for my Majesty. Then they fell upon their faces.

(4) /// /// /// [dmi] n.y Mkti h^c.n inh.w.n st
hm=i m sb.ty swmt.w

(4) /// /// /// the [town] of Megiddo. Then, my Majesty enclosed it in the thick walls

(5) /// /// /// n tpr.n=sn t3w n.y nh šn.wtw
m hnt n.w kd.w=sn

(5) /// /// /// they did not breathe the breath of life, encircling the prison which was their fortress.

(6) /// /// /// [wn.in 3m].w n.w h3s.wt
nb.(w)t iyi.y m w3h-tp
m ksw.w n b3.w hm=i

(6) /// /// /// [then the Asiat]ics of all the foreign lands came in bowing the heads, bowing because of the powers of my Majesty.

(7) /// /// /// wn.in nn n.y h3s.tyw n3.w m
Mkti hs(y).t

(7) /// /// /// then these foreigners of in feeble Megiddo

(8) [iyi.y] /// /// /// [r dbh htp.w hr hm=i dd
hr=sn

(8) [were coming] /// /// /// [in order to beg for peace from my Majesty. They saying:

ind-hr=k nsw ity] wr b3.w (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)|
[s3 Imn.w] im sp n=k

“Hail to you, king and sovereign], great of powers, (Menkheperre)| [the son of Amun], give us deeds,

<i>hpr=n n hm=</i> <i>b3k.w=n (9) [r pr.w-hd=k] /// /// ///</i>	we making offerings for your Majesty, our work produce (9) [for your treasury] /// /// ///
<i>[nn nsw.t iri] ir.tn hm=k m t3 pn d.t</i>	[without the king doing] that which your Majesty made in this land forever.
<i>h^c.n wd.n hm=i rdi.t n=sn t^cw n.y n^ch</i>	Then my Majesty commanded the making for them the breath of life.
(10) /// /// /// <i>hnw.w=sn nb.w hr</i> (11) /// /// /// <i>sšm.kwi r w3.t nfr.t</i>	(10) /// /// /// all their jars under (11) /// /// I guiding to the beautiful road
(12) /// /// /// <i>[t3.w nb.w] rfm</i> (13) <i>[hf^c=i]</i> /// /// /// <i>Dr</i>	(12) /// /// /// [all flat lands] are enclosed in (13) [my fist] /// /// Tyros
(14) /// /// /// (15) /// /// /// <i>n3 n.y</i> (16) /// /// /// (17) /// /// /// (18) /// /// /// (19) /// /// ///	(14) /// /// /// (15) /// /// /// these (16) /// /// (17) /// /// (18) /// /// (19) /// /// (20) /// ///
(20) /// /// /// (21) /// /// /// <i>[srd] m ht bnr nb</i> (22) /// /// <i>[mn] iri.n=i nn</i>	(21) /// /// [crafting] in the following of everything sweet (22) /// /// established. I made these
(23) /// /// /// <i>[pr].kwi</i> (24) <i>m</i> /// /// <i>[m nsw n^cht] t3.w nb.w h^c(.w) hr s.t Hr.w</i> <i>n.t n^ch.w [nb.w] mi R^c.w d.t</i>	(23) /// /// I [equipped] (24) [in] /// [As a king of great victories] in all the flat lands, who appears upon the throne of Horus of the [all] the living, like Re, forever.

[18.06.16] Five Rows of Northern Name Rings from the NW Face Sixth Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Sixth Pylon, west side of the north wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 3482; PM II², 88 (235); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 779-86 (216 A); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 242-246 (216 A); Mariette, *Karnak* (1875), pl. 17 (a, b); Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 96 (2); Maspero, *Histoire ancienne* II, 261 (fig.); Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament*, 301, Abb. 103; Baikie, *Story of the Pharaohs*, pl. xi (2); Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 28-9 (i, a), 109, 111-13; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 471 (KIU 3482).

Description: On the west face of the north wing of the Sixth Pylon, there is a line of text followed by a topographical list featuring 117 name rings that detail various localities in the Levant. Above, the remains of a smiting scene.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Mariette, KIU 3482; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., Simons, LP.

Transliteration: Simons, KIU 3482, LP.

Horizontal Register Above Name Rings:

(a) *šhwy ḥ3s.wt Rtnw ḥr.t ddḥ.n ḥm=f m dmi n.y Mkyt ḥs.t inī.n ḥm=f ms.w=sn m škr(.w)-ḥnh.w r dmi [n.y W3s.t]*

(a) Summary of the *ḥ3s.wt* of Upper Retenu. His Majesty having imprisoned in the town of feeble Megiddo, His Majesty having brought their children as living captives to the town [of Thebes]

(b) *swhn m Ip.t-Sw.t m wdy.t=f tp.yt n.t nḥt mi wd.n it(=f) Imn.w sšm(.w) sw r w3.wt nfr.wt*

(b) the *swhn*¹ at Karnak, on his first campaign of victory, according to what his father, Amun, had commanded, who guided him to the perfect roads.

Name Rings, First Row:

(1) *Ḳdšw* (2) *Mkt(y)* (3) *Ḥty* (4) *Ktsn* (5) *ḥn-š3sw* (6) *Dbḥ* (7) *Bmy* (8) *Km.t* (9) *Ttyn* (10) *Rbn* (11) *Ḳrt-ndn* (12) *Mrm* (13) *Tmsḳw* (14) *Ittr* (15) *Ibr* (16) *Ḥmt* (17) *Ikdw* (18) *Šmn* (19) *Birt* (20) *Mdn* (21) *Srn* (22) *Tby* (23) *Bdn* (24) *Imsn*

(1) Kadesh (2) Makkeda (3) Chazi (4) Gaddaschuna (5) Ein-Shasi (6) Tubichi (7) Bamiya (8) Kamudi (9) Dutin (10) Lapana (11) Tell el-Schihab (12) Marom (13) Damaskus (14) Iter (15) Abel (16) Hamatu (17) Aqidu (18) Shemen (19) Beeroth (20) Musunu (21) Sharuna (22) Dubu (23) Busrunu (24) Amshuna

Name Rings, Second Row:

(25) *Msh* (26) *Ḳni* (27) *ḥrn* (28) *ḥstrt* (29) *Inwrp* (30) *Mkt* (31) *Rws* (32) *Ḥdr* (33) *Phr* (34) *Knnrt* (35) *Šmn* (36) *Itmm* (37) *Ḳsn* (38) *Šnm* (39) *Mšir* (40) *Iksp* (41) *Kbḥ-smn* (42)

(25) Muschichuna (26) Qanu (27) Aruna (28) Astartu (29) Inourep (30) Makkeda (31) Laisch (32) Hazor (33) Pahel (34) Kinnereth (35) Shemen (36) Adumim (37) Kishion (38) Schunem (39) Mischal (40) Achshaph (41)

¹ This appears to be the name of an unused fortress in Thebes. Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 242 (no. 2).

Tʿnk (43) *Ybrʿm* (44) *Knt-isn* (45) *Rtmrk* (46) *ʿyn* (47) *ʿk*
 Geba-Shumen (42) Taanach (43) Ibleam
 (44) Kintuaschna (45) Latimilk (46) Quelle
 (47) Akko

Name Rings, Third Row

(48) *Rš-kdš* (49) *Krymn* (50) *Br* (51) *Šmš-Itm* (48) Rosch-Kadesh (49) Kerymen (50) Bir
 (52) *Inḥrt* (53) *ʿpr-wr* (54) *ʿpr-šri* (55) *Ḥšb* (51) Schamasch-Edom (52) Anaharath (53)
 (56) *Tsrt* (57) *Ngb* (58) *Iššḥn* (59) *Rnm* (60) “The Great Victim” (54) “The Small Victim”
 (55) Chaschabu (56) Tuschulti (57) Negeb-
 (61) *Miḥs* (62) *Ypw* (63) *Kntw* (64) *Rtn* Desert (58) Aschchani (59) Ranam (60) Jarsu
 (65) *Inw* (66) *Ipḳ(n)* (67) *Sk* (68) *Yḥm* (69) (61) Muchazzi (62) Joppa (63) Gath-Rimon
 (64) Lydda (65) Inou (66) Aphek (67) Sek
 (68) Jehem (69) Chabisina (70) Gath

Name Rings, Fourth Row

(71) *[Mktr]* (72) *[Ip]tn* (73) *Šbtn* (74) *Tyi* (75) (71) [Migdal] (72) [Ip]tjen (73) Schabtuna
Nwn (76) *Ḥdi* (77) *Hr* (78) *Yšpr* (79) *Rgd* (74) Tayaa (75) Nawar (76) Hadita (77) Har
 (80) *Krr* (81) *Hrmr* (82) *Rbi* (83) *Nmn* (84) (78) Yasupilu (79) Ruchisi (80) Galilee (81)
Nʿmn (85) *Mrmim* (86) *ʿny* (87) *Rḥbw* (88) Harmel (82) Labwe (83) Numan (84) Naame
Ṭkr (89) *Hykrym* (90) *Ṭbr* (91) *Ṭrʿ* (92) *Ṭbr* (85) Maromim (86) “Those” (Area in Syria
 (93) *Kntit* Palestine) (87) Rehob (88) Aqar (89)
 Haikalim (90) Abila (91) Edrei (92) Iber (93)
 Gitoth

Name Rings, Fifth Row

(94) *[Mḳrpt]* (95) *[ʿyn]* (96) *Kr[mn]* (97) (94) [Maqraptu] (95) [Quelle] (96)
Bt<3>y (98) *Tpn* (99) *Ṭbr* (100) *Yrt* (101) Kar[maim] (97) Bety (98) Dibon (99) Iber
Ḥrkr (102) *Yʿḳbir* (103) *Ḳpt* (104) *Ḳdr* (105) (100) Yarutu (101) Hulkur (102) Joqeber
Rbt (106) *Mḳrt* (107) *ʿmḳ* (108) *Srt* (109) *Birt* (103) Gibthon (104) Gezer (105) Rubuti
 (110) *Bt-šir* (111) *Bt-<ʿ>nt* (112) *Ḥrḳt* (113) (106) Maqarat (107) Emeq (108) Sirut (109)
ʿn-ḳnʿm (114) *Ḳbʿ* (115) *Drr* (116) *Dft* (117) Beeroth (110) Beth-Schean (111) Bet-Init
 (112) Helkath (113) Yokeneam (114) Geba
 (115) Seror (116) Zephath (117) Burkana

Image has been removed as it
 contains copyright material.

Figure 34 [18.06.16] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings.

[18.06.17] Five Rows of Southern Name Rings from the SW Face Sixth Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Sixth Pylon, west side of the south wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 3481; PM II², 88 (238); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 794-800 (218); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 22; Mariette, *Monuments*, 200-204; Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 99 (5); Golenishchev, “Offener Brief an Herrn Professor H. Brugsch”, *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 145-148 (pl. vi); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 134, pl. 42 (upper); Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 471 (KIU 3481).

Description: On the west face of the north wing of the Sixth Pylon, there is a line of text followed by some 115 name rings, detailing various localities to the south of Egypt. Above, the remains of a smiting scene.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Mariette, KIU 3481; *Translation:* Sethe, LP.

Transliteration: KIU 3481, LP.

Horizontal Register Above Name Rings:

(a) *šhwy nn ḥ3s.wt rs.ywt Iwn.tyw-St.tyw n.w*
Ḥnty-ḥn-nfr sm3.n ḥm=f ir ḥ3y.t im=sn n rḥ
tnw ini hryw=sn nb.w m škr(.w)-ḥnh.w r
W3s.t

(a) This summary of the southern *ḥ3s.wt*, the of the Tribesmen of Khenthennefer. His Majesty destroyed them, making a slaughter among them (without can be) known the number of (victims), all their inhabitants (of the land) being brought as living captives to Thebes

(b) *r mh šnḥ.w n.y it(=f) Imn.w-Rḥ.w nb ns.wt*
t3.wy ist ḥ3s.wt nb.wt m nd.t n.t ḥm=f mi wd.n
it(=f) Imn.w

(b) to fill a labour establishment of (his) father Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands. Behold, all *ḥ3s.wt* (were/are) the serfs of His Majesty as his father, Amun, commanded.

Name Rings, First Row:

(1) *Kš-ḥs.t* (2) *Itr* (3) *Itrmiw* (4) *Miw* (5) *Irkkr*
(7)¹ *Bkk* (8) *Srnyk* (9) *Brbrt* (10) *Tkr* (11) *Tbm*
(12) *Grss* (13) *Trk* (14) *Trrk* (15) *Grb* (16)
Inknn (17) *Bgšgi* (18) *Tmkr* (19) *Mrkr* (20)
Try (21) *Kḏi* (22) *Mtrt* (23) *Trtr* (24) *W3w3.t*

(1) Feeble Kush (2) Iter (3) Atalmo (4) Miu
(5) Irkrk (7) Bkk (8) Sarenyk (9) Berbeter
(10) Teker (11) Yam (12) Garess (13) Tarek
(14) Tarerek (15) Gareb (16) Inekenen (17)
Begshesheg (18) Temker (19) Merker (20)
Trey (21) Kedi (22) Metret (23) Tortor (24)
Wawat

Name Rings, Second Row:

(25) *(I)ntm* (26) *Mw3* (27) *Bḥ3* (28) *Ḥtw* (29)
Dš3 (30) *Thbb* (31) *Tmsnt* (32) *Wti* (33) *Phn*
(34) *Bt* (35) *Dtmn* (36) *Inm3* (37) *Inbt* (38)
Im3 (39) *Bwt* (40) *Ippd* (41) *Th3* (42) *Ih3* (43)
Yw (44) *Dt* (45) *ḥndm* (46) *Isp3* (47) *3pm*

(25) (I)ntem (26) Mawah (27) Beha (28)
Hetou (29) Desha (30) Tehebeb (31)
Temsenet (32) Wti (33) Pehen (34) Bet (35)
Detmen (36) Inma (37) Inenbet (38) Ima (39)

¹ Number 6 has been mislabelled as 7.

But (40) Ipped (41) Ihew (42) Iha (43) Yew
(44) Dat (45) Aendjam (46) Ispa (47) Apem

Name Rings, Third Row:

(48) [Pwnt] (49) *ʿh3* (50) *3ms* (51) *Mnsi* (52) *ʿ3h* (53) *Gʿh* (54) *Mḥdm* (55) *ʿhr* (56) *Tʿdm* (57) *Mmtw* (58) *Mbt* (59) *Ḥmrṯt* (60) *Stḥb* (61) *Šdtm* (62) *Nḥtm* (63) *Ḥk3ht* (64) *Wnt* (65) *Bim* (66) *Mst* (67) *Ib* (68) *Ih* (69) *Kkt* (70) *Sd*

(48) [Punt] (49) Aha (50) Ames (51) Mensi (52) Awah (53) Gah (54) Mehdjem (55) Ahar (56) Iadjam (57) Memtew (58) Mebjet (59) Hemeretjet (60) Setheb (61) Sedjtem (62) Nehtem (63) Hekaht (64) Wetnet (65) Bim (66) Meset (67) Ib (68) Ieh (69) Keket (70) Sed

Name Rings, Fourth Row:

(71) *Mšḥt* (72) *K33m* (73) *I33* (74) *Iḥt* (75) *M3t* (76) *Ttn* (77) *Hbw* (78) *Md3* (79) *Bṯbt* (80) *Mntwrw* (81) *Tst* (82) *Dh* (83) *Bpst* (84) *Iši* (85) *S3tw* (86) *Knst* (87) *Tws* (88) *Tḥnw* (89) *Ḥʿthr* (90) *Dds* (91) *Tp-Nḥb* (92) *B3š* (93) *Ms*

(71) Meshet (72) Kaam (73) Iaa (74) Ifet (75) Mat (76) Tjeten (77) Hebu (78) Medja (79) Betbet (80) Mentourou (81) Teset (82) Deh (83) Bespet (84) Ishi (85) Satchu (86) Kenset (87) Tous (88) Tjehenu (89) Hatehor (90) Djedjes (91) Tep-Necheb (92) Bash (93) Mes

Name Rings, Fifth Row:

(94) *Tsm* (95) *Ḥšḥt* (96) *Tw3* (97) *Ttrs* (98) *Wrt* (99) *Rtnpn* (100) *Wbh* (101) *Nḥst* (102) *Ttns* (103) *Ds* (104) *ʿ3w* (105) *Tšst* (106) *Bḥst* (107) *Šs* (108) *B3kt* (109) *Išst* (110) *Tw* (111) *Sw* (112) *Mst* (113) *Msdm* (114) *Ḥw.t-sm3w* (115) *I3w* (116) *Ibts*

(94) Tesem (95) Cheset (96) Toua (97) Tetres (98) Weretch (99) Rechtenpen (100) Webeh (101) Nubia (102) Tetnes (103) Djes (104) Aawy (105) Teshet (106) Behset (107) Shesh (108) Baket (109) Ishet (110) Tu (111) Su (112) Meset (113) Mesdem (114) Hewet-schemau (115) Iawu (116) Ibets

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 35 [18.06.17] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings.

[18.06.18] Northern Name Rings in the Chamber of Kings

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III.

Provenance: Chamber of Kings, Room 1, Festival Temple of Thutmose III

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 112 (345); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, p. 80-82 (fig. 14); Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 38-9 (iii), 123-124; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6528.

Description: A small list featuring 33 Asiatic name rings on the entrance of the Chamber of Kings, with at least 6 names destroyed. The numbering follows Simons, from the bottom row to the top.

Translation:

Transcription: Chic. Or. Inst. Photos;

Translation: Simons, LP.

Simons; Transliteration: Simons, LP.

Row One:

(1) /// (2) <i>N3</i> /// (3) <i>Ṭšḥn</i> (4) <i>Rnm</i> (5) ///w (6)	(1) /// (2) N /// (3) Aschani (4) Ranam (5) ///
<i>Ṭsr</i> ^c (7) <i>ʿn-ḳn</i> ^c m (8) <i>Ḳb</i> ^c -[<i>smn</i>] (9) <i>Drr</i> (10) ///	(6) Isero (7) Yokeneam (8) Geba-Shumen (9)
(11) /// (12) /// (13) ///	Seror (10) /// (11) /// (12) /// (13) ///

Row Two:

(14) <i>Y[rḏ]</i> (15) <i>Mihš</i> (16) <i>Ypw</i> (17) <i>Knt-trk</i>	(14) Jarsu (15) Muchazzi (16) Achmim (17)
(18) <i>Rtn</i>	Kenet-tjerek (18) Lydda

Row Three:

(19) /// (20) /// (21) /// (22) /// (23) <i>Nwrpy</i>	(19) /// (20) /// (21) /// (22) /// (23) Nauplia
(24) <i>Mḳ[t]</i> (25) <i>Hm</i> (26) <i>Rws</i> (27) <i>Hḏr</i>	(24) Makkeda (25) Ham (26) Laisch (27)
	Hazor

Row Four:

(28) /// (29) /// (30) /// (31) <i>Mkti</i> (32) <i>Ṭ3</i> (33)	(28) /// (29) /// (30) /// 31) Megiddo (32) Yaa ¹
<i>Ḳdm</i>	(33) Kedem

¹ As stated by Simons, this place name is not listed in the great list of Asiatic names under Thutmose III; and strangely enough, an identical name is known in the great southern list on the Seventh Pylon. Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 124.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 36 [18.06.18] The name rings from the Chamber of Kings.

[18.06.19] Thutmose III Smiting Asiatic Captives on the NE Face Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, north side of the east wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2106; PM II², 167 (496); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 19-21; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 781-6 (216) C; 769-794 (217); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* I, pl. 44-53; Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 94-96; Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 109-122; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2106).

Description: Thutmose III smiting Asiatic captives before Amun, with small god below, and 359 name rings. The king is facing away from the gate. This list follows that of the list found on the Sixth Pylon [18.06.16] and is numbered after Mariette.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 2106, Mariette, Sethe; *Translation:* Simons, LP.

Transliteration: KIU 2106, Simons, LP.

Text above Name Rings:

a) *shwy h3s.wt Rtnw hr.t*
ddh.n hm=f m dmi n.y Mkti hs.t

ini.n hm=f ms.w=sn m skr(.w)-nh.w r
dmi n.y W3s.t r mh šn^c.w n.y it=fImn.w
[m] Ip.t-Sw.t

wdy.t=f tp.yt n.t nht mi wd.n it=fImn.w
sšm(.w) sw r w3.wt nfr.wt

a) Summary of the *h3s.wt* of Upper Retenu which His Majesty imprisoned in the town of feeble Megiddo, (and) whose children His Majesty brought as living captives to the town of Thebes in order to fill a labour establishment of his father Amun [in] Karnak, on his first campaign of victory, according to what his father, Amun, had commanded, who guided him to the perfect roads.

Name Rings:

(1) /// (2) /// (3) /// (4) *Ktsn* (5) *ns3sw* (6) /// (7) *Bmy* (8) /// (9) *Ttyn* (10) *Rbn* (11) *Krt-ndn* (12) *Mrm* (13) *Tmskw* (14) *Itr* (15) *Ibr* (16) *Hmt* (17) /// (18) *Šmn* (19) *Brt* (20) *Mdn* (21) *Srn* (22) *Tby* (23) *Bdn* (24) *Imšn* (25) *Msh* (26) *Knw* (27) *rn* (28) *strt* (29) *Nwrpi* (30) *Mkt* (31) *Rws* (32) *Hdr* (33) *Phr* (34) *Knnrt* (35) *Šmn* (36) *Itmm* (37) *Ksn* (38) *Šnm* (39) *Mšir* (40) *Tksp* (42) *Tnk* (43) *Ybr^cm* (44) *Knt-išn* (45) *Rtmrk* (46) *yn* (47) *k3* (48) *Rš* (49) *Krymn* (50) *Br*

(1) /// (2) /// (3) /// (4) Gaddaschuna (5) Enischasi (6) /// (7) Bamiya (8) /// (9) Dutin (10) Laban (11) Kiriath-Nisan (12) Marom (13) Damaskus (14) Adarru (15) Iber (16) Hammath (17) /// (18) Shemen (19) Beeroth (20) Musuni (21) Sharuna (22) Dubu (23) Busruni (24) Amshuna (25) Muschichuna (26) Qanu (27) Aruna (28) Astartu (29) Naupalia (30) Makkeda (31) Laisch (32) Hazor (33) Pahel (34) Kinnereth (35) Shemen (36) Adumim (37) Kishion (38) Schunem (39) Mischal (40) Achshaph (41) Geba-Shumen (42) Taanach (43) Ibleam (44) Kintuaschna (45) Latimilk (46) Quelle (47) Akko (48) Rosch-Qadesh (49) Kermin (50) Bir

(51) *Šmš-Itm* (52) *Inhrtw* (53) *ʿpr-wr* (54) *ʿpr-šr* (55) *Ḥšb* (56) *Tsrt* (57) *Ngb* (58) *Ṭšḥn* (59) *Rnm* (60) *Yrd* (61) *Miḥs* (62) *Ypw* (63) *Kntw* (64) *Rtn* (65) *Ini* (66) *Ipḳ(n)* (67) *Swk* (68) *Yḥm* (69) *Hbdn* (70) *Kntw* (71) [*Mktr*] (72) [*Ip*]tn (73) *Šbtn* (74) *Tyi* (75) *Nwn* (76) *Ḥdit* (77) *Hr* (78) *Yšp-ir* (79) *Rgd* (80) *Krr* (81) *Hrmr* (82) *Rbi* (83) *Nmn* (84) *N^cmn* (85) *Mrmim* (86) *ʿny* (87) *Rḥbw* (88) *Ṭkr* (89) *Hykrym* (90) *Ibr* (91) *Ṭr^c* (92) *Ibr* (93) *Kntit*

(94) [*Mkrpt*] (95) *ʿyn* (96) *Kr[mn]* (97) *Bt<3>* (98) *Tpn* (99) *Ibr* (100) *Yrt* (101) *Ḥrkr* (102) *Y^ckbir* (103) *Ḳpt* (104) *Ḳdr* (105) *Rbt* (106) *Mḳrt* (107) *ʿmk* (108) *Srt* (109) *Br* (110) *Bt-šir* (111) *Bt-<3>nt* (112) *Ḥrkt* (113) *ʿn-ḳn^cm* (114) *Ḳb^c* (115) *Ḍrr* (116) *Ḍft* (117) *Brḳn* (118) *Hn* (119) *Tktms*

(120) *Prt* (121) *Ṭy* (122) *Imt* (123) *///rt* (124) *Ṭk* (125) *Trmnn* (126) *Rgb* (127) *Tnp* (128) *///* (129) *///* (130) *Ḍrb* (131) *Šsphš* (132) *Nii* (133) *///* (134) *Ṭr* (135) *Ṭptr* (136) *Ṭkr* (137) *Ṭnrt* (138) *Inm* (139) *Ṭrtkn* (140) *Ḥrkh* (141) *Ḍrs* (142) *Rrty* (143) *Srkš* (144) *///* (145) *Wny* (146) *Infr* (147) *Ythb* (148) *Inik* (149) *///tn* (150) *Skhy* (151) *Ibrn* (152) *Ḍnrws* (153) *Sbk* (154) *Ptr* (155) *Šthbg* (156) *Ṭmrsk* (157) *Ḥrrš* (158) *Nnrmmnd* (159) *Šwrnt* (160) *Mrrhns*

(161) *Ṭgrr* (162) *///* (163) *Knrt* (164) *Trd* (165) *///* (166) *Wrtt* (167) *Ṭmrs* (168) *Ḥtrdw* (169) *Ṭnr* (170) *Ḥtmy* (171) *///* (172) *I///wrn* (173) *Ṭndr* (174) *Kh(m)* (175) *Ṭrt* *///* (176) *Ḥd(m)* (177) *Mrrhns* (178) *///* (179) *Ḥr* *///* (180) *Wr///* (181) *S///* (182) *///* (183) *///* (184) *Nbn* (185) *Ḥtmy* (186) *M(n)gns* (187) *Ṭpknn* (188) *Ṭtn* (189) *Nrb* (190) *Trb* (191) *Ṭgnr* (192) *Ṭm* *///* (193) *Ṭnt* *///* (194) *S* *///* (195)

(51) Schamasch-Edom (52) Anaharath (53) “the Great Victim” (54) “the Small Victim” (55) Chaschabu (56) Tuschulti (57) Negeb-Desert (58) Aschchani (59) Ranam (60) Jarsu (61) Muchazzi (62) Joppa (63) Gath-Rimon (64) Lydda (65) Ono (66) Aphek (67) Sukeh (68) Jehem (69) Chabisina (70) Gath (71) [Migdal] (72) [Ip]tjen (73) Schabtuna (74) Tayaa (75) Nawan (76) Hadita (77) Har (78) Yasupilu (79) Ruchisi (80) Galilee (81) Harmel (82) Labwe (83) Numan (84) Naame (85) Maromim (86) “Those” (87) Rehob (88) Aqar (89) Haikalim (90) Abila (91) Edrei (92) Iber (93) Gitoth

(94) [Maqraptu] (95) Quelle (96) Kar[maim] (97) Bata(?) (98) Dibon (99) Iber (100) Yarutu (101) Hulkur (102) Joqeber (103) Gibthon (104) Gezer (105) Rubuti (106) Maqarat (107) Emeq (108) Sirut (109) Beeroth (110) Beth-Schean (111) Beth-Ananth (112) Helkath (113) Yokeneam (114) Geba (115) Seror (116) Zephath (117) Burkana (118) Anubieion (119) Aktamas

(120) Pirati (121) Aya (122) Imet (123) *///* (124) Tkej (125) Turmanin (126) Rugaba (127) Tunip (128) *///* (129) *///* (130) Zulabu (131) Schespechesch (132) Nija (133) *///* (134) Ara (135) Tjeptjer (136) Sukwe (137) Zuluti (138) Inem (139) Araziki (140) Churika (141) Djuras (142) Rurtia (143) Scharakuche (144) *///* (145) Unaja (146) Inefer (147) Jadabi (148) Unqi (149) *///* (150) Sakuchija (151) Abarnani (152) Djenrus (153) Sebeq (154) Petjer (155) Setechbeg (156) Amarschagi (157) Chalulasche (158) Nenremennadj (159) Schurante (160) Mirar

(161) Sagillu (162) *///* (163) Kullania (164) Tirissa (165) *///* (166) Ullaza (167) Imeres (168) Chaziluche (169) Anniniri (170) Chutamme (171) *///* (172) *///* (173) Zinzar (174) Keshem (175) *///* (176) Chedjem (177) Muraar (178) *///* (179) *///* (180) *///* (181) *///* (182) *///* (183) *///* (184) Nupani (185) Chatamme (186) Minnica (187) Tepkenen (188) Zitanu (189) Nirabu (190) Athareb (191) Itegener (192) *///* (193) *///* (194) *///* (195)

- Šmb* (196) *Nšp* (197) (*Tt**kr*) (198) *Ibt* (199) *Tyrš* (200) *Ityr*
 (201) *Ntb* (202) *Ttrst* (203) *Iytw* (204) *Skw*
 (205) *Tib* (206) *Ibrtt* (207) *Šinr-ky* (208)
Irm (209) *///tny* (210) *///* (211) *Šiinir-gnn*
 (212) *Kynb* (213) *Irs* (214) *Ntn* (215) *Itn*
 (216) *Ttrst* (217) *Trbnt* (218) *Mwty* (219)
N3p (220) *Hmrr*
 (221) *Itr* (222) *Krtmrt* (223) *Ist* (224) *Tnrs*
 (225) *In<w>* (226) *Itbn* (227) *Išmb* (228)
Itkr (229) *Ttt* (230) *Itrn* (231) *Tkmrs* (232)
Ibt (233) *Ir///* (234) *Srmrt* (235) *Intkb*
 (236) *3rs* (237) *Irt* (238) *It///* (239) *///* (240)
Hn///
 (241) *In ///* (242) *///* (243) *Is ///* (244) *I ///*
 (245) *I ///* (246) *Trb* (247) *Frw* (248) *Ssbn*
 (249) *Kt ///* (250) *///* (251) *///* (252) *Sr*
 (253) *Ppi* (254) *Ntn* (255) *Tmk3* (256) *///*
ny (257) *Kn3sh* (258) *///* (259) *Skbk* (260)
Trn
 (261) *Kmr<w>* (262) *Itb* (263) *Itn* (264)
Kršw (265) *Rtm* (266) */// tnt* (267) *///* (268)
/// (269) *///* (270) *Krkms* (271) *Dtkr* (272)
Mrmr (273) *St ///* (274) *///* (275) *///* (276)
/// (277) *///* (278) *///* (279) *Hyt* (280) *Pdr*
 (281) *Itrtn* (282) *Mšw* (283) *Inrk* (284)
Nprywrw (285) *Ntkn* (286) *Ittm* (287)
Ibrnn (288) *Iyrnr* (289) *Iyrnr* (290) *Innmy*
 (291) *T ///* (292) *Trh* (293) *Trn* (294)
Rmny (295) *///* (296) *Ppb* (297) *It ///*
 (298) *Irš* *///* (299) *Mr ///* (300) *///*
 (301) *///* (302) *///* (303) *///* (304) *///* (305)
/// (306) *Ibr* (307) *Krmt* (308) *Imk* (309)
Ktr (310) *Imy* (311) *Hrb* (312) *Pinr* (313)
Irm (314) *Smirw* (315) *Ikrm* (316) *Prt* (317)
Srrs (318) *Irpnh* (319) */// rt* (320) *Pky*
 (321) *///w* (322) *Tnnr* (323) *Trns* (324)
Nrns (325) *///* (326) *///* (327) *///* (328) *///*
 (329) *///* (330) *///* (331) *///* (332) *///* (333)
Wrm (334) *Sn ///* (335) *T ///* (336) *///* (337)
Mrr[hns] (338) *Ttp* (339) *///* (340) *///* (341)
T /// (342) *Trh* (343) *Šsrn* (344) *Idnin*
 (345) *Ibštn* (346) *Imhr* (347) *Tmkř* (348)
Rtp (349) *Mrķ* (350) - (359) {lost}
- Schemeb (196) Nizip (197) Itjker (198) Ibet
 (199) Ziurasche (200) Utijar
 (201) Nidabi (202) Siturasche (203) Iytu (204)
 Seku (205) Tuba (206) Aphratik (207) The
 First Schinar (208) Urima (209) *///* (210) *///*
 (211) The Second Schinar (212) Keniffe (213)
 Alasa (214) Netjen (215) Itjen (216) Siturasche
 (217) Turmitta (218) Mudue (219) Nanap
 (220) Chemrer
 (221) Aduri (222) Kertmeret (223) Iset (224)
 Tenres (225) Ines (226) Adabik (227)
 Ischemeb (228) Iteker (229) Tetjet (230)
 Atarche (231) Tekmeres (232) Ibet (233) *///*
 (234) Sermeret (235) Anziqub (236) Ares
 (237) Irta (238) *///* (239) *///* (240) *///*
 (241) *///* (242) *///* (243) *///* (244) *///* (245) *///*
 (246) Taribu (247) Feriwa (248) Sesben (249)
/// (250) *///* (251) *///* (252) Sura (253) Fafin
 (254) Netjen (255) Schamuka (256) *///* (257)
 Kenasech (258) *///* (259) Sekbek (260) Tiren
 (261) Kimar (262) Ituwa (263) Iten (264)
 Karsche (265) Retem (266) *///* (267) *///* (268)
/// (269) *///* (270) Karkemisch (271) Djetker
 (272) Murmuriga (273) *///* (274) *///* (275) *///*
 (276) *///* (277) *///* (278) *///* (279) Chyt (280)
 Pitru
 (281) Arate (282) Meschu (283) Lakka (284)
 Neperyuru (285) Mutkinu (286) Atutamme
 (287) Upalali (288) Ajarallu (289) Ajarallu
 (290) Inenemy (291) *///* (292) Terech (293)
 Iren (294) Remneny (295) *///* (296) Pepeb
 (297) *///* (298) *///* (299) *///* (300) *///*
 (301) *///* (302) *///* (303) *///* (304) *///* (305) *///*
 (306) Abel (307) Quramati (308) Amakwan
 (309) Kythera (310) Ummu (311) Aleppo
 (312) Piner (313) Urima (314) Semiru (315)
 Ikem (316) Peretj (317) Sereres (318) Irpenech
 (319) *///* (320) Peqy
 (321) *///* (322) Tjenener (323) Tjernes (324)
 Nuranti (325) *///* (326) *///* (327) *///* (328) *///*
 (329) *///* (330) *///* (331) *///* (332) *///* (333)
 Wilima (334) *///* (335) *///* (336) *///* (337)
 Mi[rar] (338) Tjetjep (339) *///* (340) *///* (341) *///*
 (342) Zalchi (343) Susula (344) Idjin (345)
 Ibschten (346) Imher (347) Temqer (348)
 Retep (349) Meriq (350) - (359) {lost}

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 37 [18.06.19] The smiting scene above the name rings.

[18.06.20] Thutmose III Smiting Southern Captives on the NW Face Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, north side of the west wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2126; PM II², 167 (497); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 796-800 (218c), 801-806 (219); Müller, *Egyptological Researches* II, 131-132, pl. 42; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* II, 248 (fig.); Mariette, *Karnak*, pls. 24-26; Brugsch, *Thes.* VI, 1552-1553; Maspero, "Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III", *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 97-99; Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 29-30, 111-115.

Description: Thutmose III smiting captives surrounded by 269 name rings.

Translation:

Transcription: Mariette, Sethe;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Horizontal Text Above Name Rings:

(a) */// /// /// [n] rh t_{nw} ini.n(=f) hrw=s_n m sk_r.w-^cnh.w r mh rw.yt n.y it=f [Imn.w] m [Ip.t-S.wt] [i]st h₃s.wt nb(.wt) m <n>d.t n.t hm=f*

(a) */// /// /// (making a slaughter among them) [without can be] known the number of (victims). (He) brought their people as living captives to fill the hall of his father, [Amun] in [Karnak]. Behold, all h₃s.wt are serfs of His Majesty.*

The List:

(1) - (21) (lost) (22) [Mtrt] (23) Trtr (24) [W3w3t] (25) *///* (26) *///* (27) [Bh33] (28) [Htw] (29) [Dš3] (30) Thbb (31) Wti (32) *///* (33) *///* (34) Bt (35) [Dt]mn (36) [In]m3 (37) Inbt (38) Im3 (39) Bwt (40) Ippd

(41) [Ih]3w (42) Th33 (43) Yw (44) Dt (45) ^cndm (46) Isp3 (47) P3mw (48) - (56) (lost) (57) Mmtw (58) Mbt (59) Hmr_{tt} (60) Sthb

(61) Šdtm (62) Nht_m (63) Hk3ht (64) Wtnt (65) Bim (66) Mst (67) Ib (68) Ih (69) Kkt (70) Sd (71) Msht (72) K33w (73) I33 (74) Ift (75) [M]3[t] (76) Ttn (77) Hbw (78) *///* (79) *///* (80) Mnt

(81) Tst (82) Dh (83) [B]pst (84) Isi (85) S3tw (86) Knst (87) Ts (88) Thnw (89) [H^ct] (90) Dds (91) Tp-Nhb (92) B3š (93) Ms (94) Tsm (95) [H3]sht (?) (96) Tt (97) Ttrs (98) *///* (99) [Rtnpn] (100) *///*

(101) *///* (102) *///* (103) [Ds] (104) ^c3w (105) Tššt (106) Bhst (107) Šs (108) B3kt (109) Išst

(1) - (21) (lost) (22) [Metret] (23) Terter (24) [Wawat] (25) *///* (26) *///* (27) [Bahaa] (28) [Hatu] (29) [Dasha] (30) Tehebb (31) Wetji (32) *///* (33) *///* (34) Bet (35) [Djet]men (36) [In]ma (37) Inbetj (38) Ima (39) But (40) Ipedj

(41) [Ih]aw (42) Ihaa (43) Yew (44) Djet (45) Andjem (46) Ispa (47) Pamu (48) - (56) (lost) (57) Memchu (58) Mebetj (59) Hemretjet (60) Setheb

(61) Shedjtem (62) Nehtem (63) Hekaht (64) Wetnet (65) Bim (66) Meset (67) Ib (68) Ieh (69) Keket (70) Sed (71) Meshet (72) Kaaw (73) Iaa (74) Ifet (75) [M]a[t] (76) Tjeten (77) Hebu (78) *///* (79) *///* (80) Menet

(81) Tesetj (82) Deh (83) [Be]pset (84) Ishi (85) Satju (86) Kenset (87) Tes (88) Tjehenu (89) [Haat] (90) Djedjes (91) Tep-Neheb (92) Besh (93) Mes (94) Tesem (95) [Ha]set(?) (96) Tet (97) Tetjres (98) *///* (99) [Retenpen] (100) *///*

(101) *///* (102) *///* (103) [Djes] (104) Aau (105) Tesheshet (106) Beshet (107) Shes

- (110) *Tw* (111) /// (112) *Mšt* (113) *Msdm* (114) [*Hw.t-sm3w*] (115) *T3w* (116) *Tbts* (117) /// (118) /// *hb* (119) *Tnhkb* (120) *Mrhti*
- (121) *Mhi* (122) *Rhr* (123) /// (124) *Hnby* (125) *Hdy* (126) *Tmmrp* (127) *Mrhn* (128) *Itt* (129) *Isn* (130) *Itnp* (131) - (133) (lost) (134) *Shtm* (135) /// (136) *Hrht* (137) /// (138) *Bhk* (139) *M(3)k3* (140) *Sh*
- (141) *H3-R^c.w-Hr.w-3h.ty* (142) *ndm* (143) *3gni* (144) *Thni* (145) /// (146) /// (147) /// (148) *In* (149) *Šmyk* (150) *Inttps* (151) *Sšns* (152) /// *ip* (153) *H3thn* (154) *Kn* (155) *T3ht* (156) *Msšs* (157) *Tk* (158) *Isn* (159) /// (160) *Istn*
- (161) /// (162) *Tb* (163) /// (164) /// *kw* (165) *Ktns* (166) *Imhs* (167) /// *33hs* (168) /// (169) /// (170) /// (171) *Ibsy* (172) /// (173) /// (174) /// (175) /// (176) *Bktn* (177) /// *ššn* (178) *Tnst* (179) *Ir* (180) *Istss*
- (181) *Hbn* (182) *Imbs* (183) *Mnt* (184) *Wdnt* (185) *W3i* (186) /// (187) /// (188) /// (189) /// (190) /// (191) *Tllw* (192) /// *hp* (193) *T^cin* (194) *Sthb* (195) *Hmr^tt* (196) /// *bwšw* (197) *hr* (198) *Nhymrw* (199) *Dh* /// (200) ///
- (201) /// (202) /// (203) /// (204) *Bh* /// (205) /// (206) *Sp3* /// (207) *Bwt* (208) *Im3* (209) *Inbt* (210) *Tbint* (211) *Inm3* (212) *Sbm* (213) /// (214) /// (215) /// (216) /// (217) /// (218) *Np3* (219) *Tnsw* (220) /// *iw*
- (221) /// *piw* (222) *H3b* (223) *Wti* (224) *Thbb* (225) *Itg* (226) *Tbw* (227) *Nš3* (228) *T^ct* (229) /// *rhtm* (230) /// *w* (231) /// (232) /// *m* (233) *Twr* (234) /// *dhm* (235) *Witdtm* (236) *Tmr* (237) - (243) (lost)
- (244) *3isy* (245) *Tks* (246) *Tht* (247) /// (248) *3w* (249) *Šbbt* (250) *Ddwt* (251) *Tšw* (252) *Dn* (253) *Tpstm* (254) *3ymn* (255) *Ibs3* (256) *H3w* (257) *T3* (258) *Dmni* (259) *Th* /// (260) *Itny* (261) *Th3wtt* (262) - (269) (lost)
- (108) *Baket* (109) *Ishsetj* (110) *Tew* (111) /// (112) *Meset* (113) *Mesdem* (114) [*Hut-smaw*] (115) *Iaw* (116) *Ibetes* (117) /// (118) /// (119) *Tjenheqeb* (120) *Merheti*
- (121) *Mehi* (122) *Rehor* (123) /// (124) *Henby* (125) *Hedjey* (126) *Temmrep* (127) *Merhen* (128) *Itet* (129) *Ishen* (130) *Itnep* (131) - (133) (lost) (134) *Shetem* (135) /// (136) *Hehet* (137) /// (138) *Behek* (139) *M(a)ka* (140) *Sah*
- (141) *Hara-Harakhty* (142) *Anedjem* (143) *Ageni* (144) *Aheni* (145) /// (146) /// (147) /// (148) *In* (149) *Semyek* (150) *Inettepes* (151) *Seshensem* (152) /// (153) *Hathen* (154) *Kan* (155) *Iahet* (156) *Meshess* (157) *Iak* (158) *Isen* (159) /// (160) *Ishtjen*
- (161) /// (162) *Ib* (163) /// (164) /// (165) *Ketjnes* (166) *Imhes* (167) /// (168) /// (169) /// (170) /// (171) *Ibsey* (172) /// (173) /// (174) /// (175) /// (176) *Bekten* (177) /// (178) *Tenset* (179) *Ir* (180) *Isetess*
- (181) *Heben* (182) *Imbes* (183) *Menet* (184) *Wednet* (?) (185) *Wai* (186) /// (187) /// (188) /// (189) /// (190) /// (191) /// (192) /// (193) *Iatjen* (194) *Setheb* (195) *Hemretjet* (196) /// (197) *Ahar* (198) *Nehyemrew* (199) /// (200) ///
- (201) /// (202) /// (203) /// (204) /// (205) /// (206) /// (207) *But* (208) *Ima* (209) *Inbetj* (210) *Tebinit* (211) *Inma* (212) *Sebem* (213) /// (214) /// (215) /// (216) /// (217) /// (218) *Nappa* (219) *Tensw* (220) ///
- (221) /// (222) *Hab* (223) *Wetji* (224) *Tehebb* (225) *Iteg* (226) *Ibu* (227) *Nesha* (228) *Iat* (229) /// (230) /// (231) /// (232) /// (233) *Iwar* (234) /// (235) *Witdjem* (236) *Temer* (237) - (243) (lost)
- (244) *Aisy* (245) *Ikes* (246) *Ihet* (247) /// (248) *Au* (249) *Shebbet* (250) *Dedjwet* (251) *Iashu* (252) *Djen* (253) *Tepstem* (254) *Aymn* (255) *Ibsa* (256) *Haw* (257) *Ia* (258) *Djemni* (259) /// (260) *Itjney* (261) *Ihawatt* (262) - (269) (lost)

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 38 [18.06.20] The remains of the smiting scene with three rows of name rings below.

[18.06.21] Thutmose III Smiting Asiatic Captives on the SW Face Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, south side of the west wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2105; PM II², 170 (499); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 772-5 (212), 780-6 (216 B); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 18; Mariette, *Listes géographiques, texte*, 3 (no. 1-3); Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 96-7; Simons, *Topographical Lists*, 29-30, 111-115; Hamann, *Ag. Kunst*, Abb. 217; Luiselli, “The Ancient Egyptian scene of ‘Pharaoh smiting his enemies’: an attempt to visualize cultural memory?”, *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies* (2011), 16 (fig. 1.3: mistaken for Eighth Pylon); Steindorff, *Kunst*, 231; Steindorff, *Blutezeit*, Abb. 30; Pritchard, *Ancient Near East*, fig. 312; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2105).

Description: Thutmose III, with *ka*, smiting Asiatic captives before Amun with Waset below and 119 name rings.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 2105, Mariette, Sethe; *Translation:* Simons, LP.

Transliteration: KIU 2105, Simons, LP.

Text next to king smiting:

(1) *skr wr.w n.w Rtnw* (2) *h3s.wt nb.(w)t* (3) (1) A great striking of Retenu (2), all *h3s.wt*,
št3.wt t3.w nb.w Fnḥw (3) all the mysterious flat lands, the Fenchou.

Speech of the God Amun:

(4) */// /// /// (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) | iwi=k nfr ḥb.n=k* (4) */// /// /// (Menkheperre)|*, You come,
šḥm.ti wr.ti wsr.ti celebrating your perfect triumph, being
powerful, great and strong.

(5) */// /// /// [ḥft.wy]=k h3s.wt nb.wt m* (5) */// /// ///* Your [enemies], all *h3s.wt* in your
3mm.t=k ph.n b3.w=k sb.tyw p.t grasp, your powers reached the walls of
heaven.

(6) */// /// /// iw ib=i ndm wr.t m33 nḥt.w ḥm=k* (6) */// /// ///* My heart is greatly sweet (for)
3w-ib=k ḥnh.ti d.t seeing the victories of your Majesty, your
heart happy, you living forever.

Speech of the Goddess of the West:

(7) *ini.n=k h3s.(wt) nb.(wt)* (8) *št3.wt t3.w* (7) You brought all *h3s.wt*, (8) the mysterious
nb.w (9) *Fnḥw* (10) *dm3 hr tb.ty=k* flat lands, (9) the Fenchou (10) (who) are
bound together under your sandals.

Above the list of Name Rings:

(11) *t3.w nb.w št3.w n.w ph.ww Stt ini.n ḥm=f* (11) All flat lands, mysterious lands of the far
skr.w-ḥnh.w north (in) Asia, which His Majesty brought
(as) living captives,

iri=f [h3]y.t ḥ3.t im=sn tmm ḥnd s.t in kyw he making a great [slaug]hter among them,
bit.yw wp.w-ḥr ḥm=f treading it by another King of Lower Egypt,
except His Majesty.

iw rn n.y kn m [iri.tn=f] nn htm m t3 pn d.t

The name of bravery in that [which he did] without perishing in this flat land, forever.

The List:

(1) *Kdšw* (2) *Mkt(y)* (3) *///* (4) *Ktsn* (5) *ʿn-š3sw* (6) *///* (7) *///* (8) *Km.t* (9) *Ttyn* (10) *///* (11) *[Krt-ndn]* (12) *Mrm* (13) *Tmskw* (14) *ʾtr* (15) *ʾbr* (16) *Hmt* (17) *ʾkdw* (18) *Šmn* (19) *Birt* (20) *Mdn* (21) *Srn* (22) *Tby* (23) *Bdn* (24) *Imsn*

(25) *Msh* (26) *Kni* (27) *ʿ[rn]* (28) *ʿstrt* (29) *Nwrpy* (30) *Mkt* (31) *Rws* (32) *Hdr* (33) *Pḥr* (34) *Knnrt* (35) *Šmn* (36) *ʾtmm* (37) *Ksn* (38) *Šnm* (39) *Mšir* (40) *ʾksp* (41) *Kbʿ-smn* (42) *Tʿnk* (43) *Ybrʿm* (44) *Kntisn* (45) *Rtmrk* (46) *ʿyn* (47) *ʿk*

(48) *Rš-kdš* (49) *Krmyn* (50) *Br* (51) *Šmš-[ʾtm]* (52) *ʾnhrtw* (53) *ʿpr-wr* (54) *ʿpr-šr* (55) *Hšb* (56) *Tsrt* (57) *Ngb* (58) *ʾššhn* (59) *Rnm* (60) *Yr[d]* (61) *Mihs* (62) *Ypw* (63) *Kntw* (64) *Rtn* (65) *ʾ[ni]* (66) *ʾpk(n)* (67) *Swk* (68) *Yhm* (69) *Hbdn* (70) *Kntw*

(71) *Mk[tr]* (72) *ʾp[tn]* (73) *[Šb]tn* (74) *Tyi* (75) *Nwn* (76) *Hdit* (77) *Hr* (78) *[Yšp]-ir* (79) *[Rg]d* (80) *[K]rr* (81) *///* (82) *[R]bi* (83) *Nmn* (84) *Nʿmn* (85) *Mrmim* (86) *[ʿny]* (87) *[Rh]w* (88) *[ʾk]r* (89) *[Hyk]rym* (90) *ʾbr* (91) *///* (92) *///* (93) *///*

(94) *[Mkr]pt* (95) *ʿyn* (96) *///* (97) *///* (98) *Tpn* (99) *ʾbr* (100) *Yrt* (101) *Hrkr* (102) *Yʿkbir* (103) *Kpt* (104) *Kdr* (105) *Rbt* (106) *Mkrt* (107) *ʿmk* (108) *Srt* (109) *Brt* (110) *Bt-š[ir]* (111) *Bt-ʿnt* (112) *Hrkt* (113) *ʿn-knʿm* (114) *Kbʿ* (115) *Drr* (116) *Dft* (117) *///* (118) *Hm* (119) *ʾktms*

(1) Kadesh (2) Makkeda (3) *///* (4) Gaddaschuna (5) Ein-Shasi (6) *///* (7) *///* (8) Kamudi (9) Dutin (10) *///* (11) [Tell el-Schihab] (12) Marom (13) Damaskus (14) Iter (15) Abel (16) Hamatu (17) Aqidu (18) Shemen (19) Beeroth (20) Musunu (21) Sharuna (22) Dubu (23) Busrunu (24) Amshuna

(25) Muschichuna (26) Qanu (27) A[runa] (28) Astartu (29) Naupalia (30) Makkeda (31) Laisch (32) Hazor (33) Pahel (34) Kinnereth (35) Shemen (36) Adumim (37) Kishion (38) Schunem (39) Mischal (40) Achshaph (41) Geba-Shumen (42) Taanach (43) Ibleam (44) Kintuaschna (45) Latimilk (46) Quelle (47) Akko

(48) Rosch-Kadesh (49) Kermin (50) Bir (51) Schamasch-[Edom] (52) Anaharath (53) “the Great Victim” (54) “the Small Victim” (55) Chaschabu (56) Tuschulti (57) Negeb-Desert (58) Aschchani (59) Ranam (60) Jar[su] (61) Muchazzi (62) Joppa (63) Gath-Rimon (64) Lydda (65) O[no] (66) Aphek (67) Sukeh (68) Jehem (69) Chabisina (70) Gath

(71) Mig[dal] (72) Ipt[jen] (73) [Schab]tuna (74) Tayaa (75) Nawan (76) Hadita (77) Har (78) [Yasup]ilu (79) [Ruch]isi (80) [Gali]lee (81) *///* (82) [La]bwe (83) Numan (84) Naame (85) Maromim (86) [“Those”] (87) [Reho]b (88) [Aqa]r (89) [Haik]alim (90) Abila (91) *///* (92) *///* (93) *///*

(94) [Maqra]ptu (95) Quelle (96) *///* (97) *///* (98) Dibon (99) Iber (100) Yarutu (101) Hulkur (102) Joqeber (103) Gibthon (104) Gezer (105) Rubuti (106) Maqarat (107) Emeq (108) Sirut (109) Beeroth (110) Beth-Sc[hean] (111) Beth-Ananth (112) Helkath (113) Yokeneam (114) Geba (115) Seror (116) Zephath (117) *///* (118) Ham (119) Ajtamas

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 39 [18.06.21] The smiting scene above the name rings.

**[18.06.22] Thutmose III Smiting Southern and Northern Captives on the SE Face
Seventh Pylon**

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, south side of the east wing

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2104; PM II², 170 (500); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 774 (212) B.2, 795-800 (218), A-B (b); Burkhardt et al., *Übersetzung* (1984), 239, 252-269; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6610; Mariette, *Karnak*, 52-54, pl. 23; Maspero, “Révision des listes géographiques de Thoutmos III”, *RecTrav* 7 (1886), 99-100; Mariette, *Listes géographiques* I, 51-66; Desjardins, “Considérations sur une suite de travaux de M. Mariette, relatifs à la topographie de Karnak, aux textes qui y ont été récemment découverts et à l’explication des fameuses listes géographiques de Thoutmès III”, *CRAIBL* 20 (1877), 21-25; Barguet, *Temple*, 269; Edel, “Die afrikanischen Namen in der Völkerliste Ramses’ II. auf der Westmauer des Tempels von Luxor (Simons, Liste XXI) und ihre Parallelen in anderen afrikanischen Völkerlisten”, *SAK* 4 (1976), 81-101; Kitchen, “Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists”, *Causing His Name to Live* (2009), 129-131, 135; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2104).

Description: Thutmose III, with ka, smiting southern and northern captives before Amun with Dedwen below. Below and around the smiting scene are some 115 southern name rings.

Translation:

Transcription: Mariette, Sethe, KIU 2104; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: KIU 2104, LP.

Speech of the God Dedwen:

(1) */// /// /// mi R^c.w d.t* (2) *Ddwn hnty T3-sty* (1) */// /// ///* like Re, forever. (2) Dedwen, foremost of Nubia.

(3) *dd mdw di.n(=i) n=k t3.w nb.w* (4) *dd-mdw di.n(=i) n=k h3s.wt* (5) *nb.(w)t nḥ.ti mi R^c.w* (3) Words spoken: “(I) gave to you all flat lands” (4) Words spoken: “(I) gave to you all *h3s.wt*.” (5) May you live like Re.

Text above the List:

(a) *shwy nn h3s.wt rs.ywt mḥ.ywt sm3.n ḥm=f* (a) Summary of these *h3s.wt*, the southerners and northerners, which His Majesty killed, making a great slaughter among them without [knowing their quantity and whose subjects he brought as living captives in order to fill the] labour establishment [of his father Amun] */// /// /// Karnak. Then all h3s.wt /// /// ///*

iri.y h3y.t 3.t im=sn n [rh tnw ini.n(=f) hrw=sn m skr(.w)-nḥ(.w) r mḥ] šn^c.w [n.y it=f Imn.w] /// /// /// Ip.t-Sw.t ist h3s.wt nb.(w)t /// /// ///

The Name Rings:

(1) *Kš-hs.t* (2) *Itr* (3) *Itrmiw* (4) *[M]iw* (5) (1) Feeble Kush (2) Iter (3) Atalmo (4) [M]iu
Trkrk (7)¹ *Bkk* (8) *Srnyk* (9) *Brbrt* (10) *[T]kr* (5) Irkrk (7) Bekek (8) Sarenky (9) Berbeter
(11) *T3m* (12) *Grss* (13) *[Tr]k* (14) *Trrk* (15) (10) [Tek]erer (11) Yam (12) Garess (13)

¹ Number 6 has been mislabelled as 7.

<i>Grb</i> (16) <i>Inknn</i> (17) <i>Bgšg</i> (18) <i>Tmkr</i> (19)	[Tar]ek (14) Tarerek (15) Gareb (16)
<i>Mrkr</i> (20) <i>Trwt</i> (21) [<i>K</i>] <i>di</i> (22) [<i>Mtrt</i>] (23)	Inkenen (17) Begsheshg (18) Temker (19)
<i>Trtr</i> (24) [<i>W3w3.t</i>]	Merker (20) Trey (21) [Ke]di (22) [Metret]
	(23) Terout (24) [Wawat]
(25) (<i>I</i>) <i>ntm</i> (26) <i>Mw3</i> (27) [<i>Bḥ33</i>] (28) <i>Htw</i>	(25) (I)ntem (26) Mawah (27) [Behaa] (28)
(29) <i>Dš3</i> (30) <i>Thbb</i> (31) <i>Tmsnt</i> (32) <i>Wti</i> (33)	Hetou (29) Desha (30) Tjehebeb (31)
<i>Phn</i> (34) <i>///</i> (35) <i>///</i> (36) [<i>Inm3</i>] (37) [<i>Inbt</i>]	Temsenet (32) Wti (33) Pehen (34) <i>///</i> (35) <i>///</i>
(38) <i>///</i> (39) <i>Bwt</i> (40) <i>Ippd</i> (41) <i>Th3w</i> (42) <i>Th33</i>	(36) [Inma] (37) [Inenbet] (38) <i>///</i> (39) But
(43) <i>Yw</i> (44) <i>Dt</i> (45) <i>///</i> (46) <i>///</i> (47) <i>3pm</i>	(40) Ipped (41) Ihew (42) Ihaa (43) Yew (44)
	Dat (45) <i>///</i> (46) <i>///</i> (47) Apem
(48) <i>Pwnt</i> (49) <i>ʿ3h</i> (50) <i>3ms</i> (51) <i>Mnsi</i> (52)	(48) Punt (49) Awah (50) Ames (51) Mensi
<i>ʿ3h</i> (53) <i>Gʿh</i> (54) <i>Mḥdm</i> (55) <i>ʿhr</i> (56) <i>Tʿdm</i>	(52) Awah (53) Gah (54) Mehdjem (55) Ahar
(57) <i>Mmtw</i> (58) <i>Mbt</i> (59) <i>Hmrṯt</i> (60) <i>Sthb</i>	(56) Iadjam (57) Memtew (58) Mebetj (59)
(61) <i>Šdtm</i> (62) <i>Nḥtm</i> (63) <i>Hk3ht</i> (64) <i>Wtnt</i>	Hemeretjet (60) Setheb (61) Sedjtem (62)
(65) <i>Bim</i> (66) <i>///</i> (67) <i>///</i> (68) <i>///</i> (69) <i>///</i> (70)	Nehtem (63) Hekaht (64) Wetnet (65) Bim
<i>///</i>	(66) <i>///</i> (67) <i>///</i> (68) <i>///</i> (69) <i>///</i> (70) <i>///</i>
(71) <i>M[šht]</i> (72) <i>K33w</i> (73) <i>Y33</i> (74) <i>Ift</i> (75)	(71) M[eshet] (72) Kaaw (73) Yaa (74) Ifet
<i>M3t</i> (76) <i>Ttn</i> (77) <i>Hbw</i> (78) <i>Md3</i> (79) <i>Btbt</i>	(75) Mat (76) Tjeten (77) Hebu (78) Medja
(80) <i>Mntwrw</i> (81) <i>Tst</i> (82) <i>///</i> (83) [<i>B</i>]p[<i>s</i>]t	(79) Betbet (80) Mentourou (81) Teset (82)
(84) <i>Iši</i> (85) <i>///</i> (86) <i>///</i> (87) <i>///</i> (88) <i>Tḥnw</i> (89)	<i>///</i> (83) [B]esp[et] (84) Ishi (85) <i>///</i> (86) <i>///</i>
<i>Hʿ[t]</i> (90) <i>///</i> (91) <i>///</i> (92) <i>///</i> (93) <i>///</i>	(87) <i>///</i> (88) Tjchenu (89) Ha[at] (90) <i>///</i> (91)
	<i>///</i> (92) <i>///</i> (93) <i>///</i>
(94) <i>///</i> (95) <i>Hsht</i> (96) <i>Tt</i> (97) <i>Ttrs</i> (98) <i>///</i>	(94) <i>///</i> (95) Khesekhet (96) Ta (97) Tetres
(99) <i>///</i> (100) <i>Wbh</i> (101) <i>Nḥst</i> (102) <i>Ttns</i>	(98) <i>///</i> (99) <i>///</i> (100) Webeh (101) Nubia
(103) <i>Ds</i> (104) <i>///</i> (105) <i>///</i> (106) <i>///</i> (107) <i>///</i>	(102) Tetnes (103) Djes (104) <i>///</i> (105) <i>///</i>
(108) <i>///</i> (109) <i>///</i> (110) <i>///</i> (111) <i>///</i> (112) <i>///</i>	(106) <i>///</i> (107) <i>///</i> (108) <i>///</i> (109) <i>///</i> (110) <i>///</i>
(113) <i>///</i> (114) <i>///</i> (115) <i>///</i> (116) [<i>Ibts</i>]	(111) <i>///</i> (112) <i>///</i> (113) <i>///</i> (114) <i>///</i> (115) <i>///</i>
	(116) [Ibets]

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 40 [18.06.22] The remains of the smiting scene above the name rings.

[18.06.23] Green Breccia Statue of Thutmose III with Name Rings

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Colonnade of Thutmose I

Location: unknown

Material: green breccia

Dimensions: H. 150 cm

Sources: PM II², 84; Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 21 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 34-35 (17); Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 328 (called Thutmose I); Randa Omar Kazem Baligh, *Tuthmosis I* (1997), 367 (called Thutmose I); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 142-143 (C 31) (called Thutmose II or III).

Description: A fragmentary seated statue of Thutmose III, with two dozen name-rings on base referring to localities in the Levant. The date of this statue is much debated, from the reigns of Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and Thutmose III. To further add to this problem, the statue is lost. Laboury suggested that it may have been removed to the Cairo Museum, as it is not in the storehouses of the Sheikh Labib at Karnak or in the Colonnade at Thutmose I.

Translation: No image available for this source, and as such, the iconography of the name rings cannot be confirmed to add to the debate on the date of this statue.

Transcription: Legrain; *Transliteration:* LP *Translation:* LP.

(1) *Rtn*[.w] (2) *Rtn*[.w-ḥ]*rt* (3) *Hr* /// (4) /// (5) (1) Reten[u] (2) [Upp]er Reten[u] (3) Her ///
 /// (6) /// (7) /// (8) /// (9) /// (10) /// (11) /// (4) /// (5) /// (6) /// (7) /// (8) /// (9) /// (10) ///
 (12) *Ḳdšw* /// (13) *Hrb* (14) *Ni* (15) *Ibdr* (16) (11) /// (12) Kadesh (13) Churib (14) Nija
I(h)nw (17) *Ḳdn* (18) *Bḥ* /// (19) *I* /// (20) /// (15) Ibdjer (16) Tjehenu (17) Qatna (18) ///
p /// (21) *Sm* /// (22) /// (23) /// (24) /// *t* (19) /// (20) /// (21) /// (22) /// (23) /// (24) ///

[18.06.24] Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows (Cairo CG 42053)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Cachette

Location: Cairo Museum CG 42053

Material: Greywacke

Dimensions: H. 200cm, W. 37cm, D. 68cm.

Sources: PM II², 137; Legrain, “Fouilles et recherches à Karnak”, *BIE* 6 (1905), 110; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 32 (pl. 29-30); Musée du Caire, *Description sommaire*, 33; Maspero, *Essais sur l’art égyptien* (1912), 100-104 (fig. 19); Maspero, *Art in Egypt* (1912), 162 (fig. 310), 171-172; Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 122 (no. 400) (fig. 43); Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 134 (fig. 231); Hall, “Head of a Monarch of the Tuthmosid House, in the British Museum”, *JEA* 13:3/4 (1927), 133-134 (pl. xxx); Bryan, “Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV”, *JARCE* 24 (1987), 7, fig. 6; Fischer, “An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues”, *MMJ* 10 (1975), 21 (no. 65); Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty 1570 to 1320 B.C.* (1961), 11, 12, 14, 47, 53, pls. 36, 38; Hornemann, *Types of Egyptian Statuary* I (1951), 142; Vandier, *Manuel* III, 2, pl. C (2); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 156-159 (C 36).

Description: Statue of Thutmose III with the nine-bow motif. The king wears the white crown with the uraeus.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain, Bryan;

Translation: Bryan, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Text on the Belt Buckle:

*nfr ntr nb iri(.t) (i)h.t (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)|
di(.w) nḥ d.t*

Good God, Lord Accomplishing the Rites
(Menkheperre)|, may he be given life for eternity.

Text on Base:

(1) *nfr ntr iri(.t) (i)h.t (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)|
di(.w) nḥ*

(1) Good God, Lord Accomplishing the Rites,
(Menkheperre)|, may he be given life.

(2) *mri.y hn.ty 3h-mnw Imn.w-R^c.w*

(2) Beloved of the Chief of the Akhmenu, Amun-
Re.

[18.06.25] Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before NE Face Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III.

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, north side of the east wing

Location: in situ

Material: granite

Dimensions: Approx. 4 metres

Sources: KIU 119; PM II², 168 (B); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 556 (179), 53a; Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 7 (7); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 363, p. 694; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 118-121 (C 20).

Description: Colossus of Thutmose III in front of Seventh Pylon. The statue depicts Thutmose III wearing the White Crown standing on the motif of the nine bows. It was later usurped by Ramesses IV, with inscriptions along the jambs and front.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

Statue 7 (Right Statue, with king standing on Nine Bows)

On the back

*Hr.w k3 nht h^c m W3s.t ntr nfr s3'Imn.w nb nht
iti(.w) t3.w nb.w*

nsw.t bi.ty nb iri(.t) (i)ht (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)|

*s3 R^c.w n.y h.t=f (Dhwti-msyw-nfr-hpr)|
mri.y'Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy di(.w) nh d.t*

Horus, Strong Bull, Crowned in Thebes, the Good God, Son of Amun, Lord of Victory, who seizes all the flat lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (Menkheperre)|, the Son of Re of his body, (Thutmose III)|, beloved of Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, forever.

On the belt:

ntr nfr nb t3.wy (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)| di(.w) nh d.t

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Menkheperre)|, may he be given life, forever.

[18.06.26] Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before NW Face Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Seventh Pylon, north side of the east wing
Location: in situ
Material: granite
Dimensions: Approx. H. 4 meters
Sources: KIU 121; PM II², 168 (C); Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak: du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 6-7, pl. 1; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 363, p. 694; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 118-123 (C 19).
Description: A statue of Thutmose III with the remains of the nine-bow motif beneath the feet. The lines for the bows are only discernible next to the feet. The pair to [18.06.25].

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain; Transliteration: *Translation: LP.*

On the back:

<p><i>Hr.w k3-nḥt ḥ^c-m-W3s.t nb.ty w3ḥ nsw.yt mi R^c.w m p.t Hr.w-nbw dsr ḥ^c.w šm ph.ty ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb iri.t (i)ḥ.t nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) s3 R^c.w n.y ḥ.t=f (Dḥwty ///) mri.y /// ḥn.ty Ip.t-S.wt di(.w) ḥḥ dd w3s snb mi R^c.w d.t (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) s3 R^c.w n.y ḥ.t=f (Dḥwty ///) mri.y /// ḥn.ty Ip.t-S.wt di(.w) ḥḥ dd w3s snb mi R^c.w d.t</i></p>	<p>Horus, Strong-Bull, Crowned-in-Thebes, the Two Ladies, Enduring of Kingship like Re in Heaven, Horus of Gold, Holy of Diadems, Powerful of Strength, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre) , Son of Re of his body (Thut ///) beloved /// foremost of Karnak, may he be given life, stability, dominion, health, like Re, forever.</p>
--	--

On the belt:

<p><i>ntr nfr (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) s3 R^c.w (Dḥwty-msi.w) </i></p>	<p>The Good God, (Menkheperre) , the Son of Re, (Thutmose III) </p>
---	---



Figure 41 [18.06.26] Statue before the NW Face of the Seventh Pylon. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

[18.06.27] Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine Bows before the SW Face Seventh Pylon

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Seventh Pylon, south side of the west wing
Location: in situ
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 171 (Statue I); Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 5220; Schwaller de Lubiez, *Karnak*, 698, pl. 370; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III*, 114-117 (C 17); Blyth, *Karnak*, 84.
Description: Half a broken colossal statue of Thutmose III, with the remains of the ruler's legs in a striding pose, facing the south. According to Laboury, beneath the feet are the remains of the nine-bow motif.
Translation: The base has suffered significant water damage, with no surviving inscriptions of Thutmose III.



Figure 42 [18.06.27] Statue before the SW Face of the Seventh Pylon. Photograph by Peirce (2016).

[18.06.28] Statue Base with the Nine Bows from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Akhmenu, SX Axial Sanctuary

Location: in situ

Material: granite

Dimensions: Approx. W. 0.6 m, D. 0.9 m

Sources: KIU 968; PM II², 119; Barguet, *Temple*, 192, no. 2; Lauffray, “Le secteur Nord-Est du temple jubilaire de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. État des lieux et commentaire architectural”, *Kêmi* 19 (1969), 188-190; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 167-168 (C 39); Carlotti, *L’Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale* (2001), 114-117, fig. 66; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 396 (KIU 968).

Description: The base of a statue preserving the feet of the king standing on the motif of the nine bows.

Translation:

Transcription: KIU 968; *Transliteration:* *Translation:* LP.

KIU 968, LP.

<p>(1) <i>ntr nfr (Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ.w)</i> (2) <i>sꜣ Rꜥ.w</i> <i>(Dḥwty-ms)</i> (3) <i>mri.y Imn.w ḥr.y-ib 3ḥ-mnw</i> (4) <i>ḏi(.w) ḥnh ḏ.t</i></p>	<p>(1) Good God, (Menkheperre) (2) The Son of Re, (Thutmose III) (3) Beloved of Amun, in the midst of the Akhmenu (4) May he be given life, forever.</p>
--	--

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 43 [18.06.28] The base inscription with the nine-bow motif.

[18.06.29] Striding Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42057)

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo CG 42057 (JE 38681)
Material: diorite
Dimensions: H. 155 cm, W. 40 cm, D. 59.5 cm
Sources: PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 34-35; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique* (1908), 73 (no. 122); Gabolde, “Un fragment de stèle au nom d’Ahmès-Néfertary provenant de Karnak”, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 169 (no. 37); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 234-237 (C 70).
Description: A striding statue of Thutmose III with the nine bows engraved beneath the feet.
Translation:
Transcription: Legrain (1906); *Translation:* LP.
Transliteration: LP.
 On the base:
 (1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)* | (2) *mri.y Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy* (1) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Menkheperre) | (2) beloved of Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands.
 On the pillar:
ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb iri.t (i)h.t (‘3-hpr.w-R^c.w) | *mri.y Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy di(.w) ‘nh d.t* Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (Aakheperure) |, beloved of Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 44 [18.06.29] Cairo CG 42057. Karnak Cachette website.

[18.06.30] Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42055)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Cachette

Location: Cairo CG 42055

Material: diorite

Dimensions: H. 132 cm, W. 49 cm, D. 84 cm

Sources: PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 33, pl. 31; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique* (1908), 74 (no. 125); Maspero, *Guide du visiteur* (1915), 142 (no. 447); Vandier, *Manuel égyptienne* III, 2 pl. xcix (2); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 128-133 (C 24).

Description: A kneeling statue of Thutmose III holding two spherical vessels with the nine bows engraved beneath the legs of the king.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain (1906);

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)| di(.w) nh
d.t*

(1) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Menkheperre)|, may he be given life forever.

(2) *nh nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)| mri.y
Imn.w-R^c.w*

(2) The Living King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)| beloved of Amun-Re.

(3) *s3 R^c.w n.y h.t=f (Dhwti-msiw-sm3-
hpr.w)| [mr.y] /// /// nh d.t*

(3) Son of Re of his body (Thutmose III, united-with-Khepri)|, [beloved] /// /// life, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 45 [18.06.30] Cairo CG 42055. Karnak Cachette website.

[18.06.31] Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo JE 43614 A)

Date: Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Court before the Third Pylon, Festival Court of Thutmose II, near the obelisk of Thutmose I

Location: Cairo JE 43614 A, SR 11439

Material: diorite

Dimensions: H. 138 cm

Sources: PM II², 77; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 128-133 (C 23).

Description: A kneeling statue of Thutmose III with the nine bows engraved beneath the legs of the king. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt and wears the *nemes*-headdress. The hands are missing. The pair to [18.06.30].

Translation:

Transcription: Laboury (photo);

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

/// /// (*Dḥwty-msiw-sm3-ḥpr.w*) | *mri.y Imn.w* /// /// (Thutmose III, united-with-Khepri),
ḥnh(.w) d.t beloved of Amun, living forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 46 [18.06.31] Cairo JE 43614 A. Laboury (1998), 130 (fig. 37).

[18.06.32] Kneeling Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 1226)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Karnak, exact position unknown

Location: Cairo CG 1226

Material: limestone

Dimensions: H. 127 cm

Sources: PM II², 281; Legrain, *Repertoire*, no. 127; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 220-221 (C 64).

Description: A kneeling statue of the king wearing a *shendyt*-kilt. The shoulder and forearm are lost on the right arm and the left hand is missing. In its original form, it appears that the statue of the king was originally grasping vases. Beneath the legs the nine bows are engraved.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain; Transliteration: *Translation: Laboury, LP.*
LP.

Inscription on base:

<p>ꜥnh ntr nfr (Mn-hpr-Rꜥ.w) mri(.y) Imn.w- Rꜥ.w ꜥnh d.t</p>	<p>The living Good God (Menkheperre) , beloved of Amun-Re, living forever.</p>
---	--

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 47 [18.06.32] Cairo CG 1226. Laboury (1998), 221 (fig. 112).

[18.06.33] Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42058)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Cachette

Location: Cairo CG 42058

Material: limestone

Dimensions: H. 79 cm, W. 20.5 cm, D. 41 cm

Sources: PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes I* (1906), 35; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique* (1908), 74 (no. 126); Gabolde, “Un fragment de stèle au nom d’Ahmès-Néfertary provenant de Karnak”, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 169 (no. 37); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 227-229 (C 67); Azim, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I. 334, II. 301 (X15).

Description: A seated statue of Thutmose III in *heb-sed* garb with the nine bows engraved faintly beneath his feet.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain (1906);

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

(1) *nṯr nfr nb t3.wy (Mn-ḥpr-Rḫ.w)| mri.y*
Imn.w-Rḫ.w di(.w) ḥnh mi Rḫ.w d.t

(1) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, (Menkheperre)|, beloved of Amun-Re, may he be given life, like Re, forever.

(2) *s3 Rḫ.w mri(.y)=f (Dḥwty-msiw-ḥk3-M3ḫ.t)| [mr.y] Imn.w-Rḫ.w di(.w) ḥnh d.t*

(2) Son of Re, his beloved, (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Maat)|, [beloved] of Amun-Re, may he be given life, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 48 [18.06.33] Cairo CG 42058. Karnak Cachette website.

[18.06.34] Group Statue of Thutmose III with Amun (Cairo CG 42066)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Cachette

Location: Cairo CG 42066

Material: greywacke

Dimensions: H. 68 cm, W. 31.5 cm, D. 33 cm

Sources: PM II², 138, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 39, pl. 39; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* II (1929), 16, 40; Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout* (1979), 31 (no. 5), 32-33; Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen* I (1996), 140-141 (Dok. 56); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 224-226 (C 66); Azim, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* (2004), I. 309, II. 238-239.

Description: A group statue of Thutmose III with Amun. Under the feet of the king, the nine bows are engraved.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain; Transliteration: LP.

Translation: LP.

(1) *ntr nfr (Mn-hpr-Rꜥ.w)| di(.w) ʕnh*

(1) Good God, (Menkheperre)|, may he be given life.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 49 [18.06.34] Cairo CG 42066. Karnak Cachette website.

[18.06.35] Seated Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo JE 39260)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Cachette
Location: Cairo JE 39260
Material: diorite
Dimensions: H. 108 cm, W. 32.5 cm, D. 56.5 cm
Sources: PM II², 173, 218; Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique* (1908), 75 (no. 128); Bryan, “Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV”, *JARCE* 24 (1987), 7 (fig. 6); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 241-246 (C 73).
Description: A seated statue of Thutmose III with the nine bows engraved beneath the feet.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain; Transliteration: *Translation: LP.*

LP.

On the base:

<p>(1) <i>nṯr nfr nb 3w-ib s3'Imn.w ḥr.y ns.t=f nsw.t</i> <i>bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) mri.y'Imn.w-R^c.w di(.w)</i> <i>ḥnh d.t</i></p>	<p>(1) Good God, Lord of Joy, Son of Amun, who is on his throne, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre) beloved of Amun-Re, may he be given life, forever.</p>
--	---

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 50 [18.06.35] Cairo JE 39260. Karnak Cachette website.

[18.06.36] Statue Base with Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo SR 211)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Cachette

Location: Cairo SR 211

Material: calcite

Dimensions: H. 49 cm, W. 34 cm, D. 32 cm

Sources: CK 1157.

Description: A statue base of a broken statue with the nine bows engraved beneath the feet.

Translation:

Transcription: Karnak Cachette Photos; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

On the base:

(1) */// /// (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) | mri.y Imn.w-R^c.w* (1) */// /// (Menkheperre) | beloved of Amun-*
nsw ntr.w (2) */// /// Imn.w-R^c.w nb /// ///* *Re, King of the Gods* (2) */// /// Amun-Re,*
Lord /// ///

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 51 [18.06.36] Cairo SR 211. Karnak Cachette website.

[18.06.37] Seated Group Statue of Thutmose III from the Palace of Maat

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Palace of Maat, Hall 17, against the east wall

Location: in situ

Material: limestone

Dimensions: H. 128 cm

Sources: PM II², 105 and 538; Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak. V-VIII”, *RecTrav* 23 (1901), 63; Barguet, *Temple*, 144; Redford, “The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II”, *JEA* 51 (1965), 116; Van Siclen III, “Two Tuthmosid Statue Groups from Thebes”, *VA* 7 (1991), 88-96; Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen I* (1996), 146-148 (Dok. 59); Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 144-149 (C 32).

Description: A seated group statue of Thutmose III. The king is seated on the left, with the right figure completely missing. A line of a vertical inscription is next to the right leg of the king. Beneath his feet is the nine-bow motif.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain, Laboury;

Translation: Laboury, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Inscription on base (after Legrain):

*ntr nfr (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)| mri(.y) Imn.w-R^c.w
di(.w) ^cnh*

The Good God (Menkheperre)|, beloved of Amun-Re, may he be given life.

Inscription on back support (after Laboury):

(1) *ntr nfr nb iri.t (i)h.t nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)|*

(1) The Good God, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Menkheperre)|,

(2) *mri.y [Im]n.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t*

(2) beloved of [Am]un-Re, Lord of Thrones

(3) *di(.w) ^cnh nb* (4) *[dd w3s nb] 3w-ib.t nb(.t)*

of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven, (3) May

mi R^c.w d.t

he be given all life, (4) [all stability and dominion], all happiness, like Re, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

[18.06.38] Statue of Thutmose III as the Nile-God with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42056)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Colonnade of Thutmose I, NE corner of the southern obelisk of Hatshepsut, against the east wall of the wall, facing south

Location: Cairo CG 42056; JE 36328

Material: diorite (gabbro)

Dimensions: H. 152 cm

Sources: KIU 6090; PM II², 84; Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 33-34; Legrain, *Repertoire*, no. 131; Barguet, *Temple*, 102 (no. 3), 319 (no. 2), pl. 24b; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 120-121; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 136-139 (C 29).

Description: A statue of Thutmose III as the Nile-God, holding an offering table. The table, beginning from the belt of the king, is decorated with wheat stalks, bouquets of lotus flower, and a cluster of ten ducks. Beneath the feet are the nine bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Legrain; Transliteration: *Translation: Laboury, LP.*
LP.

Dorsal Pillar:

/// /// *nht h^c.w m W3s.t nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w) s3 R^c.w (Dhwty-msiw-nfr-hpr) mri.y Imn.w nb ns.wt B.wy di(.w) nh d.t*

/// /// victory, appearing in Thebes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)|, the Son of Re, (Thutmose III, whose-manifestation-is-perfect)|, beloved of Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, forever.

Base Inscription:

twt (Mn-hpr-R^c.w) imi(.w) rnp.wt n Imn.w m Ip.t-S.wt

The statue (named) (Menkheperre)| who offers vegetables to Amun in Karnak

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 53 [18.06.38] Cairo CG 42056. Laboury (1998), 137 (fig. 46).

[18.06.39] Group Statue of Thutmose III with the Nine-Bow Motif (Cairo CG 42064)

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
- Provenance:* Akhmenu, Halls 36-38 (SF. 8-10). The torso, Cairo CG 42064, was found in a ruined room beyond the northeast corner of the Temple of the Middle Kingdom in 1899.
- Location:* Cairo CG 42064, JE 38236; it has been restored as a complete statue in the Akhmenu.
- Material:* quartzite
- Dimensions:* H. 400 cm
- Sources:* PM II², 123, 127; Petrie, *A History of Egypt* II, 137; Barguet, *Temple*, 178; Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen* I (1996), 144-145 (Dok. 58); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 190, fig. 76; Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III* (1998), 163-166 (C 38).
- Description:* A fragmentary group statue, with the king the best-preserved figure in the centre. His left leg is forward, and on the pedestal, the nine-bow motif is discernible beneath the feet. A dagger with a pommel shaped like a hawk's head is passed through the belt. A trace of upright tearing on his *ousekh*-collar indicates that pharaoh wore a false beard.
- Translation:* The inscriptions are fragmentary and appear to be the remains of the titulary of the king.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 54 [18.06.39] Laboury (1998), 165 (fig. 58).

[18.06.40] The Botanical Garden Reliefs in the Akhmenu

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: JB. 1-3 / Rooms XXXI-XXXII
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 120-122 (404-412); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 775-77 (213); Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 28, 31; Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, fig. 199; Maspero, *Histoire ancienne* II, 260 (fig); Maspero, *L'archéologie égyptienne* (1887), fig. 100; Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (1936), 255; Barguet, *Temple*, 198, 296; Wachsmann, *Aegeans in Theban Tombs*, 5-6 (pl. II: A-B); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 210-211; 216-217; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak*, 218; Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III* (1990); Laboury, "Archaeological and Textual Evidence for the Function of the 'Botanical Garden' of Karnak in the Initiation Ritual", *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes* (2007), 27-34.
Description: Along the walls of the rooms JB. 1-3 of the Akhmenu are the famous flora and fauna scenes which depict and refer to plants and animals from the Levant.

Translation:

Transcription: Mariette; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

A. (After Mariette, pl. 28)

(1) *smw nb hpp hrr.t nb.t nfr.t imi.yt t3-ntr*
[ini.n b3.w] (2) *hm=f hft wd3 hm=f r Rtnw*
hr.t r shr.t h3s.wt [mh.tt]

(1) All strange herbage, every beautiful flower/plant which is in from the God's Land, [which the powers] (2) of His Majesty [brought] according to the command of His Majesty (to set out) to Upper Retenu to overthrow the [northern] *h3s.wt*.

(3) *mi wd.t n it(=i) Imn.w rdi(.w) t3.w nb.w*
hr tb.ty=f š3^c m [sp n] (4) *nfr.yt r hh n.y*
rnp.wt

(3) As commanded by (my) father, Amun, who placed all flat lands under his sandals, beginning from (4) the beauty for millions of years.

sw hm=f dd=f^c nh n=i [mr.y] R^c.w

His Majesty said: Live for me, [beloved] of Re.

(5) *hs.w=i it=i Imn.w nn n.y 3w.w hpr wn*

(5) I praising my father, Amun, these lengths of what exists.

(6) *nn drf.n iwms mm hpr.n n b3.w hm=i mss*
n 3h.t (7) df.w=s

(6) without having written a misstatement therein, which came into being because of the powers of my Majesty, creating for the arable land (7) with its abundance.

iri.n hm=i nn mr.t rdi.t wn sn m-b3h^c.w (8)
it=i Imn.w m hwt-3.t[=f] n.t [3h]-mn.w r
nhh hn^c d.t

My Majesty made these for the love placed in them before the hand (8) of my father, Amun, in his [palace] of the [Akh]menu for eternity together with forever.

B. (After Mariette, pl. 31)

rnp.t sp 25 hr nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)| Regnal Year 25 under the King of Upper and
nh(.w) d.t smw gm.n hm=f hr Rtnw Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)| may he live
 forever. The herbage which His Majesty
 found in Retenu.

[18.06.41] Thutmose III Erecting Posts

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III.
Provenance: North Girdle Wall, Room XLIB
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone(?)
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 125 (451.4); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, 626, pls. 176-179; Decker and Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten* (1994), vol. 1: 125, vol. 2: pl. 56 B(8); Minas-Nerpel and de Meyer, “Raising the Pole for Min in the Temple of Isis at Shanhur”, *ZÄS* 140 (2013), 158.
Description: King erecting *shn.t* posts (Min’s Mast) with climbing figures. Two rows of men stretch ropes around a raised mast. The figures are depicted with feathers upon their heads, wigs, and kilts, and have been identified as both Nubians (PM) and “Libyans” (Decker and Herb) in the literature.
Translation:
Transcription: Schwaller; *Transliteration:* LP.
LP.
 Before Thutmose III:
sꜥḥꜥ(.w) k3 shn.t n Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥn.ty Erecting the ka of the *shn.t* for Amun, Lord
Ip.t-Sw.t of Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of
 Karnak.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 55 [18.06.41] The mast climbing scene.

[18.06.42] Thutmose III with *ka* bringing incense of Punt from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Room XXIX
Location: in situ
Material: unknown
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 119 (395); Barguet, *Temple*, 197; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5650, 5658-61, 5681.
Description: King offering sphinx ointment-jar, with *ka* bringing incense of Punt.
Translation:
Transcription: Barguet; *Transliteration:* *Translation:* LP.
LP.
dd mdw in k3=k n'Imn.w Words spoken by your *ka* to Amun:
ini(=i) n=k Pwn.yt¹ (...) “(I) bring to you that which belongs to Punt (...)”

¹ The “y” ending is the so-called *nisbe*, transforming the noun of Punt to an adjective “that which belongs to Punt”. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §23.

[18.06.43] Thutmose III with Thoth dedicating treasure to Amun from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Room XIII.

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 115 (363); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 870-3 (255 E-F); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 297-299 (255 E-F); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 6828-9, 6937, 6940; Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 165-6 (9).

Description: The king consecrates offerings with Thoth before Amun and Amaunet. It contains a reference to produce brought from southern *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Burkhardt et al.; LP.

Scene E:

Caption of the objects:

- (1) *nfr ntr nb t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)* | (1) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)|.
- [iri.n=f mn.w=f n it=f Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy iri.t]n=f psd.t* | [He made as his monument for his father, Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, that which he] made (was for) the Ennead.
- (2) *wdn n=f hw.t-ntr hb-sd.w 3(.t) wr.t iri.n hm=f m m3.wt m h3.w (3) wn.t m-b3h* | (2) Offering to him a god's offering, (for) the very great *sed*-festivals. His Majesty made it anew with excess (3) (than) existed previously,
- rdi.t m3^c wdhw htwt 33(.t) wr.t wsh.w wd3.w [mni.wt] (4) m d^cm m3^c* | to give a ritual offering-maa, offering tables, (and) very many bowls, broad collars, amulets, [*menit*-necklaces] (4) in real *djam*-gold,
- ini.tn hm=f m h3s.wt rs.ywt m b3k.wt=sn n.t hr.t-rnp.t iri=f 3nh d.t* | and what His Majesty brought from the southern *h3s.wt* as with their work produce of the annual dues that he may make a living, forever.

Scene F:

Caption of the objects:

- (1) *[nfr ntr nb t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)]* | (1) [The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)]|.
- iri.n=f mn.w=f n it=f [Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt t3.wy iri.tn]=f^c.wt ntr* | He made as his monument for his father, [Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, that which] he [made was for the divine limbs].
- (2) *wdn n=f hw.t-ntr hb-sd.w wr.t iri.n hm=f m m3.wt m h3.w (3) [wn.t m-b3h]* | (2) [Offering to him a god's offering,] (for) the great *sed*-festivals. His Majesty made it anew with excess (3) [(than) existed previously.]

[*rdi.t m3^c*] *wḏḥw ḥtw ʕš3 wr wsh.w wḏ3.w* [Placing a true] offering table (with)
mni.wt (4) [*m ḏ^cm m3^c* numerous and great bowls, collars, amulets,
[necklaces] (4) [in real *djam*-gold,
ini.yt n ḥm=f] m ḥ3s.wt rs.ywt m brought by His Majesty] from the southern
b3k.t<p>=sn n.t hr.t-rnp.t iri=f^cnḥ ḏ.t *ḥ3s.wt*, with their work produce of the annual
dues. May he live forever.

[18.06.44] Thutmose III bringing Metals and Minerals to Amun from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III.
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Corridor VI / MS.10
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 113 (355); LD III, pl. 36a; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 874-877 (256 B.2, 4); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 300-301 (256B.2, 4); Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 169.
Description: King with seven standards, Thoth and two priests bringing metals and minerals to the king, and below, the king offering to Amun. A brief caption refers to the eastern lands and *ḥ3s.t*.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP.
Urk. IV, 256 (B.2).

Caption of the king: Giving real turquoise, real lapis lazuli, and real malachite.

rdi.t mfk3.t m3^c(t) ḥsbḏ m3^c šsmt m3^c

A similar list:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) (1) <i>r[di.t] [m]fk3.t {n}¹ <m3^c.t> [ḥsbḏ]</i>
 (2) <i>{n} <m3^c> w3ḏ-šm^c {n} <m3^c> šsmt {n} <m3^c></i></p> | <p>(a) (1) Gi[ving] [real tu]rquoise, <real> [lapis lazuli] (2) <real> upper Egyptian malachite, <real> malachite.</p> |
|---|--|

Text behind the king, three separate statements:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(b) <i>rdi.t [m]fk3.t ///</i>
 (c) <i>ini n=k (i)ḥt nb(.w) ///</i>
 (d) <i>ḏi=i nb i3b.tt nb ḥ3s.t</i></p> | <p>(b) Giving [tu]rquoise ///
 (c) Bringing for you every thing ///
 (d) I bring all (things) of the east and all (things) of the <i>ḥ3s.t</i>.</p> |
|---|---|

Urk. IV, 256 (B.4).

rdi.t ntyw iri=f(r)ḏi nḥ /// ²

Giving myrrh that he may make “giving life” ///
///

¹ As the “n” makes no grammatical sense in this list, Sethe proposed that it was an error by the stone masons, and it has accordingly been corrected to the block representing “m3^c”. See Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 876 (no. a).

² Sethe notes that this probably refers to the products of Punt. Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 877.

[18.06.45] Thutmose III presenting oil from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, SF. 6, West Wall

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 5949; PM II², 113 (351, 3); Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), 55; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak, relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 118; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 535 (KIU 5950).

Description: A scene of the king presenting two jars of oil of Tjehenu to Amun.

Translation:

Transcription: Pécoil, KIU 5949; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: KIU 5949, LP.

(1) */// /// /// ḥ3.tt n.t ʕš ḥ3.tt n.t Tḥnw iri=f* (1) */// /// ///* fine oil of cedar (and) oil of
dī(.w) ʕnh Tjehenu, he made it. May he be given life.

Lines 2-12: Titulary of the king and epithets of Amun-Re.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 56 [18.06.45] Pécoil (2000), pl. 118.

[18.06.46] Architraves A-A from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Architraves A-A in the Pillared Hall

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2596, 2602; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), pl. 5; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak, relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 92-94, 109-110; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 448 (KIU 2596, 2602).

Description: Architraves of the Pillared Hall referring to the rulers of the *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Carlotti;

Translation: LP.

Transliteration: LP.

KIU 2602, Upper architrave, above pillars 2-4:

a) *ḥnh(.w) Hr.w ḥd.t-ḳ3i mri.y Rḥ.w nb.ty shḥ mri.y M3ḥ.t t3.wy Hr.w-nb.w hr hr nḥt ḥwi(.w) ḥḳ3.w h3s.wt ph.w sw*

a) Living Horus, exalted in the White Crown, beloved of Re, who causes the Two Ladies to appear, beloved of Maat and the Two Lands, Horus of Gold, content with victory, who smites the rulers of the *h3s.wt* (and) who attacks him.

ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rḥ.w-iri.n-Rḥ.w)|

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre-made-by-Re)|

s3 Rḥ.w n.y ḥ.t=f (Dḥwty-msiw-sm3-hpr)| mri.y Imn.w-Rḥ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty Ip.t-S.wt di(.w) ḥnh dd w3s snb mi Rḥ.w d.t

the Son of Re of his body, (Thutmose III, united-with-Khepri)|, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak, may he be given life, stability, dominion and health, like Re, forever.

KIU 2596, Lower architrave, above pillars 2-4:

b) */// mri.y t3.wy Hr.w-nb.w hr hr nḥt ḥwi(.w) ḥḳ3.w h3s.wt ph.w sw*

b) *///* beloved of the Two Lands, Horus of Gold, content with victory, who smites the rulers of the *h3s.wt* (and) who attacks him

ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w)|

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Menkheperre-chosen-by-Re)|

nsw.t=i rs-tp hr ms.w M3ḥ.t m b3g hr(i) rdi.n=f t3 s3 Rḥ.w ((Dḥwty-[msiw])| ///

I am a vigilant king, over the children of Maat, who are weary upon (it). He was given the land, the Son of Re (Thut[mose] III) *///*

[18.06.47] Architraves G-G from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Architraves G-G in the Pillared Hall

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2608; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 101-102; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), pl. 8.

Description: Architraves of the Pillared Hall referring to the rulers of the *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Carlotti; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

Upper inscription, above pillars 4-8: Titulary of the king

Lower inscription, above pillars 4-8: Titulary of the king and reference to erecting a hall of columns.

Upper inscription, above pillars 9-15:

a) *ʿnh.w Hr.w k3i-hd.t mri.y Rʿ.w nb.ty shʿ(.w) mri.y M3ʿ.t t3.wy Hr.w-nb.w hr hr nht*

a) May the Horus live, “whose white crown is exalted, beloved of Ra”, the one of the two mistresses, “who causes the truth (maat) to appear, beloved of the Two Lands”, the Horus of Gold, “who rejoices in victory”, who smites the rulers of the *h3s.wt* who attack him.

hwi(.w) h33.w h3s.wt ph.w sw

nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rʿ.w-nht-hpš)| mri(.y) n.y Imn.w nsw.t nb.t ʿnh=f dd(=f) im3h=f hr b3.w Twn.w

the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre, victorious-in-strength)| beloved of Amun and every king, his life, (his) stability, his honour, under the powers of Heliopolis,

s3 Rʿ.w (Dhwty-msiw-sm3-Hpr.w) di(.w) ʿnh mi Rʿ.w d.t

the Son of Re, (Thutmose III, united-with-Khepri)|, may he be given life, like Re, forever.

[18.06.48] Speech of [Seth] in Room XII of the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Room XXII / SK. 4
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone(?)
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 117 (380); LD III, pl. 35a; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 573 (182 S.b); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 142 (182 S.b).
Description: A speech of [Seth] referring to all *h3s.wt*.
Translation:
Transcription: Lepsius, Sethe; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP.
Transliteration: LP.
 B.
d̄i.n(=i) n=k [ns].yt t3.w nht.w=k ht “(I) have given to you the [kingship] of the flat
h3s.wt nb(.wt) ʕnh.ti d̄.t lands and your victories throughout all *h3s.wt*,
 that you may live forever.”

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 57 [18.06.48] LD III, pl. 35a.

[18.06.49] Speech of the Ennead in the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Corridor V / MS.11

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone(?)

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 113 (352); LD III, pl. 34d; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 574 (182 V); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 143 (182 V).

Description: A *heb-sed* scene depicting Thutmose III preceded by the Iunmutef priest before the great Ennead. The speech of Sobek contains a reference to *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Lepsius, Sethe; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Before Sobek:

(2) *Sbk di=f kni nht h3s.wt nb(.wt) hr tb.ty=k* (2) Sobek, he gives bravery and victory
(and) all *h3s.wt* under your sandals.

[18.06.50] Speech of Sodpu in the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Corridor VI / MS.10
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone(?)
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 113 (356); LD III, pl. 35d; Champollion, *Not. descr.* II, 169; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 572 (182 W); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 143 (182 W).
Description: Scene of Thutmose III before Amun with a speech by Sodpu containing a reference to Nubia and *ḥ3s.t*.

Translation:

Transcription: Lepsius, Sethe; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP

Transliteration: LP.

Before and above Amun (right to left):

<p>(1) <i>ḏḏ mdw in Sdpw ḏi.n(=i) n=k ʕ-[r]s[.y]</i> <i>ḏb.tt snbk ḥ3s.t /// /// ///</i> (2) <i>twṯ Ḥr.w nb T3-</i> <i>Sty</i></p> <p>(3) <i>t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(wt) tš ḥr</i> (4) <i>tb.ty=k</i> <i>ʕnh.t(i) mi Rʕ.w</i></p>	<p>(1) Words spoken by Sodpu: “(I) have given to you the [southe]rn province, the eastern [province], Senebek¹ /// /// /// (2) You are Horus, Lord of Nubia, (3) all flat lands and all <i>ḥ3s.wt</i>, and (their) boundaries are under (4) your sandals, that you may live, like Re.”</p>
---	--

Lines 5-9: Titulary of the king.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 58 [18.06.50] LD III, pl. 35d.

¹ The meaning of *snbk* is unclear here and it was left untranslated in Burkhardt et al. Could it possibly be a toponym, as suggested by the *ḥ3s.t* sign? Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 143 (182 W).

[18.06.51] Pillar I from Room XX of the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Pillar I in Room XX / SK. 6
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone(?)
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 116 (375); LD III, pl. 34a; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 556 (179 E.54); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 129 (179 E.54).
Description: Scene of Thutmose III embraced by Montu and Tjenenyet, with a reference to *h3s.t*.

Translation:

Transcription: Lepsius, Sethe; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above king:

(1) *nfr ntr nb 3w.t-ib nb ///* (*Mn-hpr-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w*) | (2) *s^c3.n R^c.w ph.ty ///* [*n*]*ht=f r* (1) The Good God, Lord of Joy, Lord // (Menkheperre, chosen-by-Re)|, (2) whom Re made great, strength // his [vic]tory over every *h3s.t*.

Lines 3-6: Tjenenyet and Montu giving the throne of Horus to the king.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 59 [18.06.51] LD III, pl. 34d.

[18.06.52] Architraves B-B from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Architraves B-B in the Pillared Hall

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2595, 2603; PM II², 111; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 856-7 (248 C); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 288 (248 C); Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), pl. 5; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 90-91, 107-108; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 448 (KIU 2595, 2603).

Description: Architraves of the Pillared Hall referring to smiting the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Carlotti; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

KIU 2603, Upper architrave, above pillars 5-8:

ʕnh(.w) Hr.w k3 nht mri.y Rʕ.w nb.ty ʕ3 šf.ty m t3.w nb(.w) Hr.w-nbw ʕ3 hpš Living Horus, Strong Bull, beloved of Re, the Two Ladies, great of respect in all the flat lands, Horus of Gold, great of strength,

hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rʕ.w-iwʕ-Rʕ.w)| iri.n=f m mn.w=f it(=f) Imn.w-Rʕ.w who smites the Nine Bows, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre, heir-of-Re)| He made (it) as his monument for (his) father, Amun-Re.

sʕhʕ.n=f hwt.t ʕ3.t m m3.wt m inr (hd nfr) n rwd.t iri.n=f s3 Rʕ.w (Dhwty-msiw-hk3-mʕ.t)| di(.w) ʕnh d.t He erected a palace anew in sandstone, which the Son of Re, (Thutmose III, ruler-of-maat)|, made, may he be given life, forever.

Lower architrave, above pillars 5-8: titulary of the king.

Upper architrave, above pillars 9-15: titulary of the king.

KIU 2595: Lower architrave, above pillars 9-15.

/// mri.y nb.ty ʕ3 šf.ty m t3.w nb(.w) Hr.w-nbw ʕ3 hpš hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt /// beloved, the Two Ladies, great of respect in all the flat lands, Horus of Gold, great of strength, who smites the Nine Bows,

nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rʕ.w-mri.n-Rʕ.w)| ntr nfr kni rs-tp whʕ-ib mi hn.t Hsr.t s3 Rʕ.w mri.y ntr.w King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre, beloved-of-Re)|, the Good God, brave, vigilant and skilled like at the front of Hesret, Son of Re, beloved of the gods,

(Dhwty-msiw-sm3-Hpr.w)| mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy di.w ʕnh mi Rʕ.w d.t (Thutmose III, united-with-Khepri)|, beloved by Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, may he be given life, like Re, forever.

[18.06.53] Architraves E-E from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Architraves E-E in the Pillared Hall

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2606; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 97-98; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), pl. 7.

Description: Architraves of the Pillared Hall referring to smiting the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Carlotti; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

Above columns 1-5: titulary of the King.

Above columns 6-10:

ʕnh.w Hr.w k3-nht mri.y Rʕ.w nb.ty ʕ3 šf.ty m
t3.w nb(.w) Living Horus, Strong Bull, beloved of Re,
the Two Ladies, great of respect in all the flat
lands,

Hr.w-nb.w ʕ3 hps hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt ntr nfr
mi.ty Rʕ.w hmw.w /// Horus of Gold, Great of Strength, who smites
the Nine Bows, the Good God, the likeness
of Re, skilled ///

mi rs.y-inb=f šs3 hr m k3.t W3s.t nsw.t bl.ty
(Mn-hpr-Rʕ.w-mri.n-Rʕ.w)| as south of his wall (i.e. Ptah), mysterious
upon the works of Thebes, King of Upper
and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre, beloved-
of-Re)|,

s3 Rʕ.w n.y h.t=f (Dḥwty-msiw-hk3-W3s.t)|
mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy nsw.t ntr.w
di(.w) ʕnh dd w3s mi Rʕ.w d.t the Son of Re of his body, (Thutmose III,
ruler-of-Thebes)|, beloved of Amun-Re,
Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, King of
the Gods, may he be given life, stability and
dominion, like Re, forever.

[18.06.54] West Wall of the Southern Chapel of the Akhmenu

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Room IV / SF. 6, west wall
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 5950; PM II², 113 (351, 2); Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), 55; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 119; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 456 (KIU 2950).
Description: A scene of the king presenting two jars to Amun. In the margin there is a reference to the Nine Bows.
Translation:
Transcription: Pécoil, KIU 5950; *Translation:* LP.
Transliteration: KIU 5950 LP.
 Lines 1-7: Titulary of the king and epithets of Amun.
 (8) /// /// /// *psš.ty nb.wy hr-s.t-hr=k snd=k m* (8) /// /// /// the Two-Lords' parts are under
psd.t pd.wt mi mrr[=i] /// ḥn.ti d.t the throne upon which you are sitting, fear of
 you is in the Nine Bows as [I] love /// may
 you live, forever.
 Lines 9-10: Epithets of Nekhbet and the Behedety.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 60 [18.06.54] Pécoil (2000), pl. 119.

[18.06.55] North Wall of the Entry Passage of the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, SF.8 and SF.9, north wall of entry passage.
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 79.
Description: This damaged scene features Thutmose III standing before Amun-Min, separated by five columns of text. Behind Amun-Min, there are two columns of text with a reference to the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Pécoil; Transliteration: LP. Translation: LP.

Behind Amun-Min:

<p>(1) <i>/// m tp=k /// wr.t /// nb.ty hkr.w</i> (2) <i>/// m htp.w</i> <i>psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr tb.ty=k</i></p>	<p>(1) <i>/// as your chief /// great /// the Two Ladies, ornaments</i> (2) <i>/// as offerings, the Nine Bows are bound together under your sandals.</i></p>
---	---

Lines 2-9: Titulary of the king and fragmentary references to Amun giving life and dominion.

[18.06.56] Pillar 9, E. Face from the Akhmenu

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Festival Temple of Thutmose III, Pillar 9 (west) under Architraves G-G

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2364; Carlotti, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: étude architecturale, planches* (2001), pl. 8; Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: la Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes: relevés épigraphiques* (2000), pl. 48; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 442 (KIU 2364).

Description: Pillar 9.o (ouest) with a reference to the Nine Bows on the east face of the pillar.

Translation:

Transcription: Carlotti; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* LP.

Inscription on Pillar 9:

(1) *Hr.w k3-nḥt mri.y Rḥ.w ///*

(2) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ.w-iri.n-Rḥ.w)|*

(3) [*ʕ3 ḥpš*] *skr(.w) psd.t pd.wt*

(4) *di(.w) ḥnh dd w3s snb mi Rḥ.w d.t*

(1) Horus, Strong Bull, beloved of Amun ///

(2) Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Menkheperre, made-by-Re)|,

(3) [great of strength], who strikes the Nine Bows.

(4) May he be given life, stability, dominion and health, like Re, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 61 [18.06.56] Pécoil, pl. 48.

[18.06.57] Thutmose III offering Bread to Amun (Block 108 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1925-1926

Location: Block 108, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1288; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 218 (§335), pl. 10; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 69; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 408 (KIU 1288).

Description: Block 108. A scene of the king offering a loaf of bread to Amun. Behind the god is a column of text that refers to *h3s.t*.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Lines 1-7: Titulary of the king and titles of Amun-Re.

Behind Amun-Re:

(8) *dd mdw (in Imn.w-R^c.w) sm3.n(=i) n=k* (8) Words spoken (by Amun-Re): “(I) have
t3.wy m htp.w t3.w nb(.w) h3s.t nb.t ʕnh.ti d.t united for you the Two Lands in peace, and
all the flat lands and every *h3s.t*, that you may
live forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 62 [18.06.57] Block 108. Burgos and Larché, pl. 69.

[18.06.58] Thutmose III offering Incense to Amun (Block 192 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1926-1927

Location: Block 192, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1446; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 300 (§498), pl. 2B; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 142; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 413 (KIU 1446).

Description: A scene of the king offering incense to Amun. Behind the god are three columns of text that includes a reference to *h3s.t*.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Lines 1-5: Titles of king and god.

Behind Amun:

(6) *dd mdw (in Imn.w) di.n(=i) n=k ʕnh w3s nb hr(.y)=i* (6) Words spoken (by Amun): “(I) gave to you all life and dominion, belonging to me.”

(7) *dd mdw di.n(=i) n=k snb nb hr(.y)=i* (7) Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all health, belonging to me.”

(8) [*dd mdw*] *di.n(=i) n=k t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb.t* (8) [Words spoken:] “(I) have given to you all flat lands and every *h3s.t*.”

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 63 [18.06.58] Block 192. Burgos and Larché, pl. 142.

[18.06.59] Thutmose III consecrating Vases to Amun (Block 224 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1927-1928
Location: Block 224, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum
Material: red granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 1501; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), pl. 18; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 172; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 416 (KIU 1501).
Description: Thutmose III consecrating three tables of vases to Amun. Behind the god is a column of text that refers to the *ḥ3s.t*.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Lines 1-9: Titles of king and Amun.

Behind Amun-Re:

(10) *ḏd mdw (in Imn.w-R^c.w) sm3.n(=i) n=k* (10) Words spoken (by Amun-Re): “(I) have
t3.wy m ḥtp.w t3.w nb(.w) ḥ3s.t nb.t united for you the Two Lands in peace, and
all the flat lands and every *ḥ3s.t*.”

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 64 [18.06.59] Block 224. Burgos and Larché, pl. 172.

[18.06.60] Thutmose III offering a cow leg to Amun (Block 253 of the Chapelle Rouge)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: south of the Third Pylon, discovered in 1927-1928

Location: Block 253, reconstructed in the Open Air Museum

Material: red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 1710; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), pl. 12; Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge I* (2006), pl. 255; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 423 (KIU 1710).

Description: A scene of Thutmose III kneeling before Amun and offering a cow's leg. A column of text behind the god refers to the *ḥ3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Burgos and Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Lines 1-5: Titulary of the king.

Behind Amun-Re:

(6) *dd mdw (in Imn.w-R^c.w) sm3.n(=i) n=k* (6) Words spoken (by Amun-Re): "(I) have
t3.wy m ḥtp.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t hr tb.ty=k united for you the Two Lands in peace, and
all *ḥ3s.wt* under your sandals.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 65 [18.06.60] Block 253. Burgos and Larché, pl. 255.

[18.06.61] Thutmose III's Benefactions to Amun

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Second Pylon, originally part of Thutmose III's Central Bark Shrine

Location: Open Air Museum (?)

Material: granite

Dimensions: L. 2m

Sources: PM II², 99; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Text*² (1983), 127-129 (135); Nims, "Thutmosis III's benefactions to Amon", *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (1969), 70-71 (vii); Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1953-1954", *ASAE* 53 (1955), 27-28; Barguet, *Temple*, 53 (no. 4), 54 (no. 2).

Description: This inscription arranged in retrograde contains references to produce from the *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Nims; *Transliteration:* LP.

(x+1) /// /// /// T[mn.w] hr.t /// ///

(x+2) [h^c.n n=f] hm=i sb3 3 m nbw

Imn.w 3 šs3 m /// /// ///

(x+3) wsh.t 3.t w3d.yt t3-iwn.w m inr (hd nfr) n.y rwdt

b3k(.w) m d^cm 3.t /// /// ///

(x+4) nbw 3.t šps.t

m tp(.y) in.w h3s.wt rs.ywt

ini.y n b3.w hm=i

ik(r) /// /// ///

(x+5) mi.ty=f hr šms ntr

iw mdh.n(=i) n=f wi3 3

n.y [Imn.w-wsr] /// /// ///

(x+6) b3k(.w) m d^cm

sw^cb(.w) wnd=f m hd

sh-ntr m hr.y-ib=f b3k(.w) d^cm m /// /// ///

(x+7) Rtnw hr.t m wdy.t tp.yt n.t nht

wd(.n) [it=i Imn.w]

iw s^ch^c.n[=i] /// /// ///

(x+8) hm=i m 3.wy ds=i

m htyw 3š

b3k(.w) r 3w=sn m nbw

m hkr.w /// /// ///

(x+9) m kn.t m nht

iw hrp.n n=f hm=i

h3.wt 3š3 m d^cm

Translation: Nims, LP.

(x+1) /// /// /// A[mun], before /// ///

(x+2) My Majesty [erected for him] a great gateway in *nbw*-gold,

"Amun, Great in Wisdom" in /// /// ///

(x+3) A great hall, a hall of columns with *tja*-pillars of sandstone,

worked with *djam*-gold and costly stone /// /// ///

(x+4) *nbw*-gold and precious costly stone,

from the best gifts of the southern *h3s.wt*,

brought because of powers of my Majesty, excellent /// /// ///

(x+5) his likeness following the god.

I hewed for him¹ a great barque,

of [Amun-Weser] /// /// ///

(x+6) worked with *djam*-gold,

its ship's hold purified with silver,

the shrine in its midst worked (in) *djam*-gold /// /// ///

(x+7) Upper Retenu in the first campaign of victory,

[which my father, Amun], command(ed).

[I] erected /// /// ///

(x+8) my Majesty, with my own two hands,

from the *Htyw* of cedar,

worked to their width with *nbw*-gold,

with ornaments /// /// ///

(x+9) in valour and in victory.

My Majesty provided for him

many offerings tables of *djam*-gold,

¹ Nims reconstructs this section as "My Majesty hewed for him great [river] bark", though there is no evidence of "my Majesty" in the original text; it is more likely an omitted first-person suffix pronoun.

<i>šps.t</i> /// /// ///	august /// /// ///
(x+10) <i>mnit kṛḥt wšḥ hh ḏr-ʕ.w(y) m ʕ3.t nb.t</i>	(x+10) necklaces, vessels, broad collars without limit of every costly stone.
<i>iw sʕḥ.n n=f ḥm=i</i> /// /// ///	My Majesty erected for him /// /// ///
(x+11) [<i>m pr.w ʔmn.w m</i>] <i>inr (ḥd nfr) n.y rwd.t m k3.t mnḥ.t</i>	(x+11) [in the house of Amun of] sandstone of splendid work,
<i>ḥtm.wt ʕ3.(wt) m ḏʕm m</i> /// /// ///	great seals in <i>djam</i> -gold in /// /// ///
(x+12) <i>b3k.w m nbw ʕ3.t nb.t šps.t</i>	(x+12) worked with <i>nbw</i> -gold and every precious costly stone,
<i>sb3.w m m3t ʕ3.w m ḥm.t ḥpw [m]</i> /// /// ///	the gateway in granite, the doors in copper, the figures [in] /// /// ///
(x+13) <i>ḥsmn ḥm ḥm.t iḥw</i>	(x+13) black bronze and a measure of copper.
<i>iw sʕḥ.n n=f ḥm=i s.t=f mty n.t msḏr dr</i> /// /// ///	My Majesty erected for him a precise place of hearing, removing /// /// ///
(x+14) <i>im wn ʕr n iwy.t</i>	(x+14) therein which mounted to the (town) quarter.
<i>sʕḥ.n(=i) šḥ-ntr im m inr wʕ m</i> /// /// ///	(I) erected the shrine therein from a single (block) of stone /// /// ///
(x+15) <i>ḥft ḥtm n.tyt im=f</i>	(x+15) which is in accordance with the seal which is in it.
<i>ist gm.n ḥm=i bhn.t rs.yt m ḏb.t sb3 rs.y</i> /// /// ///	It is the case that my Majesty found the Southern Pylon in (mud) brick, the southern gateway /// /// ///
(x+16) [<i>inr</i>] <i>m k3.t nds.t ʕ3.wy m ʕš wh3.w m ḥ.t</i>	(x+16) [stone] in the smaller constructions, the double doors in cedar,
<i>ʕḥ.n iri.n s.t ḥm=i m</i> /// /// ///	the columns in wood.
(x+17) /// <i>m m3t ʕ3=s wr m ḥm.t</i>	Then my Majesty made it of /// /// ///
<i>iri.w rn=f [m ʔmn.w ʕ3 ḥʕ.w]</i>	(x+17) /// in granite,
<i>smnḥ m</i> /// /// ///	its great door in copper,
(x+18) /// <i>m ḥr ḥpw ḥr=f m [ḏʕm</i>	the name of which was made [“Amun, Great-of-Diadems”],
<i>ntr šw.t mi ʔmn.w]</i> /// /// ///	made excellent /// /// ///
(x+19) /// <i>m3t iw š3d.n n=f ḥm=i š rs.y kbby s3ww</i> /// /// ///	(x+18) /// before the image upon it in [<i>djam</i> -gold,
(x+20) /// <i>smnḥ šḥ-ntr im šs.t b3k n.y Ḥw.t-nb.w</i> /// /// ///	the divine figure like Amun] /// /// ///
(x+21) /// <i>m s.t=f ḏsr.t imn.tt</i> /// /// ///	(x+19) /// granite.
(x+22) /// ///	My Majesty dug for him the Southern Lake, purified, extended /// /// ///
	(x+20) /// the shrine therein made excellent with dazzling alabaster of the “Mansion of Gold” /// /// ///
	(x+21) /// in his western sacred place /// /// ///
	(x+22) ///

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 66 [18.06.61] Nims (1969), fig. 7.

[18.06.62] Jambs of Chamber II of the Contra Temple of Thutmose III

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Contra Temple, doorjamb inscriptions (Door A) of Chamber II
Location: in situ
Material: alabaster
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 217 (24); Varille, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 147, pl. XIII; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6980.
Description: Two columns of hieroglyphs are preserved on the jambs, mirrored on both sides, with a reference to the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Varille, Chic. Or. Inst. Photo; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Jamb Inscription (mirrored on both sides):

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) [nb.ty] ʕ3 [šf.yt] m t3.w nb.w nsw.t bi.ty
 (Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ.w-stp.n-Rʕ.w) mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w
 nb p.t</p> <p>(2) Hr.w-nbw ʕ3 ḥpš ḥwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt s3
 Rʕ.w (Dḥwtj-msiw-ḥk3-m3ʕ.t) di(.w) ʕnh nb
 mi Rʕ.w d.t</p> | <p>(1) [The Two Ladies], Great [of Respect] in
 every flat land, King of Upper and Lower
 Egypt (Menkheperre-Chosen-by-Re),
 beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven.</p> <p>(2) Horus of Gold, Great in Strength, who
 smites the Nine Bows, the Son of Re,
 (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Maat) , may he be
 given all life, forever.</p> |
|--|--|

[18.06.63] West Wall of the Contra Temple of Thutmose III

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Contra Temple, Chamber II, west wall

Location: in situ

Material: alabaster

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 217 (26); Varille, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 148, pl. XIV; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6156.

Description: The west wall is preserved with a scene of the king presenting offerings to Amun, with accents of blue still visible on the god. Above the god are the remains of four columns of text, including a brief reference to the *h3s.wt* on the fourth line.

Translation:

Transcription: Varille, Chic. Or. Inst. Photo; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Above the god:

(1) <i>/// /// mri.y T[mn.w] ///</i>	(2) <i>/// /// [dd w3s]</i>	(1) <i>/// beloved of A[mun] ///</i>	(2) <i>/// /// all</i>
<i>nb hr.y(=i) (3) /// /// [3w].t-ib nb(.t) ///</i>	<i>r (4) [stability and domination] belonging to (me)</i>		
<i>/// /// h3s.wt nb(.wt)</i>		(3) <i>/// /// all jo[y] ///</i>	(4) <i>/// /// all h3s.wt.</i>

Above the king:

(5) <i>/// di(.w) ʕnh</i>	(6) <i>/// /// mi [Rʕ.w]</i>	(5) <i>/// may he be given life</i>	(6) <i>/// /// /// like</i>
			<i>[Re].</i>

[18.06.64] West Façade of the Calcite Chapel of Thutmose III

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Alabaster Chapel of Thutmose III, west façade

Location: Open Air Museum

Material: calcite (Egyptian alabaster)

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 3039; Arnaudiès-Montélimard, “Un reposoir de barque en calcite édifié par Thoutmosis III dans le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *Karnak* 11 (2003), 164-171, 196-197, 207-209, pl. V and VIII (a-c); Blyth, *Karnak*, 84-85; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre* (Paris, 2009), 169; Letellier and Larché, *La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV* (2013), 96-98; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 461 (KIU 3039).

Description: Doorjambs of the Alabaster Chapel of Thutmose III originally constructed before the Seventh Pylon in the Second Court. The jamb inscription refers to Thutmose III as the Lord of all the *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Arnaudiès-Montélimard,

Translation: LP.

KIU 3039; Transliteration: KIU 3039, LP.

Lintel Inscription:

Line 1: Praises to the Behedety.

Left Jamb Inscription:

(2) *nb.ty* /// /// ///

nsw.t bi.ty

nb t3.wy nb iri.t (i)h.t

hḳ3 W3s.t (Mn-hpr-Rḫ.w) | /// /// ///

(3) *Hr.w-[nbw]* /// /// ///

s3 [Rḫ.w] n.y h.t=f

mri.(y)=f nb n.y h3s.wt nb(.wt)

(Dḥwty-msiw-nfr-hpr) | /// /// ///

(4) *[Imn.w-Rḫ.w] nb ns.wt t3.wy* /// /// ///

n.y Hw.t-nbw m inr wḫ hr w3.t=f nb(.t) /// ///

///

(2) The Two Ladies /// /// ///

the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites,

Ruler of Thebes, (Menkheperre) | /// /// ///

(3) Horus [of Gold] /// /// ///

Son [of Re] of his body,

his beloved, Lord of all the *h3s.wt*,

(Thutmose III, beautiful-of-form) | /// /// ///

(4) [Amun-Re], Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands /// /// ///

of Hatnub from a single piece of stone upon his every road /// /// ///

Right Jamb Inscription:

Lines 5-7: Fragmentary, with remains of titulary of the king and Amun.

[18.06.65] Inscriptions on the Flag Mast Niches, South Face of the Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Seventh Pylon, South Face

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2088, 2102; PM II², 171 (501-502); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 777-778 (214); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 240 (214); Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1902 au 15 mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 13-16; Legrain, “Notes d’inspection. XXX-XXXVI”, *ASAE* 7:1 (1906), 33; Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921-1922)”, *ASAE* 22 (1922), 243, Barguet, *Temple*, 269 (no. 2); Traunecker, “Le ‘Château de l’Or’ de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d’Amon”, *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989), 103-104; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre* (2009), 144; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 434-435 (KIU 2088, 2102).

Description: Two flag mast niches that describe the acquisition of wood from Asia.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, KIU 2088, 2102; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP.

Transliteration: KIU 2088, 2102, LP.

A. Inscription on the Right Niche

[*Hr.w*] /// /// [nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)]
/// /// [iri.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Imn.w]-R^c.w
nb p.t s^ch^c n=f sn.wt šps.wt

stp.n hm=f hnty-š st3 hr dw.w [n.w] T3[-ntr]
[in 3]m.w n.w Rtnw /// /// ht h3s.wt iri=f
di(.w) 3nh mi R^c.w

[Horus] /// /// [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)] /// /// [he made as (it) his monument for (his) father Amun]-Re, Lord of Heaven, causing to erect for him august flag masts,

His Majesty having selected (them from) the Hnty-š, dragging (the wood) upon the mountains [of] [the God’s] Land, [by the Asia]tics of Retenu /// /// wood of h3s.wt. May he be given life, like Re.

B. Inscription on the Left Niche

/// /// [s^ch^c n=f sn.wt šps.wt k3i=sn rkn] n
h.wt sb3.w tp.w=sn m d^cm [n.y tp.yw h3s.wt]

/// /// [causing to erect for him august flag masts, their height reaching] the bellies of the stars, their tips in djam-gold [from the best of the h3s.wt].

[18.06.66] Scene of Thutmose III from the Doorway of the Seventh Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Seventh Pylon, West Door, Second Register
Location: in situ
Material: granite
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: KIU 2127; PM II², 169-170 (498 (d) I, 2); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 569-570 (182 F); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 138-139 (182 F); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 369; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 435 (KIU 2127).
Description: Scene of Thutmose III embraced by Amun. Reference to work produce from *h3s.wt* on the left of the scene.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, KIU 2127;

Translation: Burkhardt et al., LP.

Transliteration: KIU2127, LP.

Text in front of the king:

(1) /// *m nḥ w3s iri.t ḥḥ ḥb-sd mi R^c.w* (2) ///
wh^c.k3=sn¹ m3=sn tw dd.k3=sn iyī.w (3) ///
m33=k it=k nb ntr.w Imn.w-R^c.w nb ns.wt
t3.wy ḥnty Ip.t-S.wt di=f

(1) /// with life and dominion, making millions in jubilees, like Re. (2) /// Then they will /// see you, then they will come (3) /// you see your father, Lord of the Gods, Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak, he gives

Text behind the king:

(4) /// /// *s[šm]=k t3.w b3k=k ḥ3s.wt ḥk3=k*
Šm^c.w Mḥ.w mi R^c.w d.t

(4) /// /// you [leading] the flat lands, you working² the *h3s.wt*, (and) you ruling Upper and Lower Egypt, like Re, forever.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 67 [18.06.66].

¹ Contingent future tense. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §80c.

² Burkhardt et al. translate this as “versklaven” though this is a very strong term to choose as *b3k* can simply mean “to work”. *Wb* I, 426-428; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 78.

[18.06.67] Speech of Horus in Room XLII

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: North Girdle Wall, Room XLII

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 126 (457); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 572-573 (182 R.a); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 141-142 (182 R.a); Vercoutter, “Les Haou-Nebout (suite)”, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 157; Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh”, *JEA* 36 (1950), 4 (9); Barguet, *Temple*, 313.

Description: Reference to work produce from *h3s.wt* and the Hanebu.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe;

Translation: Burkhardt et al., Vercoutter, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Speech of Horus:

(a) *w^cb nsw.t bi.ty*

(a) The pure king of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)|,

(*Mn-hpr-R^c.w*)|

the son of Amun, his beloved.

s3 Imn.w mri.y=f

(I) have given to (you)

di.n(=i) n(=k)

the repeating of a million jubilees

wḥm ḥḥ m ḥb-sd

upon the “Horus-throne-of-the-living”

ḥr s.t Hr.w n.t nḥ.w

that you may rejoice together (with) your ka,

3w(.t)-ib=k ḥn(ḥ) k3=k

that you may lead the flat lands,

sšm=k t3.w¹

that the *h3s.wt* may work for you,

b3k n=k h3s.wt

so that you may rule the islands of the Hanebu,

ḥk3.y=k idb.w H3.w-nb.w

that you may make millions in [jubilees] /// /// ///

iri=k ḥḥ m [ḥb-sd] /// /// ///

¹ Though Burkhardt et al. translate this as a future: “du sollst die Flachländer führen...” “you will lead...” (p. 142), Vercoutter translates it as a present “que tu conduises les (habitants des) plaines” namely, “that you lead the flat lands...” (p. 157). A present tense is more suited to the context, as the speech opens with a present perfect “I gave to you...”.

[18.06.68] South Wall of the House of Gold

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: House of Gold, Room D3N2 / XV

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone(?)

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 104 (310); Traunecker, “Le ‘Château de l’Or’ de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d’Amon”, *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 89-111; Blyth, *Karnak*, 89-91.

Description: Scenes on the south of the House of Gold, including three scenes of the sacred river bark. The words spoken by Amun refer to *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Traunecker,

Translation: Traunecker, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

A. (1) *dd mdw in Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy s3(=i) n.y h.t(=i) mr.y(=i) ///*

A. (1) Words spoken by Amun Re, Lord of Thrones and of the Two Lands: “(My) son, of my body, (my) beloved” ///

(2) *dd mdw in (Imn.w) mn.w nfr.w imi dh ///*

(2) Words spoken by (Amun): “(I) gave beautiful monuments // // //

(3) *dd mdw (in Imn.w) stp.w n.y htyw ///*

(3) Words spoken (by Amun): “The choicest pick of the *Htyw* // // //

(4) [*dd mdw*] (*in Imn.w*) *n.w ʕš b3k m ///*

(4) [Words spoken] (by Amun): “Cedar worked with // // //

(5) [*dd mdw*] (*in Imn.w*) *nbw n.y tp.yw h3s.wt m nht ///*

(5) [Words spoken] (by Amun): “*nbw*-gold of the best (quality) of *h3s.wt* (won) in victory // // //

(6) *hm=f di(=i) n=k [t3.w] nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t t3š ///*

(6) His Majesty (says): “(I) give to you all [flat lands] and all *h3s.wt*, the borders // // //

B. (1) *s3 ʕnh mh=f nb.w mi Rʕ.w d.t (2) ///*

B. (1) All protection and life to fill him, like Re, forever. (2) // the Son of [Re], (Thutmose III), may he be given life, forever. (3) // the great bark of the head of the river

(4) // *ʕš.w m stp ///* (5) // *mnw=f ist htp-ib n ///* (6) // *iri.n=f n=f iri=f di(.w) ʕnh [d.t] ///*

(4) // cedar of the choicest // (5) his monuments which are well disposed // (6) // he has made (it) for him, that he may make a living, [forever].

(7) // [*h*][*t*] *iyi.t hm=f m Rtnw ///*

(7) // come with His Majesty from Retenu //

[18.06.69] Amun thanks Thutmose III for the monuments he built for him

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: North Girdle Wall, Room XV, above doorway
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone(?)
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 104 (311); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 778 (215); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 241 (215).
Description: Above the doorway are two registers, with the king giving offerings to Amun and Amun thanking Thutmose III for the monuments he has built.
Translation:
Transcription: Sethe; Transliteration: LP. *Translation: Burkhardt et al., LP.*
(1) *s3 n.y h.t(=f) mr(.y=f) [(Mn-hpr-R^c.w)]* (1) The son of (his) body, (his) beloved, [(Menkheperre)]
(2) *iri.n(=i) mnw nfr.w mdh* (3) *m stp.w n.w htyw* (4) *n.w ʕš* (2) (I) made beautiful monuments, hewn (3) from the choicest of the *Htyw* (4) of cedar,
b3k(.w) m (5) *d^cm n.y tp.yw h3s.wt m* (6) *nht.w* worked with (5) *djam*-gold of the best (quality) of the *h3s.wt* (won) in the (6) victories (7) /// /// ///
(7) /// /// ///

[18.06.70] Jambs around Entry Door of the North Chapels

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: North Girdle Wall, Room XLI, doorjambs
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone(?)
Dimensions: unknown
Sources: PM II², 124 (440); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 173.
Description: Doorjambs around the entry to Room XLI, with a reference to the Nine Bows within the titulary of the king.

Translation:

Transcription: LP (Photograph); *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Jamb Inscription (mirrored on both sides):

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) <i>nb.ty ʕ [šf.ty] m t3.w nb.w nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rʕ.w) mri.y Imn.w-Rʕ.w nb ns.wt t3.wy</i></p> <p>(2) <i>Hr.w-nbw ʕ hps hwi(.w) psd.t pd.wt s3 Rʕ.w (Dḥwty-msiw-ḥk3-M3ʕ.t) di(.w) ʕnh mi Rʕ.w d.t</i></p> | <p>(1) The Two Ladies, Great in [Respect] in all the flat lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre) , beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands.</p> <p>(2) Horus of Gold, Great in Strength, who smites the Nine Bows, the Son of Re (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Maat) , may he be given life like Re, forever.</p> |
|--|---|

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 68 [18.06.70] The doorjambs of the chapel.

[18.06.71] Papyrus Column of Thutmose III from the Colonnade of Thutmose I

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Colonnade of Thutmose I, Column IV

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 4515; PM II², 80; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 841-843 (237); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 278-279 (237); Borchardt, *Baugeschichte des Amontempels von Karnak*, 39-40; Lacau, “L’or dans l’architecture égyptienne”, *ASAE* 53 (1956), 231-3; Barguet, *Temple*, 98, 103; Wallet-Lebrun, “Notes sur le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak. 2. Les *w3dyt* thoutmosides entre les IV^e et V^e pylons”, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 317-333; Fortier and Loeben, “Un nouveau fragment d’une colonne de la salle-Wadjyt”, *Karnak* 9 (1993), 141-143; Carlotti and Gabolde, “Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt”, *Karnak* 11 (2003), 280-282; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 500 (KIU 4515).

Description: Papyrus which Thutmose III added to the Colonnade of Thutmose III. It contains a reference to work produce from *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP.

Translation: Burkhardt et al., LP.

Line 1: Titulary of the king.

(1) (...) *ist gm.n hm=f w3d.yt m [kd.n it=f nsw.t bi.ty (‘3-hpr-k3-R^c.w)]*

(1) (...) His Majesty found the hall of columns, [which was built by his father, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Aakheperkare)]

/// /// /// [*tw.t.w n.y it=f Imn.w hn^c tw.t.w n.y it=f nfr ntr nb iri(.t) (i)h.t mh m ‘s*

/// /// /// statues of his father, Amun, together with statues of] his [father] the Good God, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, completed with cedar.

‘h[^c.n] iri.n hm=i w3d.w 4 hr p3 w3d.w w3.t(t) mh.tt dmd w3d.w 6 b3k(.w) m d^cm [s]mn m ///
/// ///

Th[en] my Majesty made four papyri-form columns, these two papyri form columns from the northern roads, assembled as six papyri-form columns, worked with *djam*-gold, established in /// /// ///

(2) *hn(‘) ini.ytn b3.w hm=i m b3k.t h3s.wt nb(.wt) wd.n n(=i) it=i Imn.w-R^c.w*

(2) and what the power of My Majesty brought as work produce (from) all *h3s.wt*, my father Amun-Re having commanded to me

mh m inr (hd nfr) n.y rwd iri k3i iri.w m mh 31 hr gs.wy sb3 ‘3 šps [Imn.w shm šf.t] ///
/// *r 3w=sn shd n[=s Ip.t-S.wt mi Itn.w]*¹ (...)

the filling with fine white sandstone for the roof. The corresponding height is 31 cubits upon each side, a great august gateway (named): [“Mighty-is-Amun’s-authority”] /// /// in its width. It (the papyrus hall) illuminating for [her Karnak like the sun] (...)

¹ Restoration of the Nineteenth Dynasty. See Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 842 (237).

Line 2-3: Further description of the flooring in sandstone, titles and epithets of Amun and reference to granite from Elephantine.

(3) (...) [*iw ir.n hm*]=*i p3 w3d.w 4 m m3.wt m*
w3.t(t) mh.tt mh.w hr ir.tn it=f n sp ir.t mi.tt
dr t3

iri.n hm=f nw n.t 3.t n mrr=f /// it=f [Imn.w
r ntr.w] nb.w

iri.n=f s3 R^c.w n.y h.t=f ((Dhwtj-ms.iw-hk3-
W3s.t)| di(.w) nh(.w) dd(.w) w3s(.w) snb(.w)
mi R^c.w d.t

(3) (...) My [Majesty made] four papyri
 form columns anew from the northern roads
 of Lower Egypt, that which was made for
 his father. Never was a like deed made to the
 end of the earth.

His Majesty made these of costly stone for
 his beloved /// his father [Amun, for] all of
 the [gods],

which he, the Son of Re of his body
 (Thutmose III, ruler-of-Thebes)|, made,
 may he be given life, stability, dominion and
 health, like Re, forever.

[18.06.72] Scene of Thutmose III from the Fifth Pylon

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Fifth Pylon, gateway

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone and red granite

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 4706, 4709-4710; PM II², 85-86 (222e-f); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 595-596 (190.4); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 158 (190.4); Larché, “Nouvelles observations”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), pl. XII, 3; Barguet, *Temple*, 110; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 113; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 504 (KIU 4706, 4709, 4710).

Description: This scene depicts Thutmose III, mirrored across both sides of the gateway, with three lines of horizontal text beneath.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Larché; *Translation:* LP.

Transliteration: LP.

Left jamb:

Inscription below king:

A. (1) /// *w3s snb 3w.t-ib h3s.wt nb(.wt) r* (1) /// dominion, health, and joy. All *h3s.wt* are
rd.wy ntr pn /// (2) /// *hb(.w)-[sd] iri=f* at the two feet (lit.: two legs) of this god /// (2)
ʕ33.w wr.t /// /// jubi[lees], he making very many ///

Right jamb:

Inscription below the king:

B. (1) /// *ʕnh dd w3s snb m3ʕ nb t3.w nb.w* (1) /// all life, stability, dominion, health and
h3s.wt nb(.wt) r rd.wy ntr [pn] /// (2) /// truth. All flat lands and all *h3s.wt* are at the two
hb.w /// (3) /// *Imn[.w] pr.w m* /// feet (lit.: two legs) of [this] god /// (2) ///
festivals /// (3) /// Amun /// in ///

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 69 [18.06.72] Larché (2007), pl. XII (3).

[18.06.73] West Side of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Granite archway of Thutmose III between the Fifth to Sixth Pylons, west side
Location: in situ
Material: granite
Dimensions: W. 200 cm, H. 250 cm
Sources: KIU 4724-4725; PM II², 86 (224); Barguet, *Temple*, pl. XVb (photo 53113), 111-113; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6340; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Karnak*, pl. 123; Arnaudiès-Montélimard, “L’arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l’avant-porte du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 121-3, pl. XI, XXVII; Gabolde, “De la soi-disant „arche“ en granit de Thoutmosis III à Karnak”, *GM* 223 (2009), 50, fig. 2; Charloux and Jet, “Recherches archéologiques dans la cour nord du VI^e pylône”, *Karnak* 12 (2007), 293, pl. XXI, fig. 25a; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 505 (KIU 4724-4725).
Description: Granite Archway of Thutmose III, originally removed from Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge. The remains of two registers are discernible, including the feet of the upper figure before the double plume of Amun, and below, an almost complete scene depicts Thutmose III presenting two jars of wine to Amun.

Translation:

Transcription: Arnaudiès-Montélimard; *Translation:* Arnaudiès-Montélimard, LP.

Transliteration: LP.

A) Top register:

Behind Amun:

- (1) *dd mdw (in Imn.w) di.n(=i) n=k ns.yt t3.wy rnp.wt Itm.w t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(wt) ///* (1) Words spoken (by Amun): “(I) have given to you the kingship of the Two Lands, the years of Atum, (and) all flat lands and all *h3s.wt ///*”

B) Bottom register:

Above and behind Thutmose III:

- (1) */// [ntr nfr] nb t3.wy nb ir.t (i)ht (2) nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w) (3) [s3 R^c.w] (Dhwtymsw) (4) [di.w] ‘nh.w w3s.w snb.w (5) 3w-ib=f mi R^c.w d.t wnn=f¹ hnt k3.w ‘nh.w nb.w mi R^c.w d.t* (1) */// [Good God], Lord of all the Flat Lands, Lord Accomplishing the Rites, (2) King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Menkheperre), (3) [the Son of Re], (Thutmose III)| (4) [May he be given], dominion and health, (5) his joy like Re, forever. He will be before all spirits like Re, forever.*

Behind Amun:

- (6) *[dd mdw (in Imn.w) di.n(=i) n=k kn.t nb.t snb nb 3w.t-ib nb.(t) t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb.(w)t (7) hr tb.ty=f* (6) *[Words spoken by Amun:] “(I) gave to you all bravery, all health, all joy, all flat lands, and all *h3s.wt* (7) under his sandals.”*

¹ Extended adverbial main clause introduced by *wnn* + subject + adverbial predicate expressing future. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §44b.

[18.06.74] East Side of Thutmose III's Granite Sanctuary

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Granite archway of Thutmose III between the Fifth to Sixth Pylons, east side

Location: in situ

Material: granite

Dimensions: H. 3 m

Sources: KIU 4726; PM II², 87 (230); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 845-846 (239B); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 281 (239B); Barguet, *Temple*, 111-113; Arnaudès-Montélimard, "L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l'avant-porte du VI^e pylône", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 133-135, pl. XIV; Gabolde, "De la soi-disant „arche“ en granit de Thoutmosis III à Karnak", *GM* 223 (2009), 43-52; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 505 (KIU 4726).

Description: A large monolith archway, with two columns of hieroglyphs.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Arnaudès-Montélimard; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., Arnaudès-Montélimard, LP.

Left Column:

(1) */// /// /// hm=k hr mn.w=f di.n(=i) ʿnh dd w3s nb ns.yt t3.wy n nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-Rʿ.w)| di(.w) ʿnh*

(1) */// /// ///* your Majesty, upon his monument. (I) gave all life stability and dominion, the Kingship of the Two Lands, for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)|, may he be given life

Right Column:

(2) */// /// /// inr (hd nfr) n.y rwd.t b3k(.w) m dʿm n.y tp.yw h3s.wt iri.n=f s3 Rʿ.w (Dhwtym-s-m3-hpr)| d.t*

(2) */// ///* (fine white) sandstone, worked in *djam*-gold of the best (quality) of the *h3s.wt*. He made (it), the Son of Re, (Thutmose-sema-kheper)|, forever.

[18.06.75] Sandstone Jambs of Thutmose III's Granite Gateway

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Granite archway of Thutmose III between the Fifth to Sixth Pylons, jambs

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: H. 3.6 m, W. 1.3 m

Sources: KIU 4716, 4721; PM II², 86-87 (228b); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 845-846 (239A); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 280-281 (239A); Arnaudières-Montélimard, "L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l'avant-porte du VI^e pylône", *Karnak* 12 (2007), 135-136, pl. XVI and XVII; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 505 (KIU 4721).

Description: A dedication text found on the sandstone jambs. In the upper register is the remains of a mummiiform god, below is a scene of Thutmose III in the Red Crown before Amun. Below are four lines of horizontal text that refers to *djam*-gold from *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Arnaudières-Montélimard; *Transliteration:* LP.

Translation: Burkhardt et al., Arnaudières-Montélimard, LP.

KIU 4716, south side, facing west:

a) (1) /// /// *Mn-hpr-[R^c.w]* | *iri.n=fm mn.w=f it=f*

(2) [*Imn.w-R^c.w*] *nb ns.wt t3.wy iri.tn=f sb3 3* (*Mn-hpr-R^c.w*) | *3 mr.wt m pr.w Imn.w*

(3) /// *inr hḏ nfr n.y rwd.t b3k(.w) m d^cm n.y tp.yw h3s.wt*

(4) /// [*n*]=*f it=f Imn.w-R^c.w hr.y ntr.w nb.w iri=f di(.w)* /// ///

a) (1) /// /// (Menkheper[re]), he having made (it) as his monument for his father,

(2) [Amun-Re], Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands. That which he made was a large door (named) "(Menkheperre) greatly-loved-in-the-house-of-Amun",

(3) /// in sandstone, worked *djam*-gold of the best (quality) of the *h3s.wt*

(4) /// [for] him, his father, Amun-Re, Chief of All the Gods, he made (it). May he be given /// ///

KIU 4721: north side, facing west.

b) (1) (*Mn-hpr-[R^c.w]*) | *iri.n=fm mn.w=f it=f*

(2) [*Imn.w-R^c.w*] *iri.tn=f sb3 3* (*Mn-hpr-R^c.w*) | *3 mr.wt m pr.w Imn.w*

(3) /// *inr nfr n.y rwd.t b3k m d^cm n.w tp.yw h3s.wt* (4) /// [*n*]=*f it=f Imn.w-R^c.w* /// /// ///

b) (1) (Menkheper[re]), he having made as his monument for his father, (2) [Amun-Re].

That which he made was a large door (named) "(Menkheperre) greatly-loved-in-the-house-of-Amun"

(3) /// in sandstone, worked *djam*-gold of the best (quality) of the *h3s.wt* (4) /// [for] him, his

father, Amun-Re /// /// ///

[18.06.76] Pillar Fragment from the Vestibule of Thutmose III

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Vestibule of Thutmose III, Room Va
Location: in situ (?)
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: H. 57 cm
Sources: KIU 5158; PM II², 91 (257 a); Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle rouge* II (2008), 230.
Description: A pillar fragment with a caption referring to *h3s.wt*.
Translation:
Transcription: KIU 5181; *Transliteration:* *Translation:* LP.
 KIU 5158.
 (1) *mri.(y) /// di(.w) ʕnh dd w3s /// /// ///* (1) beloved /// may he be given life, stability,
 and dominion /// /// ///
 (2) *t3.w nb.w h3s.wt nb(.wt) /// /// ///* (2) All flat lands, all *h3s.wt* /// /// ///

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

Figure 70 [18.06.76] SITH website (KIU 5158).

[18.06.77] Thutmose III Offering Incense with Text Concerning Punt

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: North Court, Chapel 2

Location: in situ

Material: limestone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 5726, 5751, 5754, and 5759; PM II², 93; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 853 (246); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 286 (246); Habachi, “Preliminary Report”, *ASAE* 53 (1956), 196-198; Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 8678, 8815-17, 8831-2; Lacau, “Deux magasins à encens du temple de Karnak”, *ASAE* 52 (1952), 194-196; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 530-531 (KIU 5726, 5751, 5754 and 5759).

Description: Dedication inscription at the entrance of the Chamber 2 of the North Court. It depicts the king offering incense and incense trees to Amun with a caption referring to Punt.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Lacau; *Translation:* Burkhardt et al., LP.

Transliteration: LP.

South Wall:

(1) */// /// [nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)| iri].n=f m mnw=f n it=f Imn.w [nb ns.wt t3.wy] iri.tn=f pr.w-hd n.y ntyw* (1) */// /// [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)], he having [made] as a monument for his father Amun, [Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands], that a treasury of myrrh was built*

(2) */// /// [r] iri.t nwd.w špss n mr.t wnn=f mn m hnm ntr (i)h.t iri=f nḥ(.w) d.t* (2) */// /// [for] the making of august ointments, as he desired, established in the fragrance of the divine offerings, that he may make a living, forever.*

(3) *stt hknw sft.w h3.tt n.t š h3.tt Thnw* (3) *A jar of sacred oil and seftw-oil, unguent of cedar, unguents of Tjehenu.*

North Wall:

(1) */// /// m tp.yw bi3.(yw)t¹ n.t Pwn.t* (1) */// /// with the best wonders of Punt.*
 (2) */// /// ntr pn šps (3) ḥ^c.w m ntyw ndw m tp.yw n.y T3-ntr* (2) */// /// this august god. (3) Heaps myrrh (and) jars of the best (quality) of the God's Land.*

¹ This term, often used within oracular contexts, has meanings of a personal favour to a recipient with a royal background, or as an expression of the relationship of the god and the king. Gillen, “The Historical Inscription on Queen Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge”, *BACE* 16 (2005), 8.

[18.06.78] Thutmose III consecrating Treasure to Amun

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: South Court, east wall

Location: in situ

Material: unknown

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 95-96 (277); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 867-869 (255 B); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 295-296 (255 B); Chic. Or. Inst. Photos. 5877-8; Fischer, "Further Remarks on the Prostrate Kings", *PUMB* 21:2 (1957), 35-7, figs. 14, 15.

Description: A scene of Thutmose III consecrating treasure to Amun, with rows of vases, braziers, and references to gifts from all *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP.

Translation: Burkhardt et al., LP.

Caption of the Scene:

sm3^c(.w) wdhw^c š3

Presenting numerous offering tables.

Inscription before the King:

(1) [nsw.t d]s=f hrp(.w) wdhw^c š3.t wr.t m-^cb
mnw^c š3.w(t) wr[.(w)t] m h_d

(1) [The king] him[self] is the one who controls very many offering tables along with very many monuments in silver.

(2) /// /// /// hkr.w im.w ntr h^c.w m d^cm hr š3.t
nb(.t)

(2) /// /// /// ornaments ... the flesh of the god in *djam*-gold, upon every precious stone.

(3) /// /// /// [m]-^cb in.w n.w h3s.w(t) nb.(w)t
in.nw m (4) /// /// ///

(3) /// /// /// [together] with gifts of all *h3s.w(t)*, brought with (4) /// /// ///

[rdi.n] hm=f n it=f [Imn.w m Ip.t-S.wt] š3^c (5)
[m rnp.(w)t] /// [nfr.yt r smn.t wd pn] iri.n
hm=f nw n š3.t n.t mrr=f it=f [Imn.w] r ntr.w
nb.w

His Majesty [gave] for his father, [Amun, in Karnak], the first (5) [in years] /// [perfectly establishing this inscription]. His Majesty made this, for the greatness of his love, his father, [Amun], (and) for all the gods.

(6) /// /// /// [Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy] m smnh
pr.w=f m srwd (7) /// /// /// [n mr].wt iri=f n=f
s.t di(.w) ^cnh(.w) dd(.w) w3s(.w) 3w-ib=f
hk3=f t3.wy mi R^c.w

(6) /// /// /// [Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands], in embellishing his house, in strengthening (7) /// /// /// [for the love] he made it for him, may he be given life, stability, dominion and his joy as he rules Two Lands, like Re, forever.

[18.06.79] Scene of Thutmose III from Room XX of the Palace of Maat

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Room XX, south of the granite sanctuary

Location: in situ

Material: unknown

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: PM II², 105-106 (323b); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 558-9 (180 B); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 131 (180 B).

Description: Brief speech of Amun with a reference to all *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP.

Translation: Burkhardt et al., LP.

[*dd mdw in 'Imn.w*] *di.n(=i) n=k ns.yt t3.wy*

[Words spoken by Amun:] “(I) have given to

h3s(.wt) nb.(w)t r b(w) hr nb idb.wy dm3 hr

you the kingship of the Two Lands, all

tb.ty=k

h3s(.wt) where you are, and the Two Banks are bound together under your sandals.”

[18.06.80] Reverse Side of an Offering Table of Thutmose III (Cairo JE 88803)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Courtyard of the Middle Kingdom

Location: Cairo JE 88803

Material: red granite

Dimensions: L. 71.5 cm, W. 31 cm, H. 22.5 cm

Sources: PM II², 108; Chevrier, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1948-1949)”, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 257-258; Barguet, *Temple*, 155 (no. 5); Biston-Moulin, “À propos de la table d’offrandes de Thoutmosis III Caire JE 88803”, *Karnak* 13 (2010), 25-43.

Description: An offering table of Thutmose III with a reference to the Nine Bows on the reverse side.

Translation:

Transcription: Biston-Moulin;

Translation: Biston-Moulin, LP.

Transliteration: Biston-Moulin, LP.

Top Line:

ꜥnh nsw.t bi.ty nb iri(.t) (i)h.t (Mn-
hpr-Rꜥ.w)| s3 Rꜥ.w n.y h.t=f (Dḥwtj-
msiw-nfr-hpr)| iri.n=f m mn.w=f n
it=f Imn.w-Rꜥ.w ir.t n=f nms.t ꜥ.w n
ꜥbt.t n.t h.t-ntr m dꜥm hnꜥ.t m h.t nb
kbḥ m irp ir.t.t n Imn.w nb ns.wt t3.wy
m hr.t-hrw n.t rꜥ.w-nb

The living King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord Accomplishing the Rites (Menkheperre)|, the son of his body, (Thutmose III, whose-manifestation-is-perfect)|. He made (it) as his monument for his father, Amun-Re, the making for him *nmst*-vases and bowls for pure offerings(?), divine offerings in *djam*-gold, offerings in all things, libations with wine and milk for Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, as necessary, daily.

Bottom Line:

nsw.t ds=f dꜥr mn.w pn h3[.ty]-bi.ty
iri=f sšm.w m ḥḥ.y 3h.t n it=f Imn.w
rdi(.w) ntr.y smn(.w) hꜥ(.w)=f hr s.t-
Ḥr.w rnn(.w) sw r ḥk3 psd.t pd.wt
iri=f di(.w) ꜥnh dd w3s snb mi Rꜥ.w
d.t

The king himself planned this monument, the heart of the king of Lower Egypt, he made (it) as a guide in the search for beneficial (offerings) for his father, Amun, who gave to him divinity, who established his appearances upon the Throne of Horus, who raised him to be the ruler of the Nine Bows. May he be given life, stability, power, and health, like Re, forever.

Image has been removed as it
contains copyright material.

Figure 71 [18.06.80] Biston-Moulin (2010), 40 (fig. 6).

[18.06.81] Blocks of Thutmose III from the Netery-Menou

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Cachette (?), originally part of the fourth wall of the *Netery-Menou*
Location: Open Air Museum
Material: limestone
Dimensions: W. 210 cm, H. 100 cm
Sources: Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief* (2005), 50-51, pl. VIII, VIII*.
Description: A group of seven blocks that depicts Thutmose II posthumously officiating before Amun, with a reference to the Nine Bows.

Translation:

Transcription: Gabolde; *Transliteration:* *Translation:* Gabolde, LP.

Gabolde, LP.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) <i>Hr.w k3 nht wsr-ph.ty</i> /// /// /// | (1) Horus, Victorious Bull, Strong of Power ///
/// /// |
| (2) <i>nsw.t bi.ty nb.ty ntr ns.yt</i> /// // /// | (2) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two
Ladies, divine kingship /// /// /// |
| (3) <i>ntr nfr nb 3w.t-ib nb h^c.w (3-h[pr-n]-
R^c.w)</i> /// /// /// | (3) Good God, Lord of Joy, Lord of Diadems
(Aakhe[peren]re) /// /// /// |
| (4) <i>s3 R^c.w n.y h.t=f mr=f (Dhty-[ms])</i> | (4) Son of Re, of his body, his beloved,
(Thutm[ose II]) |
| (5) <i>W3dyt, di=s nh [wsr mi R^c.w]</i> /// /// /// | (5) Wadjyt, she gives life [and strength, like
Re] /// /// /// |
| (6) [<i>dd mdw</i>] <i>in Imn.w iyi.w m htp ntr nfr</i> ///
/// /// | (6) [Words spoken] by Amun, “May you
come in peace, good god!” /// /// /// |
| (7) /// <i>m</i> /// /// <i>wnn.t=sn m nh</i> /// /// /// | (7) /// in /// /// they will come to exist in life ///
/// /// |
| (8) /// /// /// <i>h^c.w=f m nh</i> /// /// /// | (8) /// /// /// his period in life /// /// |
| (9) /// /// /// <i>hry(=i) dd.w m</i> /// /// /// | (9) /// /// /// that which belongs to me, stability
in /// /// /// |
| (10) /// /// /// <i>hn.ty psd.t</i> /// /// /// | (10) /// /// /// before the Ennead /// /// /// |
| (11) /// /// /// (12) /// /// /// | (11) /// /// /// (12) /// /// /// |
| (13) /// /// = <i>f psd.t pd.wt dm3 hr [tb.ty=k]</i> ///
/// <i>m nsw.t bi.ty mi R^c.w d.t</i> | (13) // /// the Nine Bows are bound together
under [your sandals] /// /// as the king of Upper
and Lower Egypt, like Re, forever. |

[18.06.82] Scene of Thutmose III with Hathor

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III.

Provenance: Temple of Ptah, Southern Chapel of Hathor, north wall

Location: in situ

Material: sandstone

Dimensions: unknown

Sources: KIU 2347; PM II², 201 (30a); Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 107; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique (Ptah, nos I-191)* (2016), 262-263; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 442 (KIU 2347).

Description: Scene of Thutmose III with Hathor with a fragmentary reference to victory in the *h3s.wt*.

Translation:

Transcription: Biston-Moulin and Thiers, KIU 2347; *Transliteration:* KIU 2347, LP.

Translation: LP.

Above the king:

(1) *nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-hpr-R^c.w)* | (2) *s3 R^c.w*
(*Dhwti-msiw-nfr-hpr*) | (3) *di(.w) ^cnh nb d.t*

(1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre) | (2) The Son of Re, (Thutmose III, beautiful-of-form) | (3) May he be given all life, forever.

Margin text:

(4) *wnn nfr ntr /// /// ([Mn]-hpr-[R^c.w])* |
hnt(y) k3.w ^cnh.w nb(.w) mi R^c.w d.t

(4) Good God /// /// ([Men]kheper[re]), foremost of all living kas, like Re, forever.

Speech of Behedety

(5) */// /// ///*

(5) */// /// ///*

Speech of Hathor:

(6) */// /// /// hr.y-tp W3s.t* (7) */// /// [di].n(=i)*
n=k ^cnh [w3s] nb snb nb 3w.t-ib [nb.t] /// ///
/// [n]ht nb r h3s.wt [nb.wt mi R^c.w d.t] (8)
di=s ^cnh dd w3s nb

(6) */// /// ///* chief of Thebes (7) */// ///* (I) have [given] to you all life and [dominion], all health, and [all] joy */// /// ///* every [vic]tory over [all] *h3s.wt*, [like Re, forever]. (8) She gives all life, stability, and dominion.

[18.06.83] Niche Inscription from the South Wall of the Temple of Ptah

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III.
Provenance: Temple of Ptah, Hall, south wall
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: H. 2.7m and W. 0.50m
Sources: KIU 262; PM II², 200 (19); Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 99; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre* (2009), 363; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique (Ptah, nos I-191)* (2016), 196-197 (no. 135); Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak II. Relevé photographique (Ptah, nos I-191)* (2016), 127, 134; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire*, 376 (KIU 262).
Description: A niche of Thutmose III from the court of the Temple of Ptah, with a reference to cedar of the terraces.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 72 [18.06.83]
 Biston-Moulin and Thiers,
 II (2016), 134.

Translation:

Transcription: Biston-Moulin and Thiers, KIU 262; **Transliteration:** KIU 262, LP.

(1) *ḏd mdw in¹ ḥm=f n it=f Pth nfr ḥr ʿnh-t3.wy ḥnty s.t r ntr.w sʿh[.n=f] /// /// [m inr] ḥd nfr n.y rwd.t ʿ3.w=f m ʿš*

(2) *m3ʿ n.y tp(.yw) n.y Htyw nfr sy [r] wn=s m-ḥ3.t ist [gm].n [ḥm=f] /// /// m sht n.y im.yw-ḥ3.t wd ḥm[=f]*

(3) *iri.n=f ḥw.t-ntr tn m [i]nr rwd smnh.ti m k3.t dt m srwd mnw mnḥ iri.n=f nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-Rʿ.w)| di(.w) ʿnh*

Translation: LP.

(1) Words spoken by His Majesty to his father, Ptah, beautiful of face, Lord of Memphis, who is before the place for the gods, [he] erect[ed] /// /// [in] fine white sandstone, its doors in real cedar

(2) of the best (quality) of the Htyw, it was more beautiful [than] that which had existed before. [His Majesty found] /// /// with the moulding (?) which was formerly the command of [his] Majesty

(3) He made this temple in sandstone, effective in construction, forever, with strengthening the splendid monument. He made (it), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Menkheperre)|, may he be given life.

¹ in-construction placing the focus on the subject. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §119.

[18.06.84] Niche Inscription from the North Wall of Temple of Ptah

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
Provenance: Temple of Ptah, Hall, north wall
Location: in situ
Material: sandstone
Dimensions: H. 3.0 m and W. 0.5 m
Sources: KIU 251; PM II², 199-200 (15); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 878-879 (259); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 302-303 (259); Legrain, “Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite)”, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 98-99; Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre* (2009), 363; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak I. Relevé épigraphique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (2016), 194-195; Biston-Moulin and Thiers, *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak II. Relevé photographique (Ptah, nos 1-191)* (2016), 126, 134; Biston-Moulin, *Glossaire* (2017), 376 (KIU 251).

Description: A scene of three vertical lines with a reference to cedar of the terraces.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe, Biston-Moulin and Thiers, KIU 251; *Transliteration:* KIU 251, LP.

(1) *ḏḏ mdw in ḥm=f n it=f Pth nfr ḥr nb ʕnh-t3.wy ḥnty s.t r ntr.w sʕhʕ.n=f ḥw.t Pth m m3.wt [m inr] ḥḏ nfr n.y rwd.t ʕ3.w=s m ʕš*
 (2) *m3ʕ n.y tp(.yw) Ḥtyw (...)*

(1) Words spoken by His Majesty to his father, Ptah, beautiful of face, Lord of Ankh-Tawy, who is before the place of the gods. He erected the Ptah Temple anew [in] fine white sand[stone], its doors in true cedar (2) of the best (quality) of the Ḥtyw (...)

Line 2-3: Further description of work at Karnak.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 73 [18.06.84] SITH website (KIU 251).

[18.06.85] Lateran Obelisk

- Date:* 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III
- Provenance:* The dedicatory inscription stated it was intended to stand “in the upper court of the temple in the neighbourhood of Ipet-Sout”. Today, its sandstone foundation slabs still stand within a later temple of Ramesses II at east Karnak.
- Location:* Piazza San Giovanni, Rome
- Material:* red granite
- Dimensions:* H. 33 m
- Sources:* PM VII, 409 (1); Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 583-585 (186); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 251-252; Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 150-153 (186); Breasted, “The Obelisks of Thutmosis III”, *ÄZ* 39 (1901), 55-56; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, 112-117.
- Description:* Originally from Karnak, the obelisk is the largest in the world. The middle columns are the text of Thutmose III, and the side ones of Thutmose IV. The monolith sat unfinished for 35 years after the death of Thutmose III, until Thutmose IV finished it and erected it at Karnak, and it was restored by Ramesses II. Later, it was brought to Rome in 357 AD and placed in the Circus Maximus. Sometime in the next millennia, it collapsed. It was rediscovered in three pieces in 1587 and set up in its current location.

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Blumenthal et al., LP.

Front Side:

Titulary and creation of a single obelisk.

Right Side:

Titulary and creation of foundations.

Back Side:

Hr.w k3-nḥt

mri.y R^c.w

nb.ty

ʕ3 šf.yt m t3.w nb(.w)

Hr.w-nbw

ʕ3 ḥpš

ḥwi(.w) psd.t pḏ.wt

nsw.t bi.ty (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w)|

s3 Imn.w n.y ḥ.t=f(...)

Text continues describing birth of Thutmose III at Karnak

Left Side:

Titulary and reference to *sed*-festival.

Horus, Strong Bull,

beloved by Re,

the Two Ladies,

Great of Respect in all the Flat Lands,

Horus of Gold,

Strong of Arm,

who smites the Nine Bows,

King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
(Menkheperre)|

Son of Amun of his body (...)

[18.06.86] Granite Statue of Neferperet (Cairo CG 42121)

Date: 18th Dynasty, Thutmose III

Provenance: Cachette

Location: Cairo CG 42121

Material: granite

Dimensions: H. 60cm, L. 18cm, W. 35.5cm

Sources: PM², II, 144-145; Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 555 (179.E.46), 557 (179.E.58), 603 (193 B), 1019-21 (304); Burkhardt, Blumenthal, and Müller, *Übersetzung* (1984), 128 (179.E.46), 129 (179.E.58), 162 (193 B), 390-392 (304); Legrain, “Renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak”, *RecTrav* 27 (1905), 69; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I (1906), 69-70, pl. 71; Legrain, “Notes d’inspection. XXXVII-XXXVIII”, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 185 (no. 3), 187 (no. 3-4); Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique* (1908), 92-94 (no. 170); Maspero, *Guide* (1915), 123 (no. 402); Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* II-III (1957), 592; Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958), 471-473, 483, 508, 661, pl. 159.5; The Royal Academy of Art, *5000 Years of Egyptian Art. The Diploma Galleries. Royal Academy of Art, London 22 June to 12 August [1962]* (1962), 18, no. 54; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (1986), 64, 164, 184-185, 191, 193, 196 (18.19/3); Guksch, *Königsdienst* (1994), 59, 190 ((072)16); Harig, *Divine Households* (1997), 145-147; Althoff, *Kronen und Kopfputz von Königsfrauen im Neuen Reich* (2009), 6 (no. 11 and 18), 149 (15.B).

Description: A granite stelophorous statue of Neferperet, who is seated and grasping a round top stela. Inscriptions have been cut into the sides of the stela, the front of the stela itself and along the back pillar. In the lunette, on the left, Thutmose III is depicted seated wearing the *atef*-crown and grasping the shepherds crook and the ankh. On the right, his consort Queen Meritre Hatshepsut is standing holding the flail and ankh. The winged sun disc sits in the top of the lunette. The stela contains a reference to the Nine Bows, whilst the inscription on the pillar refers to Retenu and Djahy, indicating Neferperet followed Thutmose III on one of his campaigns. Though this stela was found in the Cachette, it is believed that it was originally set up on the West Bank, in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III named “Endowed with Life.”

Translation:

Transcription: Sethe; *Transliteration:* LP. *Translation:* Burkhardt et al.; LP.

Inscription in the lunette:

A) Left, before and above Thutmose III:

Lines 1-4: Titulary of the king.

B) Right, before and above Meritre Hatshepsut:

Lines 5-7: Titulary and praises of Meritre-Hatshepsut.

C) From the sides of the stela grasped by

Neferperet:

<p>(1) <i>ḥtp di nsw.t k3 nsw.t (Mn-ḥpr-R^c.w) ḥnt ḥnk.t ʿnh di=f ssn.t t3w ndm=f pri ḥn.t=f n k3 n.y wb3 nsw ḥrdw n.y k3p Nfr-pr.t</i></p>	<p>(1) An offering with the king gives, the divine ka, (Menkheperre) , who is at the front, endowed with life. He lets (one) smell his sweet air when (it) goes forth before him.</p>
---	---

(2) *ḥtp di nsw.t [Imn.w-R^c.w] ḥnk.t ḥnh di=f ḥnh wd3 snb spd ḥr m-b3ḥ nb t3.wy n k3 n.y šms nsw ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t ḥs.y n.y nfr ntr wb3 nsw Nfr-pr.t*

D) Inscription on the stela:

Neferperet revering Thutmose III (middle to the right on the bottom half of the stela):

(1) *rdi.t i3w n nb t3.wy sn(.w) t3 n.y nsw.t kni nfr ntr pn* (2) *rs-tp(.w) ptpt(.w) n ḥpš=f psd.t pd.wt šhm-ib* (3) *m s3 ph.w sw ini(.w) dr.w tkk.w* (4) *tš=f in wb3 nsw w^cb ḥ.wy Nfr-pr.t m3^c-ḥrw*

For the ka of the royal butler, child of the nursery, Neferperet.

(2) An offering which the king gives (to) [Amun-Re], endowed with life. He gives life, prosperity and health, effective in the presence of the Lord of the Two Lands. For the ka of the follower of the king upon all *ḥ3s.t*, praised one of the good god, the royal butler, Neferperet.

Neferperet revering Queen Meritre Hatshepsut (middle to the left on the bottom half of the stela):

Lines 5-7: Praises to Queen Meritre Hatshepsut.

E) Text on the back pillar of the statue:

(1) *ini.n wb3 nsw.t* (2) *Nfr-pr.t ist¹ sw* (3) *m šms.wt ḥm=f* (4) *ḥr ḥ3s.t Rtnw k3.w n.y D3hy* (5) *idt 4 idt n.t Km.t 2* (6) *k3 1 dmd 7 ḥsmn im ḥr* (7) *r rdi.t st r ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w* (8) *m rnp.wt ḥnk.t ḥnh sn=f* (9) *Imn.w-m-ḥh-in m s3w=sn* (10) *s3=f Dsr-k3 r* (11) *f3i.t mhr.w wnn=sn* (12) *r ḥt=i m p3y=i hrw* (13) *n.y ḥnh*

(1) Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, who kisses the land of the brave king, this Good God, (2) who is watchful, who tramples, because of his strong arm, the Nine Bows, stout-hearted (3) behind (them), who attack him, who brings to an end those who attack (4) his border. By the royal butler, pure of arms, Neferperet, justified.

(1) What the royal butler (2) Neferperet, brought while he was (3) in the following of His Majesty (4) in the *ḥ3s.t* of Retenu: cattle of Djahy (5), four cows, two cows of Egypt, (6) one bull, total: 7; a bronze milk-jar (7) in order to give it to the Temple of Millions (8) of Years, “Endowed-with-Life”. His brother (9) Amunmehin as their (10) guardian. His son, Djeserka, is to (11) carry the milk-jars. They are (12) under my control during my day (13) of life.

ḥk ḥr=s im.y-r3 rwy.t (14) *Nbsny iyi ḥr=s sš nsw* (15) *Imn.w-ms dd d.t m ḥm n stp(-s3)* (16) *ḥnh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) iw(=sn) r-ḥt=k m hrw=k* (17) *n.y ḥnh*

The overseer of the court of law enters upon it, (14) Nebseny. The scribe of the king comes upon it, (15) Amenmose. What is said in the Majesty of the Palace (16), may he live, prosper and be healthy. (They) are under your authority during your day (17) of life.

ir m-ḥt i3n.n=k (18) *imy iw(=sn) m s3 n s3 iw^c* (19) *n iw^c m rdi(.w) s.t r ḥnw im.y-r3 k3.w* (20) *ir iwi tw.y=f nb r mdw.t m rdi(.w) [sd]m*

After you have aged (18) therein, they are from son to son, heir (19) to heir. Do not give them to the residence of the overseer of

¹ Extended embedded adverbial clause introduced by *ist*. The pronominal subject is introduced by the dependent personal pronoun *sw* within a temporal clause. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*³, §46.

tw (21) *n=sn m h3 nb n.y nsw m rdi(.w) thi tw*
(22) *r iri.t (i)h.t nb(.t)*

cattle. (20) As for anyone who comes to speak, do not let one listen (21) to them in any office of the king. Do not let one transgress (22) upon the doing of everything.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 74 [18.06.86] Cairo CG 42121. Karnak Cachette website.