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The Egyptian diplomatic system in the Late Bronze Age beyond the terms of “brotherhood” & “equality”: The Egyptian “abandonment” of power and aspects of Pharaonic identity & kingship.

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To the memory of my beloved grandfather

Grigorios P. Antonopoulos

(1925-2002†)

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ABSTRACT

The nature of diplomatic contacts shaped between Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age is arguably one of the most challenging themes, not only for Egyptology but generally for the history of the ancient Mediterranean. Although aspects of such a diplomatic procedure as the protagonists involved have been examined in several studies in the past, a comprehensive analysis of all relevant primary texts and the secondary sources is still lacking.

Crucial questions related to the innermost mechanisms involved in the mobilization of the Pharaonic institute and power towards the foreign rulers and hegemonies have not been properly investigated in the past. This thesis will cover this gap by searching and analyzing various modes of political thought and action: imperialistic ambitions, tools of acculturation, diplomatic contacts, the diverse notion of the uniqueness of Pharaonic authority and aspects of ideological abandonment of Pharaoh's power as well as the reciprocal approach of these contacts by New Kingdom Egypt and its Near Eastern peers will be examined.

The crucial underlined theme, which will be thoroughly examined, is the Egyptian attitude towards Egypt's Late Bronze Age Near Eastern peers and the issue of political and cultural adaptation in the multicultural area of the southeastern Mediterranean basin of the second millennium BC. Such examination will occur through certain interdisciplinary research methods that make use of modern diplomatic theories and techniques in order to analyze ancient practices of diplomacy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.

ASAE: Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte.

BMMA: Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), New York.

CAJ: Cambridge Archaeological Journal.

CDE: Chronique d’Égypte.

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JEA: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.

JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies.

KRI II: Kitchen, K.A. 1979. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, Volume II. Oxford, Blackwell.

KRI III: Kitchen, K.A. 1980. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, Volume III. Oxford, Blackwell.

KUB: Keilschrift Urkunden aus Boghazkoi

MDAIK: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.

PM: Porter, B. & Moss, R. *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings*, Oxford, Griffith Institute.

RHA: Revue Hittite et Asiatique.

RITA: Kitchen, K.A. (1993-2003) *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*, Oxford, Blackwell.

SAK: Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.

ZAS/ZAes: Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

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INTRODUCTION

The involvement of Egypt in the wide system of diplomacy established around the Eastern Mediterranean world during the Late Bronze Age as any interaction between Pharaohs and their Near Eastern peers was reflected in several aspects of the Egyptian civilization. Apart from rich documentation that testified the existence of diplomatic contacts between great kings, suzerains, and vassals¹, these interactions were depicted also in several contexts of Egyptian art.²

In means as such, aspects such as the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners, the imperial policies Egypt followed beyond its northern borders as the ways these policies justified inwards and presented outwards in order the maximum result achieved with the minimum political cost in resources and manpower can be extracted. The several changes in attitude towards foreigners during the course of New Kingdom Period, the exchanges of products, gifts, gods, and people as their use as means for the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and its neighbor states can be mined and confirm the level of diplomatic contacts between Egypt and its Near Eastern peers. It was during the New Kingdom Period (1500-1100 B.C.) where all of these aspects reached their peak.

During the time span between the fifteenth and eleventh centuries B.C.E., significant changes according to the ways Egypt related to its neighboring states introduced. From a power which had as its main ambitions the securing of its frontiers, Egypt adopted a more daringly imperialist vision than ever before. This imperialist pattern emerged after the Second Intermediate Period (1650-1550 B.C.).

The success of the Egyptian campaigns against Hyksos created a disruption to the equilibrium of power between Egypt and its neighbors. Such disruption expressed by igniting several campaigns in Nubia to the south and in Syria and Palestine to the north. These successful campaigns created a sphere of influence for the Egyptian state in Western Asia and turned Egypt into an empire. Such turn was presented inwards with an ideological model which justified such extended campaigning abroad and

¹ Annals, autobiographies, laments, instructions, peace treaties, marriage scarabs, didactic literature, letters exchanged among Pharaohs of Egypt and their Near Eastern peers etc., see i.e Simpson 2003; Bryce 2003; Rainey 2015; Moran 1993; Mynarova 2007, *Ibid.*, 2014 etc.

² Tomb decoration, stele and scarab decoration etc., see i.e Blakenberg Van Delden 1969, *Ibid.*, 1976, *Ibid.*, 1977; Brand 2000 as the series written by Davies to name a few.

combined theological and ideological norms relative towards everything foreign in order to justify the needs of the monarch and reinforce his position. But the needs of the era dictated a different perception in order Egypt be “*politically correct*” and maximum profit be gained with the minimum cost.

Although the creation of the Egyptian empire in Western Asia started as a result of the imperialism created after the expulsion of Hyksos and expressed through the successful Egyptian campaigns in the Levant, it evolved into an amalgam of international relationships appositively given in sources from the Egyptian (annals, autobiographies, laments, instructions, peace treaties, marriage scarabs, didactic literature etc.) and Near Eastern side (Amarna Letters and the Hittite correspondence). In such sources, the way these diplomatic contacts given opposed to each other.

In Egyptian sources, Pharaoh’s suzerainty was recognized by the native rulers of the states of Western Asia. It was perceived as a reflection of submission perfectly compatible with a model of imperialism presented inwards in order to justify such contacts and actions. In sources such as the Amarna Letters though, reciprocal diplomatic contacts inside an enlarged “*family*” context between Pharaohs and its Near Eastern peers in the level of “*Great Kings*” recorded.

Despite the existence of official war monuments and campaign memorials, the traces of the creation of a system of international relationships quite similar with the one presented in the political behavior of the modern states were reflected in the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and its Near Eastern neighbors. Such diplomatic relations reached their peak during the period of Amarna. It was a model which combined the dictations of the theory of realism and the ways the patrimonial system of governance dictated which justified actions of “*abandonment*” of power on behalf of the Pharaoh in order Egypt gained the maximum profit with the minimum political and financial cost. Such actions of “*abandonment*” occurred in aspects such as royal gift exchanges, in specific language and juridical terminology used which reflected equality and reciprocity, in diplomatic marriages between Pharaohs of the Amarna period and royal brides from Near Eastern courts, in exchange of gods etc, aspects which will be analyzed in more detail in the chapters that will follow.

1] Historical background for the Egyptian notion of imperialism and abandonment

Around 1500 B.C, just before the emergence of an era characterized by innovations and changes in the ways states interacted one another, Southeastern Mediterranean looked completely different from what was meant to follow. Fragmented city-states, economically declined, isolated one from another consisted an epoch which was called by scholars as the “*dark age*” (Paulette 2012: 167-195; Van De Mieroop 2004: 115; Ibid., 2010: 230-231). What followed next was Late Bronze Age, an era of development, innovation and communication in the ways city-states and territorial forces of the Near East interacted with the New Kingdom Egypt.

The complexity demonstrated the geographic scale of interaction between the entities (Egypt, the Hittite Anatolia, Alasyia (Cyprus), Assyria, Babylonia, Levant, Northern Syria, etc.) as the wealth of written sources (letters, treaties, texts made for internal consumption, etc.) made Late Bronze Age a special case. It was during that period where a rise of cosmopolitanism as technological innovations which had both military and commercial implications put an end to the isolation demonstrated. Near Eastern states structurally homogenous under a dynastic government, autonomous and using the same language (Akkadian) interacted with the other major force of the period, New Kingdom Egypt, in ways which met several phases.

From military clashes to the adoption of pure diplomacy on its modern form through ancient ways³, any account of the political scene of the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age will concern the emergence and decline of several states, the most important of these being New Kingdom Egypt, Mitanni, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon. The balance of power⁴ between them as the role city-states (esp. Syropalestine) which worked as a buffer zone among these forces played was subject of constant change with an ever-changing picture of rapidly changing alliances.

³ Trade, exchange of artisans and specialists, diplomatic correspondence, diplomatic marriages, treaties and oaths etc.

⁴ Classical term for IR theories but quite unknown in ancient contexts despite Polybius’ description of balancing behavior, see Polybius 1922: 226-27; Kemp 1978: 7; Levy and Thompson 2010: 39; Little 1989: 88; Pettinato 1991: 69.

In this chapter, an overview of the relationships maintained between Egypt, Syropalesnine, Mitanni, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon during the New Kingdom from the Egyptian and the Near Eastern side will be attempted. Furthermore, the changes in means of attitude, contacts, and interaction as the mechanisms of imperial rule will be highlighted in order to create a basis for the analysis and comparisons that will be made in the next chapters.

1.1] Egypt during the Late Bronze Age

Egypt, during its first fifteen hundred years of history rarely used mechanisms of imperial rule in order to control the political fermentations and turbulences beyond its northern borders (Murnane 2000: 101-103; Redford 1992:3-98, 148). It was the time span between the sixteenth and eleventh centuries B.C.E. that significant changes according to the way the country was related to its neighboring states introduced (Morris 2018: 101-102; Muller 2011: 236-237; Murnane 2000: 101).

From a power which had as its main ambitions the securing of its frontiers against foreign invasions and the acquisition of desirable products from abroad for reasons of prestige and economy, Egypt adopted a pattern of imperialism which was focused mainly northwards, in the area of Levant (Morris 2018: 117, 121-122, 127-128; Muller 2011:236; Redford 2003; Cline & O'Connor 2009; Kemp 1991:183). That change in attitude had as its *terminus post quem* the expulsion of the Hyksos (Morris 2018: 117; Muller 2011: 236-37; Khurt 1998: 188).

While New Kingdom Period was characterized as Egypt's golden age, it was the preceding Second Intermediate Period (1650-1550 B.C.) wherein the foundations for the creation of the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom were set (Morris 2018: 117; Hoffmeier 1989: 188; Kemp 1978: 21). Before the Egyptians even adopted the idea for the creation of an empire in the Syria-Palestine region, they first had to liberate the northern portion of Egypt and expel intruders of West Semitic origin which ruled the eastern Nile Delta until 1550 B.C. (Morris 2018: 119; Ibid., 2005: 27; Ryholt 1997; Redford 1992: 103-106; Trigger 2005: 154-155; Bietak and Prell 2019). It was under the successive reigns of Seqenenre-Tao II (*circa* 1560 B.C.) and Kamose (1555-1550 B.C.) when the Egyptians ignited a revolt which ended with the reconquest of the Delta. Finally, it was Ahmose (1552-1526 B.C.) who expelled the

Hyksos from Egypt, signaling the start of a new era for the Egyptian state and the development of schemes of conquest directed beyond its northern borders (Weinstein 1981:7; Redford 1979: 274; Morris 2005: 27; Grimal 1992: 182, 193; Khurt 1998: 188).

In succession to the expulsion of the Hyksos, the majority of the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and the early Nineteenth Dynasties ignited a rapid program of conquest which was directed mainly in Syro-Palestine region (Muller 2011: 237). Thus, the history of the New Kingdom was characterized by the military struggle among powers competed one another for the domination over the Levant, a region which was for the standards of age an advanced one (Kemp 1978: 45).⁵ Nevertheless, during several phases of the Eighteenth Dynasty, aspects such as the cost of war, the need for the trade roads to remain open as problems in succession and turbulence in aspects of theology in the interior of Egypt adopted a change in means of interaction (Morris 2018: 144-148; Muller 2011: 241-244; Spalinger 2005: 140).

The aforementioned aspects as the shaping of political alliances and several geopolitical factors of the Late Bronze Age favored the application of a system of diplomacy in order the powers involved gain the maximum profit with the minimum economic and military costs. That system reached its peak during the fourteenth century B.C., inside the so-called Amarna age. It shaped the several policies followed in the aforementioned regions inwards and outwards. War proved itself as a costly mean of exploitation and expansion and diplomacy maintained in the expense of military operations during the course of New Kingdom as we will see in the chapters that will follow.

1.2] Premature manifestation of imperialism and power

The trauma in the Egyptian grand strategy⁶ of the Old and Middle Kingdoms caused by the Hyksos conquest led to the insight that simply protecting the Asiatic border will not be enough in order a foreign occupation never happens again (Morris

⁵ Despite the fact that the informations concerning the political organization of Levant during earlier periods are quite scarce, a closer look on the archaeological data survived from the Middle Bronze Age II period suggested the existence of a system of inherent city-states which were at their peak during Middle Bronze Age II. It was that city-pattern system which, according to Kemp, probably produced the Hyksos Dynasty in Egypt, see Kemp 1978: 45 with references.

⁶ According to Luttwak, the level of analysis which examines the totality of what happens between states in peace and war, see Luttwak 1979: 208.

2018: 119; Muller 2011: 237).⁷ What was proved as a proper solution for the Pharaohs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty was the establishment of a *cordon sanitaire*, an adoption of an active military role in Egypt's northern borders, in order safety being guaranteed with an emphatic way (Muller 2011: 237; Murnane 2010: 101; Morris 2018: 119; *Ibid.*, 38). Apart from such a profound reason, also economic connotations dictated such a change in the Egyptian foreign policies:

- Dominating the Levant provided access to raw materials and more important, control of international routes (Morris 2018: 128; Muller 2011: 237; Panagiotopoulos 2000: 157f).⁸
- Taxation of the aforementioned territories meant provisions for the Egyptian expansion northwards as a solid financial base in order Egypt being able to support further expansion as the administrative apparatus set in the already conquered territories (Morris 2018: 128; Muller 2011: 237; Panagiotopoulos 2000: 157f; Zibelius-Chen 1988: 239; D'Altroy & Earle 1985: 188; Smith 1997:80).

The re-conquest of the Nile Delta by Kamose and Ahmose ignited a premature manifestation of power (Weinstein 1981: 7; Redford 1979: 271; Morris 2018: 119). In order to unset the possibility of a Hyksos counterattack, Ahmose's troops turned their interest northwards and besieged Sharuhem⁹ and Djahy¹⁰, two of the most powerful centers of Hyksos (Morris 2018: 120; *Ibid.*, 2005: 29; Redford 1992: 129; Oren 1997). It was these preliminary campaigns which offered fertile ground towards the development of a foreign policy doctrine having on its core imperialistic ambitions.¹¹

⁷ Reasons of Egyptian ideology towards kingship and lineage as theological implications towards the divinity of the king dictated the preassurane of the safety of Egypt against foreigners, see the collective volume by O'Connor and Silverman (1995) and Kemp's contribution (1978).

⁸ Lands such as Lebanon, the main producer of cedar, Sinai with its turquoise mines, Wadi Hammamat with its greywacke quarries and Punt, the main producer of incense, were of particular interest to the gods due to their ability to produce products for them and their temples, see Kemp 1978: 9. Hence, the conquest of foreign lands where the foreign goods were produced as the re-opening of the trade routes through which the foreign goods traveled to Egypt and supported the local economy of the New Kingdom which was mainly based on the function of the temples were dictated also by the Egyptian theology of the New Kingdom.

⁹ Identified as the modern Tell el-Ajjul, see Steward 1974: 61; Kempinski 1974. Indicative towards the identification of Sharuhem with Tell el-Ajjul was the impressive nature of the Hyksos remains at the site, see Petrie 1932:1; Tufnell 1993: 50.

¹⁰ A vague toponym that encompassed both Canaan and Lebanon, see Gardiner 1947: 145-146; Drower 1973: 425; Sabbahy 1986: 163-164.

¹¹ Such ambitions were justified through the main duties every Pharaoh had such as protecting Egypt over every foreign invasion. In addition, these duties were inherited to the king by the gods in order to "save Egypt by striking the Asiatics (*nḥm Kmt ḥw(i).t ʿ3mw*)", "enlarge the boundaries of Egypt (*r*

The level of influence the premature manifestation of the Egyptian power posed in regions such as Syropalestine and Canaan was often accompanied by several arguments concerning the involvement of Egypt in the widespread destruction levels witnessed on most of the Middle Bronze Age II C sites (Morris 2018: 120). Several sites of the region appeared to have been violently destroyed or abandoned due to a series of events of disastrous nature (Kenyon 1980: 555-556; Dever 1985: 70; Ibid. 1990: 76, 80; Weinstein 1981: 2-5). On a large and growing body of literature¹² it has been argued that during their effort to eliminate the Hyksos threat, the Egyptians decimated numerous towns in Canaan region (Kenyon 1979: 180; Dever 1985: 80; Ibid. 1990: 76; Weinstein 1981: 8-10; Ibid. 1991: 105). On the contrary, drawing from an extensive range of sources, there were scholars who argued that this was not the case.¹³ According to the latter, the destructions witnessed in the region of Canaan were resulted due to:

- Internal conflicts caused by the rising numbers of Hyksos refugees due to their expulsion from Egyptian soil (Bienkowski 1986: 128; Bunimovitz 1990; Hoffmeier 1991: 122).
- Attacks by northern populations (Dever 1990: 77; Na'aman 1994: 175-187).
- Natural disasters and ecological downturns (Bartlett 1982: 94; Filkenstein 1988: 342-343).

Traditionally, the scarcity of known early Eighteenth Dynasty military campaigns into Canaan was the main reason for shifting the emphasis away from the Egyptians. Comparatively to the monuments dated during the middle and late Eighteenth Dynasty though, few monuments on which the early Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs could commemorate their warlike exploits have survived.¹⁴ This can be seen

swwš tš Kmt”, “make Asia subject to his Majesty (*stt mndt nt hm=f*), “establish his border to the crest of the world (*ir.n=f tš=f r wpt-tš*), “stretch his southern boundary to the orn of the earth (*tšsw=f rs r wpt-tš*) and his northern to the marshes of Asia and the pillars of heaven (*mḥti r phww nw stt r šnwt nwt*)”, “make wide the borders (*r swwš tššw*) and “rule what the Sun revolves around (*r hkš šnt n itm*)” as “what Geb and Nut surround (*rft gbb nwt*)” etc. as we will see in detail later in chapter 3.

¹² See especially the series of articles by Hoffmeier (1989), Dever (1990) and Weinstein (1991) in Levant 21, Levant 22 and Levant 23 respectively.

¹³ It has commonly been assumed that the scarcity of known early Dynasty military campaigns, the lack of faith in Egypt’s techniques for siege warfare as the lack of patterning in the distribution of destroyed sites were the main reasons for shifting the emphasis away from the Egyptian role on those destructions, see Hoffmeier 1989: 188-193; Bunimovitz 1995: 332-333; Redford 1979: 273.

¹⁴ The inscriptions attributed inside a time span starting from the reign of Ahmose, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, to that of Hatshepsut, the coregent of Thutmose III, occupy approximately about a third as much space as that allotted solely to the inscriptions of Thutmose III. Indicative towards that direction were the inscriptions placed at Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.

also in the case of the private funerary monuments.¹⁵ Another reason for such a scarcity might be the supplementary role the Pharaohs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty took in such campaigns. Sources such as Amenemhet II's daybook (Altenmuller and Moussa 1991: 1-48) or several of the Amarna Letters (Rainey 2015; Moran 1992) allowed us an insight on the routine nature of military activity and expeditions carried out by able generals inside an unsafe and chaotic hostile environment. Because Pharaohs didn't take center stage in such campaigns, they probably chose not to commemorate them on their monuments. The more glamorous forays into Lebanon and Syria against powerful enemies which at the end came to Pharaoh "carrying tribute (*mntiw hr inw*)" while "bowed their heads (*m w3h-tp*)" etc. worked favorably for the development of royal propaganda, a vital element of the Egyptian royal ideology.

The success of Ahmose's campaigns against the Hyksos strongholds northwards as the aggressive expansionist ambitions created led his successors to conduct military campaigns in the Levant on a large scale (Khurt 1998: 189; Redford 1992: 148-9; Ibid. 1984: 15-16; Spalinger 2005: 46-69). The evidence derived from sources such as the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana (Doc.4), that of Ahmose Pa-Nekhbet (Doc. 5) or the colophon of Papyrus Rhind (Doc. 6) to name a few proved indicative towards the two main goals of the early Eighteenth Dynasty foreign policy:

- The need to eliminate Hyksos and their sympathizers from Egypt and southernmost Canaan in order to secure Egypt's interests in the area.
- The need to eliminate the Mitannian threat and re-open profitable trade routes (Morris 2018: 128, Ibid., 2005: 38, 41; Muller 2011: 237).

The aforementioned goals expressed deliberately through Amenhotep I's and Thutmose I's campaigns northwards. Despite the veil of doubt covered Amenhotep I's warlike exploits in Syria-Palestine, a doorjamb depicted foreign tribute bearers from Tunip¹⁶, Kedem and a locality called *d3iwny*¹⁷, suggested further activity northwards

¹⁵ The number of tombs dated during the reign of Thutmose III outflanked the number of tombs dated inside the time span started from the reign of Ahmose and ended with that of Hatshepsut, see Porter and Moss 1994.

¹⁶ Located on the Orontes river valley, see Redford 1979: 271.

¹⁷ According to Gilula, *d3iwny* can be identified as the biblical Zion, see Gilula 1985: 49.

(Redford 1979: 271; Morris 2005: 30).¹⁸ The campaigns which Ahmose and Amenhotep I undertook in the valley of Orontes and alongside the Phoenician coast prepared the ground for Thutmose I (1504-1492 B.C.). This time it was Mitanni's turn to feel the pressure of Egypt's power.

Mitanni's emergence as one of the major political authorities in northern Syria directed Thutmose I's foreign policy northwards.¹⁹ Indicative of his campaign against them is his *tombos stele* of year 2 (Doc. 7), a royal monument erected in northern Sudan (Naville 1898: pl. 80; Redford 1992: 154; Spalinger 1978: 35ff) on where Pharaoh set "*his southern boundary as far as the frontier of this land, the northern as far as the inverted water which goes downstream in going upstream*" (*t3s=f rsi r hntiw t3 pm mh̄ti r mw p̄fkdw h̄ddi m h̄nty*).²⁰ In addition, in several autobiographies such as these of Ahmose son of Ibana (Doc. 4), Ineni (Doc. 8) as that of Ahmose Pa-Nekhbit (Doc. 5), his invasion against Mitanni was mentioned quite explicitly with "*his Majesty carrying out a large massacre (hm=f hr irt h̄3t ʿ3t) among them (im=sn)*".²¹ It was the successful military campaigns of Thutmose I in Syria which turned Egypt into a major player in the international affairs of the Late Bronze Age and a truly comparable military force (Morris 2018: 123; Bryce 2003: 21; Redford

¹⁸ The reference on the doorjamp of Kedem inside a context which can be perceived as military activity together with its geographical orientation inside the vicinity of modern Lebanon suggested a military activity undertaken by Amenhotep I northwards, see Redford 1979: 271 for discussion and extensive references. Although Bradbury placed the construction of the blocks of the doorjamp during the reign of Thutmose I, it was their context among other monuments of Amenhotep I in the third pylon at Karnak which placed the doorjamp to the reign of the latter, see Redford 1979: 273. For Bradbury's arguments see Bradbury 1984-1985: 19; *ibid* 1985: 78-79; contra Hoffmeier 1989: 185.

¹⁹ The only action that Thutmose I overtook in Canaan region was the appointment of an overseer of the storehouse at the ways of Horus (Urk. IV. 547: 4), a military and trade route that started at the fortress of Djaru in the eastern Delta and finished in the region of Tell el Ajul, see Gardiner 1920; Oren 1987; *ibid*. 1993; *ibid*. 1999.

²⁰ Despite the fact that this consists the only reference inscribed on a royal monument of Thutmose I referred to his campaign against Mitanni, is fraught with debate. While the description of an inverted river which "*goes downstream in going upstream*" matches with that of the Euphrates river, the Euphrates campaign should not have been attempted by Thutmose I so early if the Tombos inscription completed during his 2nd regnal year, see Save-Soderbergh 1941: 147-49; Redford 1979-1980: 68-69. According to other scholars, the inscription was referred to a location placed in Egypt, Nubia or the Red Sea, see Bradbury 1984-1985: 5-7; Bryan 2000b: 245, no 2.

²¹ Literally "His Majesty made great corpses from them". For *h̄3t* as corpse see Faulkner 1962: 200 (𓆎𓅓𓆏/𓆏), Urk. IV. 619, 3. According to Bryan, it was the descendants of the two soldiers who inscribed the texts during the reign of Thutmose III, see Bryan 2000a: 71. However, I do believe that the great wealth of personal and historical details contained in the autobiographies of the two soldiers suggests that these must be composed during their lifetime. The palace guard Senimose (Urk. IV. 1069: 9) and the overseer of the works Benya (PM I: 410; Save-Soderbergh 1960) mentioned in the text were probably captives brought from Thutmose I's victory against Mitanni, see Redford 1979: 276.

1992: 153).²² But although success was brought, the bases for further extension needed to be consolidated. And this was possible through:

- the securing of the trading routes, valuable for transportation of goods, raw materials, manpower, messengers and other valuable stuff important for the sustaining of the Egyptian economy of the New Kingdom.
- The participation of Egypt in the broad diplomatic network established during the Late Bronze Age, an action reached its peak during the Amarna Period.

1.3] Setting the bases for further expansion

Although the campaigns described above allowed Egypt to become a major force, a period of abatement of most of Amenhotep I's and Thutmose I's conquests by their successors obliged the country to retain its power only in the southern part of Palestine (Morris 2005: 30-38; Redford 1992: 155-6).

The restriction of the Mitannian efforts for expansion due to the successful campaigns of Thutmose I in Syria as the complete elimination of the Hyksos threat by Ahmose and his successors directed the Egyptian interests of the early Eighteenth Dynasty towards the re-opening of the profitable trade routes. Keeping the trade routes closed could cause sways in the structure of the Egyptian society of the New Kingdom and deprive temples of one of their most lucrative sources of wealth either in human power or raw materials: the foreign lands and their production (Kemp 1995: 232-260). Such condition could deprive Egypt of major financial resources vital for further expansion as it could cause obstacles in sustaining the already conquered territories (Panagiotopoulos 2000: 141-144; Kemp 1995: 232-260; Morris 2018: 119; *Ibid.*, 2005: 30-38).

²² Most of the scholars tend to interpret Thutmose I's campaign against Mitanni in Syria as a successful razzia rather than an attempt of a serious conquest, see for example Redford 1992: 153-55; Bryan 2000a: 71-84. I do not agree neither with Bryan's explanation regarding Thutmose I's "silence" concerning his Mitanni campaign (Bryan 2000a: 73) nor with Morris which uses the emulation by Thutmose III of his grandfather's achievement as evidence in order to disagree with Bryan and support that *"the venture did not end in humiliation"*, cf. Morris 2005: 32, note 25. If that was the case, then Tutankhamun would have never referred to the loss of the Egyptian possessions during the reign of Akhenaten because of latter's impiety: *"The land was in distress. The gods, they had turned their backs on this land. If expeditions were sent to Palestine to enlarge the boundaries of Egypt, they met with no success"*, see Urk. IV. 2027: 11-44.

From evidence derived from shipwrecks such as the Ulu Burun and Gelidonia, the Mediterranean trade which occurred through the Levant via coastal and land routes dealt with tin, faience, ivory, copper, tin, textiles, timber, etc (Panagiotopoulos 2000: 141-144). Moreover, as sources such as Egyptian texts indicate, slaves, manpower, animals, precious artifacts, crops, oil, glass timber, silver, etc. were traded or brought after successful expeditions, creating this way a pool of income vital for sustaining the Egyptian economy of the New Kingdom (Morris 2018: 119; Panagiotopoulos 2000: 141-144).

Keeping the trade routes closed could create obstacles in the diplomatic procedure shaped among Egypt and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age as several of the Amarna Letters indicated (i.e EA 16): detaining messengers carrying precious gifts, messages towards filial co-ordinations and brides which came to the Egyptian court in order to seal, through the institution of diplomatic marriage, diplomatic agreements could cause sways and deprive Egypt from the opportunity to make alliances in order to enlarge its hegemony in the Near East and consolidate profits with minimum costs in manpower and sources (Jonsson 2000: 202; Westbrook 2000: 34; Zaccagnini 2000: 142) .

The task of reopening the lucrative trade routes burdened the shoulders of the successors of Thutmose I. It was in such a period where the imperialistic ambitions Egypt demonstrated northwards downgraded. A policy oriented to small scale operations, having as their purpose the assurance of the trade routes, adopted. The expeditions that Thutmose II (1492-1479 B.C.) conducted northwards were quite different from the one Thutmose I undertook in Syria. According to Ahmose pa-Nekhbit (Doc. 5) as to king's Aswan inscription (Doc. 10), Thutmose II attacked Shasu, a semi-nomadic people encountered in areas such as Sinai²³, Transjordan²⁴, the central hill country and Syria (Morris 2005: 33; Astour 1979). Thutmose II managed to re-open the caravan roads and eliminated the threat Shasu posed to the safety of

²³ Despite the fact that Seti's battle reliefs from Karnak indicated that his Shasu foes were located in the hills of Kharu, it was the battle scene that suggested that Shasu were also frequented the northern Sinai and the environs of Gaza, see Epigraphic Survey 1986: pl. 6.

²⁴ In the topographic lists of New Kingdom the toponym *ḥꜣšw* ("land of the Shasu") was associated with Transjordan, see Giveon 1971: 235-236. In addition, the reference of P. Anastasi IV, 54-55, on Shasu from Edom suggested Transjordan as the potential base of these pastoral peoples, see Giveon 1971: 235; Ward 1972: 50-56. Contra Astour 1979 who argues that in their majority, the toponyms were placed in the Biqa' valley and central Syria.

caravans, messengers, and travelers (Morris 2005: 33).²⁵ The diplomatic gifts of precious and exotic nature²⁶ the king received from his Near Eastern peers (Naville 1898: pl. 80) as his boast that messengers during his reign traveled safely in the land of the Fenkhu (Doc. 10) were indicative towards his success to secure a safe passage for his messengers and re-open the trade routes.²⁷

This task proved of great significance for the maintenance of the social web of the New Kingdom as towards the maintenance of diplomacy among Egypt and its Near Eastern neighbors during the Late Bronze Age.²⁸ In addition, it was such accomplishments which set the base for what was meant to follow his succession by Thutmose III, the ignition of a rapid program of conquests and permanent occupation directed northwards in the Levant.

1.4] Imperialism and power on their full extent

At the time of the death of his father, Thutmose III (1479-1425 B.C.) was still a juvenile. A smooth transition of kingship from father to son was required in order for Ma'at to continue to exist in Egypt. This transition was guaranteed by his co-regency with Hatshepsut (1473-1458 B.C.).²⁹ She became regent³⁰, crowned herself as

²⁵ Opening the major trade routes and eliminating the threats pastoral groups posed to travellers and messengers seemed as the basic motive for Thutmose II's attack on Shasu. Evidence from the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak suggested that Shasu might offered a victorious army little in the way of booty: the King was depicted offering booty to the God Amun, prior to his first northern campaign which included a battle against Shasu, which was consisted of carved vases and plots with motifs including Bes lids, running cows, ibex heads and marsh plants, see Epigraphic Survey 1986: pl. 2.

²⁶ Such as live elephants from Niy in Syria, see Naville 1898: pl. 80.

²⁷ "His southern boundary reaches to the crest of the world, the northern to the ends. Asia is subject to his Majesty (*stt mndt nt hm=f*), one does not repulse (*n-hsf=f*) his messenger (*n mpwti=f*) throughout the land of Fenkhu (Lebanon) (*ht t3w fnhw*)". The exchange of gifts and messages among Thutmose II and his Near Eastern peers suggested that the wide web of royal trade networks vividly illustrated in the Amarna letters was established already in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. In addition, the exchange of gifts illustrated the recognition of Egypt as one of the major powers of the era.

²⁸ Thutmose II's, Hatshepsut's and Thutmose III's military and trading expeditions extended the Egyptian influence and allowed the flow of foreign goods and people to Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Panagiotopoulos 2006). The iconographic evidence from several Theban tombs (TT 71 tomb of Senenmut, TT 175 tomb of Intef, TT 81 tomb of Ineni, tomb of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III) as well as the annals of Thutmose III recorded that flow. Indicative towards that direction is the reference in the annals of year 40 in which a chief sent his daughter to Egypt accompanied by 30 slaves (Urk. IV: 669, 1-3). Hence, people from different social layers arrived in Egypt. In addition to slaves, merchants, artisans and craftsmen, foreign princesses arrived in order to seal diplomatic agreements between the Pharaoh and the foreign rulers through the practice of diplomatic marriage, see Schulman 1979; Panagiotopoulos 2009.

²⁹ Indicative of their co-regency is an inscription which depicts Hatshepsut and Thutmose III as joint rulers (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 45493), see Murnane 1977: 32-44.

³⁰ Indicative is the inscription of the Vizier Ineni, see Urk. V: 59-60.

king and started her building program³¹ in the Theban area. Furthermore, she sent military (Doc. 12)³² (Redford 1967: 57-62) and trade expeditions (Doc. 11) in Syria-Palestine region (Lipinska 2001a; Ibid., 2001b: 86; Tyldesley 1998; Yoyotte 1993) but on a scale similar with these of Thutmose II.³³ After her death (1458 B.C.), Thutmose III become sole ruler of Egypt³⁴ and at some point during his reign started systematically to erase her name from her monuments (Deir el-Bahri, Karnak) (Arnold 2005: 271). It was time for Egypt to exalt its imperialistic ambition through the guidance of a true warrior king.

After the elimination of the threat the Hyksos posed, the unification of Egypt under the scepter of a powerful ruler and the re-opening of the trade roads, the road for expansion was wide open. It was Thutmose III (1479-1425 B.C.) who undertook the mission to burgeon Egypt. His selection as the future king of Egypt by the image cult of Amun-Re, apart from an effort for legitimacy on behalf of the king, proved a decision which solidified the creation of the Egyptian empire in the Levant. Conquest was in prime position at his political agenda. In addition, the situation shaped in Egypt due to his predecessor's concentration on small scale operations concentrated on the opening of the profitable trade routes created a situation which required drastic measures on behalf of the king.

³¹ Several projects at Medinet Habu, at Deir el Bahri and at the Valley of the Kings, see Arnold 2005; Gadolbe 1987: 76ff.

³² Despite the fact that the evidence for her Syro-palestinian campaigns are quite scarce, several hints such as the statement of the overseer of the royal armory that he followed Hatshepsut in expeditions undertook in *“the southern and northern foreign countries”* (Hieroglyphic Texts 24: 9-10) or the references by Thutmose III in his annals of Gaza and Sharuhem, suggested military activity in Syria-Palestine under Hatshepsut's commands. Such de-emphasis on military activity, although quite unusual for an Egyptian ruler, can be justified, according to several scholars, due to the peculiar status of the regency of Hatshepsut (coregency). Morris argued that *“It is possible that Hatshepsut purposefully downplayed achievements in this sphere since they would have reflected more highly on her coregent than herself”*, after Morris 2005: 34. A serious weakness with this argument, however, is that Hatshepsut managed to solve this problem by adopting androgynous characteristics for her representation as a King. Despite the fact that she started her kingly career as a female co-regent of Thutmose III, depicted as a female sovereign with female dress and anatomy, on every late monument of her reign Hatshepsut appeared under the guise of a male Pharaoh using not a single iconographical hint of her sexual identity. In addition, she used mixed feminine and masculine royal titles, epithets and nouns, see Laboury 2014: 49-91. For Redford (1967: 58), the de-emphasis of Hatshepsut's military activity was caused due to the destruction by Thutmose III of several monuments on which the Queen commemorated her activity on that sphere.

³³ Hatshepsut sponsored several mining activities in Sinai (Urk. IV. 373: 1-2) and commissioned trading ventures to Lebanon (Urk. IV. 373: 3-5; 534: 11; 535:16), Punt (Urk. IV. 372: 14-17) and Tjehenu-Libya (Urk. IV. 373: 6-11).

³⁴ Indicative of his accession is the stele erected in the temple of Montu at Armant, see Mond and Mayers 1940: pl. 103.

On the eve of Hatshepsut's death, Egypt faced a dangerous situation due to its withdrawal from Asia for almost 40 years after Thutmose I's isolated attack into Western Asia (Redford 1992: 155).³⁵ Despite the reduction of Sharuhem, the several conflicts with Mitanni, the razzias into Byblos region, the supposed clashes of Amenhotep I in Asia as Hatshepsut's insecure military involvement to razzias into the Levant to name a few³⁶, these efforts did not entail schemes of conquest. Rather there were nothing more than razzias, having as their only purpose the maintenance of an Egyptian sphere of influence in the Levant, the opening of the profitable trade routes as the continuous supply of Egypt of raw materials such as minerals, cedar, malachite, gold etc. (Redford 2003: 187; *Ibid.*, 1979: 273-274; Hoflmayer 2015; Morris 2018: 141). It was only with Thutmose I where exceptional interest in Asia provided³⁷ and an expeditionary military model being applied, having as its primary goals the conquest of foreign territories, their subversion by oath, the expansion of the Egyptian frontiers northwards as the application of the Egyptian system of taxation into conquered territories (Redford 2003: 188; *Ibid.*, 1992: 153-154).

Thutmose I's sudden death ceased the plans for further conquest of Asian territory and suspended any new dealings with the Asiatics (Redford 2006: 330). Thutmose II's short reign (Gadolbe 1987: 61-75; Von Beckerath 1990: 65-74) as Hatshepsut's insecure reign and inactivity northwards allowed the growth and expansion of independent kingdoms such as Aleppo, Tunip and especially Kadesh. The almost 40 years of military inactivity after Thutmose I's isolated attack on the Levant allowed Mitanni an extended growth. In addition, in central Syria Tunip started to exert influence in the coastal region north of Byblos, Kadesh expanded southwards in north Palestine and the former entered the Mittanian sphere of influence in a state of vassalage (Redford 1992: 155). It was Hatshepsut's death which sparked of the flame for resistance against the Egyptian hegemony and brought a

³⁵ Indicative towards that direction were the rates of campaigning of the early New Kingdom rulers in Levant. In a time span which lasted almost 60 years before the accession of Thutmose III the average of Egyptian campaigning in Levant was one campaign every 4.6 years. In a time span which lasted almost 70 years after the reign of Thutmose III the rate of campaigning were reduced to one campaign in Levant every 10.5 years, see O'Connor 2006: 5.

³⁶ For the evidence towards a military involvement of the Pharaohs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Asia see Morris 2005: 27-56; Redford 1979: 270-287.

³⁷ For an additional source towards Thutmose I's activity in Syria see Malek 1989: 61-76 where a curious inscription of king's scribe Sapair was presented.

coalition of powers gathered at the town of Megiddo³⁸, having the king of Kadesh at the head of the “*coup d’etat*” and a possible Mitannian support (Morris 2018: 143; Ibid., 2005: 115). It was the Megiddo threat which signaled a restless hammering on behalf of Thutmose III of the Asiatics almost annually (Morris 2018: 143)³⁹ and revived a strategy which applied successfully in Nubia in the past, namely the exercise of a permanent control of Levant and Syro-Palestine through the creation of depots and garrison posts in order the milking of resources and manpower of the area become a possibility (Morkot 2000: 55-57; Redford 2003: 195).

The campaign of Megiddo meant to be the most decisive in terms of the political and military resurgence of Egypt in the area of Levant.⁴⁰ The battle was also proved decisive towards several changes in Egypt’s foreign policy northwards (Morris 2018: 134-136; Weinstein 1981: 7, 15; Redford 1990: 33–34; Knapp 1992: 92). Apart from the gradual rise of expeditions northwards after the successful outcome of the battle, it was after the destruction of the coalition of forces gathered in Megiddo were a significant amount of Egyptian fortresses made their appearance in the Egyptian textual record, a tactical choice which revealed significant changes in the way the Egyptians perceived their overgrowing hegemony in Asia during the reign of Thutmose III (Morris 2005: 115).⁴¹

What was meant to follow the battle of Megiddo was a boom in campaigning northwards, carefully planned and accurately executed annually by Thutmose III and his militia (Docs 13-16). In the years followed the battle of Megiddo several strategic goals such as a) the capture of Tunip garrisons and the Arka plain with its food stocks, b) the authorization on behalf of the king of selected towns in the coastal line to act as depots within which the harvest was secured in order to self-finance further campaigns northwards as c) the application of a practice which obliged the chiefs of the states under a status of vassalage to hand over their offspring in order to be

³⁸ The choice of Megiddo as a place of gathering was deliberately chose. The place of Megiddo as the control the town exercised to the rich agricultural land laid eastwards could provide the mustering forces a substantial advantage regarding supplies and logistics, see Redford 2006: 330.

³⁹ In a model which followed the strategies of Senwosret I and III, see Morkot 2000: 55-57; Redford 2003: 195.

⁴⁰ For the annals see Urk. IV, 647: 5- 665: 15. For several other monuments see Urk. IV, 184: 4–186: 7; 757: 14–760: 16; 766: 17–767: 12; 808: 8–809: 7; 1234: 6–1236: 15.

⁴¹ Indicative towards that direction was the fortification of Tjaru no later than the reign of Thutmose III, see Morris 2005: 116; Maksoud 1998: 36.

acculturated with the Egyptian way of life applied (Morris 2018: 131-133, 145-148, 154-160; Redford 2006: 332-333).⁴²

Despite the fact that the textual record regarding the next three campaigns of Thutmose III was not rich in information, this was not the case for the other campaigns which followed almost annually. For the campaigns no 2-4 of Thutmose III the records provide obscure information towards military action. While solidification of power on behalf of the king was attempted in other ways⁴³, little can be revealed towards any military action during the years 24 to 29 (Morris 2005: 121-122; Redford 2003: 210).⁴⁴ What can be said for sure is that the king was back on the warpath during his 29th year (Morris 2005: 122).

In a campaign which took place during the 29th year of his reign, he sacked Ullaza and Ardata, bypassed Canaan and arrived on Lebanon by boat, securing this way the significant ports of the area (Save-Soderbergh 1946: 34-35; Morris 2005: 122). During the following year, Thutmose sailed again northwards, attacked Ardata and Kadesh, and destroyed its crops in order to put in control the “*rebellious ones*” who challenged his power and dominion southwards from Tunip (Docs 13-16) (Morris 2005: 123). Lebanese coast was once more his prime interest during his seventh campaign: rebellions there were ceased and the town of Ullazza and a garrison from Tunip were sacked once more. Furthermore, an Egyptian garrison was installed in order further rebellions in the area being prevented and the loyalty of Ullazza, an important harbor town, being secured as an alternative of Byblos timber (Morris 2015: 124).

With the strategic moves mentioned above, Thutmose III solidified the geopolitical stance of Egypt in the Levant and secured its geopolitical and commercial interests under an emphatic way. By securing the ports and capturing Tunip, the king declared that any food stock of the area was under the authority of the Egyptian

⁴² In terms of policy formation B and C applied after the seventh campaign of Thutmose III.

⁴³ Such as the acceptance of a diplomatic envoy from Assyria (Urk. IV, 668: 6-15) in order to cement a mutual agreement against Mitanni. In addition, a diplomatic marriage among Thutmose III and a princess from Retenu was also recorded during the years 24th to 29th (Urk. IV, 668: 17-670: 14). Despite the fact that the annals didn't state implicitly a marriage, the arrival of a princess in a fashion similar with that recorded in the Amarna Letters (EA 13; 22; 25), having with her a retinue of slaves, personal ornaments etc. was recorded in the annals.

⁴⁴ For a complete discussion around the problems of the second through fourth campaigns of Thutmose III see Redford 2003: 210-216.

administration (Redford 2003: 217). It was that move which provided safety to the Egyptian army in order to march inland and destroy the environs of Ardata, knowing that a suitable amount of food and provisions was at Egyptian hands, something which could make any effort for campaigning northwards a self-funded effort which required no provisions from the major towns of Egypt. Furthermore Kadesh, a hostile locality having the intention to create a hegemony which extended from the upper Orontes to the Esdraelon, acting as a stone in Pharaoh's shoe, needed to take a hard lesson.

Eleytheros Valley and Akkar plain were secured and Kadesh, through subsequent defeats, learned that it was not far away from Pharaoh's grasp. In addition, a permanent military presence was established in the localities scattered around middle Phoenician coast and their ports turned into storage houses where the local production could be stashed (Na'aman 1990: 397-398; Redford 1990: 56-60; *Ibid.*, 2003: 219). With the coastal towns under his authority and the food stocks under the Egyptian administration, it was about time to turn his interest to a more dangerous opponent northwards: Mitanni.

The Eighth campaign of Thutmose III took place during his 36th regnal year (Redford 2006: 220; Morris 2005: 125). Despite the fact that it was one of his best-documented campaigns, no complete record of the battle exists on its own and a synthesis of the events occurred from multiple sources is the norm (Redford 2003: 220; Morris 2005: 125).⁴⁵ What remained as the outcome of the campaign was the submission of several localities in the Mitannian territory, an Egyptian march northwards with no precedent and the quitting on behalf of the Mitannian king and his nobility of the field of battle, an exaggeration having no solid ground and serving only purposes of propaganda as Redford demonstrated (Redford 2003: 229-232). In addition, Thutmose III annals recorded diplomatic contacts with Hittites and Babylonians.

While the Mitannian threat was reduced, challenges in Egypt's northern borders were the norm: during his Ninth campaign Thutmose III captured three towns,

⁴⁵ Such as the Constantinople obelisk (Urk. IV, 587: 1-3, 13-15), the Armant stele (Urk. IV, 1245: 18-1246: 2), the "poetical" stele (Urk. IV, 613: 9-12), the University of Pennsylvania stele (Spalinger 1978: 35-41), the inscription of Minmose (Urk. IV, 1448: 13), the statue of Yamu-Nedjeh (Urk. IV, 1370: 8-11), the tomb of Menkheperresonb (Urk. IV, 931: 1-3), the tomb of Montu-iwy (Urk. IV, 1467: 9-15) as the royal stele found at Khirbet el'Oreimeh (Albright and Rowe 1928: 281-287).

the next year fought once more against Mitanni, three years later he destroyed a revolt in Nukhasse and during his fourteenth campaign were the Shasu Bedouins who felt the might of his sword (Morris 2005: 126). In his last campaign though Thutmose III first fought Tunip, headed southwards and captured towns in the vicinity of Kadesh.

Through aggressive imperialism directed northwards, the aged king created a true empire and his successors had the difficult task to maintain territories and enlarge the boundaries of Egypt. But his successors apart from the brute force used other means in order to achieve their goals: diplomacy. The ever-changing situation in the political scenery of the southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age favored the development of a system of diplomacy in the territory and Egypt had only to gain by participating in it.

1.5] Restructuring the Egyptian attitude towards conquest

Co-regency started during the 51st year of Thutmose III's reign paved the way for a smooth transition in succession to the Egyptian throne for Amenhotep II (Bryan 2000b: 241). Despite the fact that the military achievements of his predecessor shadowed his reign, Amenhotep II (1427-1400 B.C.) had himself military successes in the Levant. In addition, he proved himself quite capable of maintaining the might of Egypt and created diplomatic alliances sealed with the well-known method of diplomatic marriage. It was during his reign when Egypt was for the first time in peace with Mitanni.

Although the king did not follow his father's annual campaigning in the Levant, he was quite active in Syria-Palestine during his third, seventh and ninth years of his reign (Morris 2005: 126; Der Manuelian 1987: 45).⁴⁶ According to Amada and Elephantine stelae (Docs 17-18), since the last campaign Thutmose III took at Takhasy unease and rebellion broke out in the area. Despite the fact that the aforementioned stelae provided mere glimpses of what actually happened during the third year of his reign, it seems that Amenhotep II took immediate action northwards in order *“to broaden once more the boundaries of Egypt”*.

⁴⁶ Contra Bryan 2000a: 76 where she supports that the campaigns were two in number, probably due to the insufficient documentation of the campaign took place during the third year of Amenhotep II's reign against Takhasy. For a complete discussion see Der Manuelian 1987: 50-52 with references.

It was during his third regnal year where a military campaign⁴⁷ took place in Takhasy (Der Manuelian 1987: 54; Morris 2005: 127; Bryan 2000b: 245). After some years of resting, Amenhotep II was on the warpath again in order “to widen the boundaries of Egypt” (*r swsh t3šw*) and “give things to those who were loyal” (*iht n nti*).⁴⁸ It was that campaign which was considered as a major undertaking of the king against the Asiatics.

In stelae such as these of Karnak, Coptos, and Memphis the campaign the king took during his seventh year at Shamash Edom and the Biqa Valley was recorded (Docs 18-20). The same stelae recorded the events occurred during the ninth year of Amenhotep II’s reign. In his return northwards Amenhotep II raid Aphek and moved to Yehem. The villages of Mepesen and Khettjen plundered, as the towns of Iteren, Anaharath, and Migdol-yenet. In addition, the rebellious ruler of Geba-Shemen was replaced by one who was loyal to the Egyptian interests held in Syro-Palestine and the region south of Galilee in an action which demonstrated the standard Egyptian military policy followed in Syro-Palestine region after a victory over rebellious foreigners (Morris 2005: 129; Der Manuellian 1987: 52).

Despite the debate held among several scholars on the significance of Amenhotep II’s campaigns in the Levant as towards the numbers of prisoners recorded on stelae such as that of Amada, Memphis, and Elephantine⁴⁹, king’s prowess earned the respect of Egypt’s major rivals in Syria, including Mitanni.⁵⁰ That turn in relationships between the two rival powers was reflected also in monumental texts created during the reign of Amenhotep II. In such texts, terms such as “*that foe of Nahirin*” frequently used in texts made for internal consumption, disappeared (Bryan 2000a: 76). Contrariwise, the archaic Egyptian term *sttyw*, “Asiatics”,

⁴⁷ The evidence provided by the Amada and Elephantine stelae are so sketch that the campaign was perceived by scholars as a) a full scale military campaign, b) a razzia or a punitive raid occurred in a localized area under the command of Thutmose III or a complete fiction designed purely for reasons of glorification of Amenhotep II, see Der Manuelian 1987: 55 with references.

⁴⁸ A phrase employed also in Thutmose III’s Armant stele with reference to Syro-Palestine campaigns, see Urk. IV, 1246: 6-8.

⁴⁹ For scholars such as Spalinger (1983: 100) the king simply exaggerated the totals due to confusion while for others such as Schulman (1982: 306, no 65) the reason for such claims was a completely propagandistic one.

⁵⁰ Diplomatic embassies from Mitanni, Hatti and Babylon reached Egypt after the campaigns took place in year 9 of Amenhotep II’s reign, see Urk. IV, 1309: 13-20; 1326: 1-13. The placement of the arrival of such embassies after year 9 was for Spalinger (1983: 94) an effort to bolster an unimpressive venture. Contra Morris 2005: 132, no. 70.

appeared, reflecting this way a change in attitude and the transformation of Mitanni from archetypal archenemy to a compliant source of prestigious luxury goods. In texts such as the Memphis stela of Amenhotep II (Doc. 19) the chiefs of Nahrin and Sangar arrived in Egypt before the king with gifts in exchange of *t3w n ʿnh*, “*the breath of life*”, a language which reflected a peace accord between the two rivals (Bryan 2000a: 77-78).

It was such the importance of Amenhotep II’s new alliance where it was exposed between pylons IV and V at Karnak temple at Thebes, the place where Thutmose III received the divine oracle which proclaimed his future kingship. The peace accord among the two rivals, one that lasted until the reign of Thutmose IV, was finally sealed through a diplomatic marriage between Amenhotep II and the daughter of the king of Mitanni (EA 19: 16-18). Apart from the Amarna Letters also inscriptions made for internal consumption evident the presence of a Mitannian envoy in Egypt. In such a propitious turning point for the Dynasty, Thutmose IV (1400-1390 B.C.) succeeded his father in the throne of Egypt.

1.6] Diplomacy and “*abandonment*” of patterns of expansion

What the eighth king of the Eighteenth Dynasty inherited from his father was political and economic dominance over Nubia and SyroPalestine. In order to maintain the Egyptian holdings and guarantee the continuous flow of precious offerings that came from abroad, Thutmose IV had to conduct brief military ventures in order to consolidate Egypt’s dominion in the Levant. In addition, he continued to be in a peace accord with Mitanni (Bryan 2000a: 79).

The succession of Thutmose IV required a renewal of Amenhotep II’s treaty with Mitanni and that was settled with a diplomatic marriage between the king and Artatama’s daughter, a marriage which sealed a treaty of brotherhood (EA 29: 16-20). Apart from Mitanni, the king expanded Egypt’s international network and good relationships with other Near Eastern peers maintained. Babylon responded in a positive manner (EA 1: 62-63) and a dynastic marriage sealed among the two powers (EA 11: 5-8), Hatti was in a peace accord with Egypt during Thutmose IV’s reign and findings such as an alabaster vessel discovered in Assur (Giveon 1969: 58; Bryan 1991: 48) suggested friendly relations between the two powers (Morris 2005: 133).

From what is known from several letters from Amarna, an installation of a vassal king in Nuhasse took place during his reign (EA 51: 4-9) while a status of vassalage sealed with the city of Tunip (EA 59: 6-12). While no solid records survive from Thutmose IV's campaigns, bits and pieces of information suggested that the king was quite active in the Levant. From a small stele found at his mortuary temple at Thebes, a capture of the town of Gezer became known while booty derived from Kush was recorded in the same stele. Thutmose IV created all the opportunities for Egypt and his successor, Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) inherited a powerful empire diplomatically reassured.

Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) was the offspring of Thutmose IV and Mutemwiya (Bryan 2001: 72; David 2003: 11). During his reign, Egypt was a prosperous place with a strong economy, secure borders and a great reputation among its neighbor states (David 2003: 11; Rice 1999: 15). The ninth ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty inherited a great empire with borders stretched from northern Syria to the fifth cataract in Sudan (Berman 2001:1). This was the main reason for the king's limited military activity northwards (Bryan 2001: 72; David 2003: 11).

Apart from a wealthy and strong empire, Amenhotep III inherited also several changes which occurred during his father's reign and reflected vigorously in the reign of the new Pharaoh: the Egyptian imperialism, expressed on its full extent through the military campaigns Pharaohs such as Thutmose I, Thutmose III and Amenhotep II conducted in Western Asia, gave it's place to more peaceful means of contact in order Egypt being able to communicate with its Near Eastern peers under a diplomatic way. Such a turn allowed the transformation of the Egyptian economy from a wartime one to a peacetime one and created changes in the image of the king noticed already from the reign of Thutmose IV. Despite the fact that the king was still maintained his icon as a mighty warrior, special emphasis to his identification with the Sun god was given and solar epithets predominated.⁵¹ Such a turn became one of the principal aspects of Amenhotep III's reign (Berman 2001: 3).

The first act of Amenhotep III as king was the opening of new limestone quarries at Tura and at Deir el-Bersha (Berman 2001: 10). The opening of the mines

⁵¹ Indicative towards that direction was one of Amenhotep's favorite epithets, that of "Nebmaatira", the dazzling sun, placed on the back of several king's statues at Luxor and in his titular recorded at Luxor temple.

during the first two years of his reign meant to provide him with raw materials in order the great building projects he had in mind became a possibility. What was followed was extended diplomatic contacts and a trade network which was expanded from Syria-Palestine to the coasts of the southeastern Aegean. In such an attempt, minor campaigns do occur in order to control over Nubia and Syro-Palestine being reassured.

During his fifth regnal year, the king followed the warpath in the only dated military campaign inside his reign: the stifle of a rebellion took place in Sudan (Redford 1984: 38). The victory in Nubia was commemorated in a rock carved stela placed in Aswan (Berman 2001: 10; O'Connor 1987: 99-136, 128-130). Apart from the military activity in Sudan, king's martial prowess acquired great significance in several commemorative scarabs found from Syria to Sudan (Blackenberg-Van Delden 1969; Jones 1979: 165-166). In several of them (Kozlof and Bryan 1992: no1; Blackenberg-Van Delden 1969: 57-61; Ben-Tor 1989: 57) a wild bull hunt that took place in year 2 was commemorated, revealing that way the sporting-king tradition exemplified by Amenhotep II (Hayes 1973: 333-338). In others, the diplomatic marriages of the king recorded, revealing this way that he was a master diplomat reigned in an era which was characterized by significant stability (Blackenberg Van Delden 1969: 57-61).

The work his predecessors undertook in Syria-Palestine created a west Asiatic empire stretched in all of Palestine, up to the area of Ugarit and inland Syria as far as Qatna (Weinstein 2001: 223). Hence, a *Pax Aegyptiaca* had imposed on Canaan and Amenhotep III had no need to go in Canaan regularly but only when Egyptian presence in the area was needed in order to reaffirm control (Redford 1992: 169).⁵² Despite the fact that the first two decades of his reign were not illuminated by the archives found in Amarna and Boghazkoy, several allusions on minor campaigns the king took in Egypt's western frontiers can be made.

In several inscriptions (Urk. IV 1736: 18-13; Ibid., 1696:11; Ibid., 1649:9) stock phrases of symbolic nature employed without referring to a specific campaign, giving the king an icon of an everlasting warrior. Supplementary to that was his

⁵² Amenhotep III's topographical lists from Soleb and Kom el-Hetan although rich in toponyms of Asiatic origin must be seen as reference towards Egypt's wider international relations during the Fourteenth century BC, see the article written by Weinstein (2001).

topographic lists contained names which were never witnessed before. Toponyms clustered primarily in the Aegean, Transjordan, and areas such as the coastal cities of Byblos, Tyre and Ugarit revealed an extended network of contacts mostly peaceful in nature and extended stability for the Egyptian empire. That stability and prosperity for Egypt have reflected also in the archive of Amarna Letters, covering three decades of Egyptian diplomatic history. In the Amarna Letters archive several diplomatic marriages with princesses from Mitanni and Babylon were recorded (Schulman 1979; Zaccagnini 1985). Apart from marriages and peace accords, Amarna Letters also contained messages sent by Levantine vassals to Amenhotep III, revealing a world separated in three large administrative districts: Upi, Canaan, and Amurru (Helck 1971).

Despite the fact that a chaotic situation filled with quarrels, complains and accusations, corruption and bureaucratic indifference presented among vassals such as Amurru and these located in the hill country of Canaan, these were difficulties which were bypassed by the extensive international commerce of the period (Wensten 2001: 228). It was during the first half of the fourteenth century where Egypt, instead of sole imperialistic goals, adopted ideas of exploitation of the region having the minimum costs militarily. That world Akhenaten shocked by his theological revolution. Amenhotep III's death left Egypt in a quite propitious condition. Unfortunately, that prosperity was interrupted by a theological change which disrupted the foundations of Egypt's traditional theological beliefs (Cyril 1988; Grimal 2005: 228; Murnane 1994: 1; Reeves 2001). Apart from changes in religion, the glory Egypt achieved with the military successes of Pharaohs such as Ahmose, Thutmose I and III was meant to vanish under the rule of a king which was characterized as a pacifier and monotheist, Akhenaten.

The enthronement of Akhenaten (1352-1336 B.C.) coincided with turbulence and upheaval in the wider region of Levant: the demise of Mitanni during the Late Eighteenth Dynasty brought upheaval in Syria and created opportunities for the other rival forces of the area such as the Hittites to expand. The hostilities among Mitanni and Hatti escalated into a full-scale war which made Syria the center of attention

(Morris 2005: 236).⁵³ What remained after Suppiluliuma's attack on Mitanni and the conversion of their vassals into Hittite ones was a small kingdom which served more or less as a buffer zone between the Egyptians and the Hittites. Such transformation though had a huge impact on Egypt's conquests in the Levant. Suppiluliuma's "*Great Syrian Campaign*" directed against Kadesh and Kumidi, creating a major impact in the Egyptian empire due to the significance the two localities had for the preservation of the Egyptian *status quo* in the territory. The significance of Kadesh was well known already in the reign of Thutmose I. Furthermore, Kumidi's location was ideal in order to monitor the important military and trade routes running along the Bija valley and between Sidon and Damascus (Goetze 1980: 2; Morris 2005: 238). Apart from Kumidi, Sumur the other Egyptian base was not survived during Akhenaten's rule. While the base was at the Egyptian hands during the end of Amenhotep III's reign, Aziru of Amurru caused a set of serious trouble in Egypt and acted in favor of Hittite interests.

After a prodigious military success, Aziru besieged Sumur and conquered the city, an action which was met with tolerance by Akhenaten (Morris 2005: 243). Further actions of Aziru though caused his summoning to Egypt for an apparently alarming period of time while upon his release he conducted a formal treaty with Suppiluliuma. Such action caused an Egyptian reaction which was directed against Kadesh and Amuru. A number of letters from the corpus of Amarna reveal the summoning of several Egyptian vassals to prepare before the arrival of the Egyptian troops⁵⁴, an action suggesting the planning of a military operation before Akhenaten's death (Morris 2005: 244). And while the capture of Aziru highlighted some sort of Egyptian success against Amuru, this cannot be said for Kadesh as for other Syrian localities which were lost under the reign of Akhenaten.

By providing his vassals with no protection and lesser troops, what can be said about Akhenaten's military achievements is that he probably was responsible for the diminishment of Thutmose III's empire (Kitchen 1982: 16; De Vaux 1978: 99; Morris 2005: 259). The single-minded pursuit of his religious revolution led to the loss of territories such as Amuru, Kadesh, Kumidi, Ugarit as other Syrian localities (Redford

⁵³ Indicative are several Amarna Letters such as the EA 55, 59, 126, 157, 164-167, presumed to have been written at the course of such war.

⁵⁴ EA 324-25, 141-142, 201, 203-206, 227, 367, 191 etc.

1987: 168). For others, such military abandonment was a tactical move against the rising strength of the Hittites, a strength which was demonstrated on a Syrian theater (Halpern 1983: 66-68; Gonen 1992: 52) and reflected an economically sound policy of minimum investment northwards (Wenstein 1981: 16, Ibid., 1998: 229). No matter which road would be followed, Akhenaten's reign left wounds in Egypt's prestige and power and his successor, Tutankhamun, tried to restore its former glory unsuccessfully due to his short-lived reign.

Despite the short reign of the boy king, evidence towards military activities northwards existed mainly from the Hittite side. The historical preamble of various treaties as documents such as KUB XIX, 9; KBO V, 6; KUB XIX 8 recorded an extended series of campaigns under the label "*the Sixth year Hurrian war*" (Kitchen 1962: 3-5, 47-49; Kraus 1978: 54-58; Morris 2005: 263). Under such events, Assyrian-backed Mitanni forces invaded Hatti's Syrian empire while Egypt targeted Kadesh in fortuitously timed attacks against Hatti with no success.

Kadesh was defended successfully against the Egyptians and Assyrians were repelled. In order to revenge the Egyptian attack on Kadesh Suppiluliuma ordered an attack on the Egyptian territory of Amki. It was under that attack when Tutankhamun died suddenly and Egypt left with no heir to succeed him. Ankhesenamun, Tutankhamun's widow tried with no success to arrange a diplomatic marriage between her and Zanzana, the Hittite son of Suppiluliuma who probably was assassinated on the road to Egypt (Kontopoulos 2015). The hostility among Egyptians and Hittites was on its crest and a solution needed to be found. The marriage of Ankhesenamun with Ay was that solution.

While some sort of stability gained inwards, the situation outwards did not change dramatically. Responsible (Schulman 1965: 61) or not (Bryce 1990: 104-105) for the murder of Zanzana, Ay did not pursue further hostilities with the Hittites. The only evidence which implied some sort of hostility against them is a donation stele found at Giza (Urk. IV, 1209: 16) on which the king bestowed profits from "*the field of the Hittites*" (Morris 2005: 266). The same was for his successor Horemheb. Despite the title of the general Horemheb held, surprisingly little evidence towards foreign campaigns during the course of his reign survived (Spalinger 1979e: 85): in Mursili II's seventh year an Egyptian attempt of regaining Kadesh recorded

(Spalinger 1979b: 40; Beckman 1999: 55; Bryce 1999: 218-219) with no success, an attempt underlined the reassertion of the Egyptian influence over northern Syria (Spalinger 1979e: 56; Bryce 1999: 221-223). It was the ascension of the Ramesside dynasty through which gave Egypt its former glory.

1.7] The revival of power

Horemheb, the “*great general*”⁵⁵ left no heir to succeed him. Upon his death, another military man, Ramesses I (1295-1294 B.C.) ascended to the throne of Egypt with very little being known towards his military activities northwards due to the short period of his reign (Morris 2005: 343). The only information known for his military activities derived from the early career of his son Seti I as troop commander and crown prince of the *hṫm*-fortress of Tjaru (KRI II, 187: 11; 288: 7; Spalinger 1979c: 227-240), undertaking at least one campaign northwards against Fenkhu⁵⁶ on behalf of his father (KRI I, 111: 10-11, 13).

Despite the fact that full details towards Seti’s military activity in Syro-palestine under his father’s rule were not fully detailed, it seems that the crown prince met some sort of success (Morris 2005: 344). But any glory prior to his succession on the Egyptian throne cannot be compared with what followed next. With the ascension of Seti (1294-1279 B.C.), the crown of Egypt passed in a direct line of succession from father to son once again. The opportunity of founding a new era of a “*repeating creation*” after the upheaval the Amarna revolution caused was in front of the new heir and the king left no chances unaccomplished.

Seti’s ascendance to the Egyptian throne as a sole ruler ignited campaigns against the Shashu Bedouins, Yenoam, Kadesh and the other Lebanese chiefs as against Libyan and Hittite forces according to a set of reliefs engraved upon the northern exterior wall at the hypostyle hall at Karnak (Doc. 28) (Epigraphis Survey 1986 Plts. 2, 9, 23, 27, 33; Murnane 1990). His initial goal was the pacification of Palestine but the expansion of warfare as far as Lebanon prepared the ground for a forthcoming clash with the Hittites (Hornung 1999b: 109; Spalinger 1979b: 30-31). Amurru remained a Hittite vassal since the close of the Amarna period and several

⁵⁵ *Imy-r mšꜥ*, the highest military title in the Egyptian army, see Schulman 1964a:44.

⁵⁶ Designating the Lebanese coastal area, see Spalinger 1979c: 230; *ibid.*, 1979d: 276.

important coastal cities remained under the Hittite sphere of influence. Regaining the loyalty of such coastal towns was of great importance for Egypt.

Seti's warm welcome after his first campaign demonstrated some sort of success (Morris 2005: 344; Spalinger 1979c: 230; KRI I, 38: 8-9). Dated during his "year 1", the relief depicting two skirmishes against rebellious Bedouins along the way of Horus was the sole one which unambiguously assigned to his first campaign (Morris 2005: 345). The register above it was for many scholars assigned to Seti's "year 1" too (Gaballa 1976: 103-104; Murnane 1990: 47-49; Morris 2005: 348).⁵⁷ Seti was depicted triumphing over Yenoam (KRI I, 13:4) and another fortified town whose name is missing from the record while eight Lebanese rulers were being submitted (KRI I, 13: 8-9).

According to the first Beth Shan stela (Doc. 30) the leader of Hamath and the people of Pella captured Beth Shan and besieged Rehob (Morris 2005: 350). The position of Beth Shan at the intersection of two trade routes made the city very important for the consolidation of the Egyptian empire in the territory so such news caused Seti's reaction. Seti attacked Hamath, recaptured Beth Shan and defeated Yenoam and the victories achieved within the space of a single day. A second stela erected at Beth Shan, the second Beth Shan stela (KRI I, 16: 2-17) recorded also a victory around Galilee. According to the top register on the right of the temple doorway at Karnak, Kadesh was assaulted also by Seti in an effort to depose the Hittite friendly local government (Morris 2005: 355) but the time which effort occurred is quite uncertain.⁵⁸ It was Ramesses II which was chosen to continue his father's work towards the consolidation of the Egyptian power once again in the area.

Ramesses proved capable of maintaining the stability that first Horemheb and later Sety I introduced to Egypt after the disorderly periods of Akhenaten's reign and the one following Tutankhamun's death. He managed to keep the necessary balance in sectors such as the economy and foreign relations in a way which proved beneficial for the state (Rice 1999: 165).

⁵⁷ Another reason for placing that register under Seti's Year 1 campaigns was the dating of the defeat of Yenoam and other nearby towns by the Beth Shan stela on such year (KRI I, 11: 11-12, 14).

⁵⁸ For scholars such as El Saady the campaign against Kadesh was placed under the 1st year of the king, see El Saady 1992: 286-287, 294.

The expansion and conquest policy adopted by the early Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs created an ideological tradition which was followed by Ramesses II (Trigger 2005: 205-6). Ramesses decided to leave his mark as a warrior Pharaoh himself and started his campaigns in the Levant in year 4 of his reign (Kitchen 1982: 51). After several successful campaigns, Ramesses turned his interest to his real target; Kadesh. The battle of Kadesh was for Ramesses his biggest landmark as a warrior Pharaoh. The king considered this battle as the military high point of his reign and recorded it in the temples of Amon-Re at Karnak, at Luxor, at Abu Simbel and at his mortuary temple, the Ramesseum (Grimal 2005: 253). Despite the propagandistic use of art by Ramesses II, the battle of Kadesh can be considered a strategic defeat for the Egyptians: the restriction of the Hittite expansionism after Kadesh ensured that the interests Egypt had in the Levant were protected (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 158; Shaw and Nicholson 2003: 241).

The impact of the battle of Kadesh was enormous. Egypt and Hatti were weakened and the retreat of the Egyptian army was taken as a sign of weakness by the vassal states of Canaan. The vassals across Jordan (Moab, Edom) started to refuse to pay tribute to the Pharaoh (Kitchen 1982: 67). Ramesses, during the seventh year of his reign, invaded northwards against Moab and Edom and in year 8 and 10 he marched against vassals located in central Syria (Kitchen 2001: 117). The situation was not very different in Hatti. Weakened by the battle of Kadesh, Hittites had problems in their interior. A conflict of Mursil III (1272-67 BC) with Hattusilis III caused his exile and the enthronement of Hattusilis III (1267-37 BC) (Kitchen 1982: 73; Van der Mieroop 1997: 160). After his exile Mursil III searched for an ally in Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt. It was his contacts with Egypt that created tension between Egypt and Hatti.

Despite the tension, Hattusilis III was not prepared for a direct conflict with Egypt. During his reign, problems with the Assyrians emerged. The acknowledgment of the overlordship of Assyria by Shattuara II, the new king of Hanigabalt, created a hostile situation in two fronts for the Hittites, something which Hattusilis was unable to deal with (Kitchen 1982: 74; Van der Mieroop 1997: 160). Hattusilis III decided to seal a peace treaty with Egypt in year 21 of Ramesses II (1259 BC). The Egyptian-Hittite treaty was proved stable in the years that followed. During year 34 of Ramesses II the good relationships between the two states were sealed by a

diplomatic marriage between Ramesses II and the daughter of king Hattusilis III, Maathorneferure (Dodson & Hilton 2004: 158).

1.8] The Near Eastern world of the Late Bronze Age

The Late Bronze Age Near Eastern world introduced itself through three significant corpora: the letters from Amarna (Rainey 2015; Moran 1992; Mynarova 2007), the archives of Ugarit and the Hittite archives of Bogazkhoy (Bordreuil & Pardee 1989; Beckman 2003:754, *Ibid.*, 1999; Lafont 2001: 40-41). In such sources, a world tightly knit extended from Cyprus and the Aegean all the way down to Mesopotamia.

That Late Bronze Age Near East differed completely from the previous era which scholars called “*dark age*”. In such an environment states were linked together through ideological, administrative, theological and linguistic bonds (Van De Mierop 2010: 230-31). They were interacted each other as with their international peers inside a cosmopolitan environment which was characterized as the “*beginnings of international relations*” (Liveranni 2001: 2). In such an environment states such as Mitanni, Hatti, Babylonia, Assyria as several city-states located along the Syropalestine region flourished.

The centuries between ca. 15th and 12th B.C.E. provided us with a significant insight towards the birth of several territorial powers. Mitanni, located in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, extended a growth which created clashes with the other power of the region, the Hittites, as with Egypt. Their expansion southwards in regions which were of Egyptian interests as westward in order to gain supremacy over the states and petty kingdoms of Syria brought tension among Mitanni, Egypt and the Hittites and upheaval towards power balancing in the area (Bryce 2009: 477-78).

Hittites on their turn gained great importance as one of the major forces of the territory during the Late Bronze Age. While their history is quite obscure during the early second millennium B.C., sources such as the Amarna Letters revealed that Hatti played a significant role towards the shaping of the international system of diplomacy maintained in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Babylonia held a similar role also.

The oldest state of the Near East and the inheritor of a Sumero-Amorite culture played a significant role in the shaping of alliances during the Late Bronze Age. The close diplomatic relations with Egypt gave Babylonia a distinct position in the letters of Amarna while it was not the central actor in the Near Eastern high politics due to its distance from Egypt and Levant (Giles 1997: 8; Liverani 2001: 360; Van De Mieroop 2010:30).

Assyria on its turn provided a vague picture towards how it evolved to great power during the Middle Assyrian phase (1365-1076 B.C.). Its relationships with Egypt, its freedom from Mitanni and the clashes with the Hittites gave to Assyria the role of a regulator, adequately presented to several of the Amarna Letters. The same role disintegrated though on a great extent had the numerous city-states placed in the Syro-Palestine area.

These states were not independent ones but they had the status of a vassal in their relationship with the powers mentioned above and Egypt with the notable exceptions of Alasiya and Arzawa (Liverani 2001: 39). These vassal states were amazing reactors to systemic changes and played their role in the changes measured during the Late Bronze Age. They were used as buffer states between the great territorial powers maintained in the Near East as in Egypt. Such a development though needed time to be conducted.

1.9] The development of territorial states

The creation, during the Late Bronze Age, of a system of international relations maintained among large territorial states under terms of reciprocity and equality underlined a significant change at the major policies (political centralization) city-states of the Near Eastern territory adapted for hundreds of years (Bryce 2003:2; Cohen and Westbrook 2000: 1-12; Liverani 2005: 23-27; Van de Mieroop 2005: 121-126, 128-132).

Although developed city-states already existed from the late third to the early second millennium B.C. (Lafont 2001: 39-41)⁵⁹, they had proved short-lived due to the lack of insight by their rulers. Their lack of understanding around matters such as

⁵⁹ Such as Babylon, Isin, Larsa, Elam, Mari etc. For the political centralization in the Late Third Millennium see Liverani 1993; Steinkeller 1987: 19-41; Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999. For the Early Second Millennium see Adams 1974: 1-20; Liverani 1995: 44-48; Van de Mieroop 1992.

the complexities and the sheer logistics a state won by force presented as their desire for application of brutal force as a mark of domination led to the failure of the creation of a system characterized by peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and agreed apportionment of subject territories. On the contrary, numerous states having military men as their leaders turned against one another⁶⁰ and carved a system consisted of powerful rulers and their vassals (Cooper 1983; Steinkeller 1987: 19-41; Van de Mieroop 2005: 80-81). It was during the nineteenth century B.C. when Amorites⁶¹, a semi-nomadic pastoralist group⁶², changed the balances and implanted the idea of the establishment of domination over larger territories.

The role of the Amorites

The growth and the further urbanization of areas experienced a drop on their permanent inhabitation during the late third millennium B.C⁶³ didn't monopolize the interest in the Near East. Semi-nomadic pastoral groups whose livelihood connected with flocks proved as a very important factor for the political and social life of the area (Buccellati 1997; Van De Mieroop 2005: 82). Through the interaction between these pastoral groups and the sedentary people of the urban centers whose source of revenue was tied up to the agriculture and craftsmanship, a beneficial relationship for both was established (Anbar 1991).⁶⁴ That relationship was not free of bonds though.⁶⁵

The maintenance of the exchange between agricultural and crafts goods with animal products such as wool, hair, skins, bones, etc. dictated some kind of control of

⁶⁰ "No king is truly powerful on his own. Ten to fifteen kings follow Hammurabi of Babylon, Rim-Sin of Larsa, Ibal-pi-El of Eshnunna or Amut-pi-El of Qatna; but twenty kings follow Yarim-Lim of Yamkhad.", Translation after Sasson 1995: 906, Vol. II.

⁶¹ A designation which probably coincided with the term the Akkadians used for the west (Amurru). The term was attributed to Amorites probably around the late third and early second millennium B.C, for details see Buccellati 1997:1; Van De Mieroop 2005: 82; Liverani 1995: 44-48; Haldar 1971.

⁶² For a different opinion see Buccellati 1992; Luke 1965, where the Amorites presented as peasants in the process of nomadization, originated in the valley of the Euphrates. For the nomads and sedentary people of the Near East see Buccellati 1992: 83-104; McAdams 1974: 1-20; Liverani 1995: 44-48.

⁶³ Such as northern Syria, for details see Buccellati 1997: 108; Liverani 1995: 44-48; McAdams 1974: 1-20.

⁶⁴ For details around the nature of the interaction between the Amorites and the urban centers see Anbar 1991; Kupper 1957.

⁶⁵ For the symbiosis of the Amorites and the inhabitants of the urban centers due to economic factors see Rowton 1987.

the cities and states over the pastoralists (Rowton 1987).⁶⁶ In addition, the topography of Middle Euphrates, an area placed well within the arid zone, dictated the use of the irrigation in order agriculture being possible. As a result, localities such as Mari, in order to assure the control of the limited irrigable area, expanded in a vast territory which contained the steppes, the pastoralist villages nearby and most notably the network of wells provided water for their animals (Buccellati 1997: 108; Buccellati 1990: 87-117; Van De Mieroop 2005: 82). Hence, the high degree of authority pastoralists acquired due to the safe distance of the steppes from the centers of the central government started to vanish (Van De Mieroop 2005: 82).

Depending on how close the pastoralist's villages were to the centers of political power, pastoralists were subjected more or less to political control, taxation, military, and labor levies. In the interactions with Mari, the pastoralists subjected to a census and were obliged to provide military service and corvee (Anbar 1991; Matthews 1978; Van De Mieroop 2005: 83). In addition, their chiefs were responsible for the maintenance of the group's interaction with the palace. The nature of the relationships maintained between the urban centers and the pastoralist's groups led to the political consolidation of the later to a system characterized by a tribal social organization (Van De Mieroop 2005: 83).

In such a system, the tribe was the main alternative option to the well-established system of city-states, completely disconnected from the need of territorial contiguity in order to provide political cohesion (Buccellati 1997: 109). Its most important feature though was the development of a system of "*putative*" kingship on which, according to Van De Mieroop, "*people claimed descent from a common ancestor, real or fictional*", especially during the first four centuries of the second millennium B.C (cf. Van De Mieroop 2005: 83). It was such a special feature which ignited significant political repercussions. In addition, economic factors dictated on their turn social changes (Buccellati 1997: 109; Van De Mieroop 2005: 83). As a result, fermentations among pastoralists and sedentary people occurred.

Semi-nomads who managed to expand significantly the size of their herds started to make investments of their wealth in land (Liverani 1995; 44-48). On the

⁶⁶ In order to ensure the protection of the fields which were vital for the production of the crop of cereals etc. from animal grazing and trampling.

contrary, the lowest social stratum among them having few animals to support themselves and provide for their families placed their fortunes to the hands of settled people by asking employment. Because of that, at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., the presence of the Amorites in the urban cities of the Near East raised significantly (Liverani 1995; 44-48). Apart from solely economic reasons, also the political situation in the Near East might have played a significant role.

Most of the aforementioned urban city-states were overturned by the Amorites during the Ur III dynasty (2112-2004 B.C.) (Buccellati 1997: 109; Buccellati 1966; Van de Mieroop 2005: 84-85). Despite their appearance in several strata of the city-state's societies (military, administration, etc.), the texts survived to emphasize on the hostility maintained between Amorites and the state of Ur III. At the end of the third millennium, B.C. Shulgi (2094-2047 B.C.) and Shu-Sin (2037-2029 B.C.) claimed that they built a defensive system⁶⁷ to keep the Amorites away.⁶⁸ That hostile attitude towards the Amorites was about to change. The collapse of the Ur III (2004 B.C.) led to that direction.

The political fermentations and the fragmentation that ensued in Babylonia due to the collapse of the Ur III led to the rise to the political hierarchy of men who were of Amorite descent (Van De Mieroop 2005: 84). These men seized the throne in several city-states and emphasized their background in order to prevail in the competition for power between old and new lineages (Akkadian-Sumerian or Amorite). As a result, the acknowledgment of their non-urban background in ancestral lists located outside of the cities, deeply rooted in the tribal social organization of the Amorites, led to the waning of the concept of the city-state and the birth of the idea of a larger territory as a political unit.

Babylonia

The upheaval created due to the collapse of the Ur III dynasty (2004 B.C.) did not cause the immediate fragmentation of political power in the region of Babylonia (Frayne 1990a; Klengel-Brandt 1997: 256; Oates 1986; Van De Mieroop 2005: 85).

⁶⁷ Possibly some sort of a wall, called due to mix of Akkadian and Sumerian as BAD-murik-Tidnim, "the wall that repels Tidnum", for details see Wilcke 1969: 9.

⁶⁸ "The wall is to be finished in the period of one month! There are to be no further inquiries pertaining to these building activities! For now the Tidnum [tribe of the Amorite nomads] have come down from the mountain", Translation after Frayne 1997b: 106.

Despite the exponential growth of the Amorites into ruling positions all over the region, centralizing forces were still present in the area (Buccellati 1997: 109; Buccellati 1966; Van De Mieroop 1992; Van De Mieroop 2005: 84-85). The military situation created in central Mesopotamia around 2004 B.C. left several Sumerian governors on their own, trying to defend their premises against the Amorites. One of them was Ishbi-Erra of Isin (Hamblin 2006: 159).

Ishbi-Erra (2017-1985 B.C.) was a general and governor under Ibbi-Sin's (2028-2004 B.C.) authority. It was their deteriorating relations⁶⁹ that made Ishbi-Erra to establish a new dynasty at Isin, took over much of the region and create an embankment to the swift decomposition⁷⁰ of the previous political situation acting as the legitimate heir⁷¹ of the previous Ur III Dynasty (Hamblin 2006: 162; Hrouda 1997: 186; Van De Mieroop 2005: 85).

Ishbi-Erra followed the standard ideological and programmatic plan in order to legitimize his conquests in the region of central Mesopotamia: he acted under the command of the gods who legitimize his conquests in order to insure proper order and worship towards them (Hamblin 2006: 160). At the beginning of his rule, he tried to cement his position in central Mesopotamia against both Amorites and Sumerian rivals. It was around 2010 B.C. when he was military predominant over central Mesopotamia.⁷²

After his military success over a coalition of powers consisted of the city-states of Nippur, Kazallu, Girkal, and Elam under the leadership of Zinnun of Shubartu,

⁶⁹ Very informative according their relations is the letter exchange among Ibbi-Sin and Ishbi-Erra survived about the problem of the countryside overrun by the Ammorites which caused problems in the harvest of the fields: *"Thus says Ishbi-Erra, your servant: You have instructed me to proceed on an expedition to Isin and Kazallu in order to purchase grain. The market price of grain has reached one gur [of grain] per shekel [of silver]...Because of the Amorites I have been unable to thresh the grain."*, translation after Jacobsen 1953: 36-47; Michalowski 1978: 243-251. Instead of sending help to his governor, Ibbi-sin berated Ishbi-Erra for malfeasance: *"Thus says your King Ibbi-Sin: You received twenty talents of silver to buy grain and you proceed to buy two gur of grain for each shekel, but to me you sent one gur for each shekel. How is that you permitted the Amorites, the enemy, to enter my land against Puzur-Numushda, the commandant of Badigihursagga?"*, translation after Frayne 1997a: 367.

⁷⁰ Expressed with the creation of an increasing number of local dynasties such as the ones in Eshnunna, Assur, Elam, Uruk, Kish and Sippar. For general information and further bibliography see Auerbach 1997: 261-265; Lamprichs 1997: 225-228; Henrickson 1997: 228-234; Boehmer 1997: 294-298; Hansen 1997: 298-300; Gasche and Janssen 1997: 47-49.

⁷¹ Acknowledged by the priesthood of Nippur, an act that gave to Ishbi-Erra the right to consider himself as the "King of Summer and Akkad".

⁷² Especially over Nippur, a religious center of great significance.

Ishbi-Erra restored his former allies to their thrones under a relationship of vassalage.⁷³ It was Ishbi-Erra's victory over Zinnun's of Shubartu coalition of powers that established Isin as the leading military power in central Mesopotamia. Soon enough, his military dominance was about to be challenged by the Elamites.

Despite the fact that Elam was defeated, it was by no means determinedly crushed. Around 2005 B.C. Elamites besieged Ur and caused a length war with Isin, the de-facto⁷⁴ protector of Summerians (Hamblin 2006: 161). The victory over Elam around 1987 B.C. placed Ishbi-Erra and his successors in the driver's seat according to the affairs in central Mesopotamia. In a region where thrones could be won and lost quickly and alliances shifted in favor of another victorious king, Isin's predominance couldn't remain unrivaled. The answer to Ishbi-Erra's effort for centralization of power came from the city of Larsa, the modern Tell Senkereh. It was around 1794 B.C. when Rim-Sin (1822-1763 B.C.) of Larsa conquered Isin. Seven years later, around 1787 B.C., Isin was absorbed into Hammurabi's Babylonian empire (1792-1750 B.C.) (Hamblin 2006: 163).

Twenty kilometers away from the ancient city of Uruk, a newly independent city-state started its efforts in order to become one of the most important realms of southern Mesopotamia (Margueron 1997: 331; Margueron and Huot 1984: 500-506; Van De Mieroop 1992). It was during the period of Ur's decline when Larsa gained its independence from Ur under the Amorite warlord Naplanum (2025-2005 B.C.).

Although traces of its early history as an independent city-state are hard to be found, it seems that Larsa may have been a vassal to Isin (Hamblin 2006: 163). It was not until Gungunum's rule when Larsa started to have expansionist ambitions. At the beginning of his expansionist plans, Gungunum (1932-1906 B.C.) secured his south-eastern borders by conquering several Elamite provinces such as Bashmi and Anshan⁷⁵ (Hamblin 2006: 163). Having his south-eastern borders secured, he decided that the time to turn against Isin and its dominions had come: his first target was Ur, a

⁷³ *"Ishbi-Irra took captive Zinnun, lord (ensi) of Subartu, plundered Khamazi and returned Nur-akhum, lord of Eshnunna, Shu-Enlil, lord of Kish, and Puzur-Tutu, lord of Bad-Ziabba each to his own palace"*, translation after Whiting 1987. According to Yuhong, the act of "returning" each of the rulers to their thrones was an act of a ritual of vassalization, for details see Yuhong 1994; Hamblin 2006: 161.

⁷⁴ The control of Nippur by Isin gave to its ruler the right to consider himself as the "King of Summerians and Akkadians".

⁷⁵ Around 1930 B.C. and 1928 B.C. correspondingly.

vital conquest which allowed him to take the title of the “*King of Ur*” (Frayne 1990(b): 115; Hamblin 2006:163). Subsequently, after several successful campaigns up to the Kishkattum canal against Malgium⁷⁶ (1914 B.C.), Gungunum turned his attention to his real target: Nippur.

With the conquest of Nippur (1911 B.C.), Gungunum gained access to the right to use the title “*King of Summer and Akkads*”⁷⁷ (Frayne 1990(b): 115, 118; Hamblin 2006: 163). The same time Larsa expanded southwards, several decentralizing forces such as the kingdom of Kazallu and the small kingdom founded by Manana south-east of Isin made their appearance. The expansionist policy followed by Larsa as the dissolvent actions of Kazallu and Manana⁷⁸ reduced Isin’s power and brought upheaval to the balance of power in Mesopotamia. It was Gungunum’s death (1906 B.C.) that allowed Isin a glimpse of its former glory.

Under the guidance of Ur-Ninurta (1923-1886 B.C.), Isin launched a counter-offensive and recaptured Nippur and several cities on the Kishkattum canal (Hamblin 2006: 164). The answer from Larsa came almost immediately: Abisare of Larsa (1905-1894 B.C.), stopped Isin’s offensive at the city of Adab (1896 B.C.) and his successor Sumu-El (1893-1865 B.C.) gained control of Isin’s water supply by conquering Eduru-Nanna-isa (Hamblin 2006: 164). Although the year names provided a fragmentarily military history of Larsa during the coming decades, it seems that despite the kings of Larsa took part in several wars there were not any other major shift in the balance of power in central Mesopotamia. Larsa seemed under a general phase of decline, a situation which was soon about to change with the accession of Kudur-Marduk on its throne.

Kudur-Marduk (1850-1824 B.C.), the Elamite founder of Kudur-Marduk Dynasty in Larsa, proved himself a person which defined the fate of Larsa. Under a relationship which was not yet fully recovered⁷⁹, Kudur-Marduk seized the throne from Sili-Adad of Larsa and defeated the Kazallu invaders (Hamblin 2006:

⁷⁶ “By the order of An, Enlil, and Nanna, the army of Malgium was destroyed by the weapons [of Larsa]”, translation after Sigrist 1990: 9).

⁷⁷ A title which was vital in order Gungunum proclaim’s his nominal supremacy in Mesopotamia.

⁷⁸ The capture of all the cities on the central Euphrates from Kazallu tu Marad , for details see Frayne 1989: 23.

⁷⁹ We do not know if Kudur-Marduk was actually an ally or a vassal of Larsa.

165).⁸⁰ After he expelled the king of Kazallu out of Larsa, Kudur-Marduk seized its throne and left much of the actual governing in his son, Warad-Sin (1834-1823 B.C.), who served as his co-ruler. After Warad-Sin's death, his brother Rim-Sin (1822-1763 B.C.) succeeded him and recorded the longest reign in the Mesopotamian history (Grice et al 1979; Hamblin 2006: 165-167; Van De Mieroop 2005: 87).

In order to consolidate his position, Rim-Sin asserted himself under a military way. His military success reflected in the defeat of a coalition of forces led by Uruk, Isin, and Babylon against him, expressed by the recapture of Nippur and the destruction of Uruk (1800 B.C.) (Hamblin 2006: 166; Van De Mieroop 2005: 87; Van de Mieroop 1992).⁸¹ After his capture of Isin (1793 B.C.), Rim-Sin gathered all the administrative functions in his capital in an effort to reduce the economic independence of the remaining city-states. His only worthy opponent was Hammurabi of Babylon. It was around 1763 B.C. when Hamurrabi conquered Larsa⁸², creating one of biggest territorial states of the Near East in the early second millennium B.C (Hamblin 2006:166).

Despite the rivalries and warfare recorded in the region of Babylonia, there was a vital element of solidarity the acknowledgement of which led to the ideological reconciliation of the states towards their participation into a single political system: the acknowledgment of the role of Nippur priesthood in the process of the selection of the king of Sumer and Akkad. According to Mesopotamian mythology, Nippur was the place where gods from the Sumerian pantheon gathered in order to solve important problems. That function of Nippur was recorded in several myths described the visits of several deities to Ekur, the temple of Enlil, at Nippur (Van De Mieroop 1997(b): 222-223).

⁸⁰ *"He gathered the scattered [Amorite] people and put in order their disorganized troops, he made the land peaceful, he smote the head of its foes...and smashed all the enemies [of the Amorite tribes and Larsa]"*, translation after Frayne 1990(b): 220.

⁸¹ *"He smote with weapons the army of Uruk, Isin, Babylon, Rapiqum, and Sutium, seized Irnene, King of Uruk, and put his foot on his head as if he were a snake. [He captured] the various cities of the land of Uruk... The booty, as much as there was, of the various cities of the land of Uruk which I smote, I brought to Larsa."*, translation after Frayne 1997b: 285.

⁸² Suggested by Robson as the home of the first sea-land dynasty of Babylon, for details see Robson 2002: 105-120.

When the ideology of regional kingship occurred in central Mesopotamia⁸³, the role of Nippur's priesthood elevated significantly. Hence, the support of Enlil's priesthood in the process of justification of the ruler as the king of Summer and Akkads proved crucial. Through a) the appointment of the high priestess of Ur, a position held by the daughter of the dominant ruler since the time of Sargon of Akkad and b) the use of a calendar containing month names from Nippur as the official one, the Babylon city-states were convinced that they were part of a single system of one kingship which passed from one city to another. In addition, the integration by the Nippur priesthood of the ruling dynasty into the Sumerian King lists meant a number of ideological benefits: The king, apart from honored in royal hymns, he was crowned as the king of Akkad and Summer, not merely as the king of his city. Hence, the acknowledgment of Nippur as religious capital by the city-states of Babylonia led the leader who had the political control of the city to claim for himself the title of the "*King of Summer and Akkad*" and gain a number of ideological benefits. This was not the case only for the region of Babylonia but also for the states in the Assyrian region (Assur, Elam, Eshnunna, etc.) and Mari.

Assyria

The political situation described above was not recorded solely on the broad region of Babylonia. It was paralleled throughout the Near East to the area designated from western Iran to the Mediterranean coast and it was characterized by numerous quarrels between local dynasties competing for power. Although the control of Nippur priesthood remained a significant asset to the endless struggle for power among local warlords in the Assyrian region it seems that another element, the "*international*" trade, played a significant role and characterized the nature of relationships between local dynasties in Assyria to a great extent (Bryce 1998: 32).

Despite its segmental character, the material from Assyria dated around the early second millennium B.C. underlined the existence of a system of international trade⁸⁴ composed mainly by merchants from Assur (Hamblin 2006: 290; Larsen 1967; Van De Mierop 2005: 90). Although Assur worked as the central point of a network traded materials such as tin and textiles in all over Anatolia, it was the colony of

⁸³ Introduced first by the Akkadian Dynasty.

⁸⁴ Flourished around 2000 to 1750 B.C.

Kanesh⁸⁵ that revealed its existence through more than 20.000 tablets found⁸⁶, written in Assyrian language (Ozguc 1997: 266; Van De Mieroop 2005: 90-91). Although we do not have much information about the pragmatical character of the trading procedure⁸⁷, the connections of Assur and Kanesh with Anatolia are very well known.

In order the trading procedure occurs, a political setting inside which the trading process could flourish was necessary. The caravans traveled from one point of the trading network to another (Assur, Babylonia, Iran, and Kanesh) crossed the territories of independent and most of the times hostile local rulers. Hence, a system of mutual respect between caravans and local warlords needed in order the trading procedure maintained.

Although there is a lack of treaties testified the existence of such a network, several references to them underlined the existence of a network inside which the local rulers demanded taxes and the rights on certain goods (Van De Mieroop 2005: 93). The traders, in return, were given some sort of protection and access to local merchant districts. As a result, the routes the merchants followed remained open, free of dangers to which commercial caravans were vulnerable (Bryce 1998: 32; Van De Mieroop 2005:93; Veenhof 1972). Unfortunately, this was not always the case. It seems that due to the Assyrian enterprises in Anatolia, a greater sense of territorial consciousness grew among the local rulers (Bryce 1998: 32). The fate Kanesh followed was indicative towards that direction.⁸⁸

Excavations in Kanesh testified the textual records and revealed several periods of occupation designated in four levels (Ozguc 1997: 266; Ozguc 1950; Ozguc and Ozguc 1953). According to the excavator, levels IV and III were dated around 2000-1920 B.C. while the most spectacular era of the colony, expanded in two

⁸⁵ The modern Kultepe, located 21 km northeast of modern Kayseri, Turkey.

⁸⁶ Despite the legal and commercial character of the majority of the tablets, important military implications emerged from hints in the Assyrian merchant Letters. Indicative is the complain of Anum-Hirbi of Mama to Warsama of Nesha (Kanesh): "When my enemy conquered me, the Man [vassal King] of Taisama invaded my country, and destroyed twelve of my cities, and carried away their cattle and sheep...Did my people invade your land, and did they kill a single ox or sheep?", translation after Bryce 1998: 34; Balkan 1957; 8.

⁸⁷ According to Hamblin, it was analogous to that the early European colonies in south Asia excersised during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Hamblin 2006: 290.

⁸⁸ "Pithana, the King of Kussara came down out of the city with large numbers [of soldiers] and took Nesha [Kanesh] during the night by storm. He captured the King of Nesha [Warsama] but he did no harm to the citizens of Nesha...", translation after Hamblin 2006: 292.

levels (II and Ib), dated around 1920-1750 B.C.⁸⁹ A great fire on level II, caused by the destruction of the city (1850 B.C.) by Uhna, King of Zalpuwa⁹⁰ ruined Kanesh (Hallo and Lawson Younger 1997-2002: I, 183a; Bryce 1998: 33-34; Hamblin 2006: 291). The colony was reoccupied at level Ib⁹¹ (Ozguc 1997: 266; Ozguc 1950; Ozguc and Ozguc 1953) but the tablets found at Ib stratum indicated the diminish of Assyrians and the presence of representatives from other regions in Syria and Anatolia as the principal agents due to local events in Anatolia characterized by upheaval (Van De Mieroop 2005: 91). Indicative towards that direction are the patterns of behavior followed by two other city-states of Assyria region, Eshnunna, and Elam.

The struggle for control over Nippur priesthood among local rulers in Babylonia did not pass unnoticed by city-states in Assyria region. Isin's loss of control over Nippur created high hopes of Kingship over Summer and Akkads. The rulers of two of the most powerful states of Assyria, Eshnunna and Elam, gained their independence from Ur III state during the early years of Ibbi-Sin's reign (2028-2004 B.C.) and proclaimed for themselves royalty (Van De Mieroop 2005: 93): Eshnunna rulers elevated themselves from local rulers and "*governors to the god Tishpak*"⁹² to deified kings while the rulers at Elam adopted the "*grand regent*" title. The same pattern was followed in Assur where its independent rulers claimed the title of the "*governors of the god Assur*" (Van De Mieroop 2005: 93).

It was at the beginning of its independence from Ur III state when Eshnunna expanded its control in territories over the Diyala valley and ignited an expansionist policy (Bryce 2009:236). Started from the Diyala valley⁹³, Ipiq-Adad II (1862-1818 B.C.) and his sons, Naram-Sin and Dadusha (?-1780 B.C.)⁹⁴, conquered several

⁸⁹ Level II dated at 1920-1850 B.C. and Level Ib at 1800-1750 B.C, for details see Ozguc 1950; Ozguc and Ozguc 1953.

⁹⁰ It seems that the over-exploitation of Kanesh's position in the Assyrian merchant system maintained around 2000 to 1750 B.C. caused the hostilities among Zalpuwa and Kanesh, for details see Bryce 1998: 33.

⁹¹ 1800-1750 B.C.

⁹² Title first used by the first independent ruler of Eshnunna Shu-Ilia, see Van De Mieroop 2005: 93.

⁹³ For details about the topography, hydrology, land use and settlement history of Diyala region see McRobert 1965.

⁹⁴ Despite that Whiting's work proved a good up to date source for chronology of the rulers of Eshnunna, the absolute dates for most of Eshnunna rulers are unknown. Hence, we believe that any effort to propose an absolute chronology would be quite ambiguous. For a proposed chronology of the Eshnunna rulers see Whiting 1987.

previously independent states such as Nerebtum, Shaddupum, and Dur-Rimush (McRobert 1965; Van De Mieroop 2005: 94). Apart from the cities mentioned above, Naram-Sin conquered Ekallatum and Assur and forced Shamshi-Adad (1832/1809-1776 B.C.), Ekallatum's ruler, to exile (Van De Mieroop 2005: 94).⁹⁵ After Naram-Sin's death, Shamshi-Adad gained the control of Ekallatum and joined his forces with Dadusha⁹⁶ in order to gain control of the territory between the two Zab Rivers (Andre-Salvini 2009: 26; Van De Mieroop 2005: 94). Indicative towards their campaign is the commemorative stele of Dadusha.⁹⁷ That coalition of powers was not meant to hold for a long time.

Despite the reference Dadusha made at his stele for handing the conquered lands over to Shamshi-Adad, the latter turned against Dadusha and conquered several of Eshnunna's previous possessions⁹⁸ (Bryce 2009: 237; Van De Mieroop 2005: 94). It was his death that reversed the situation for Eshnunna and paved the way for an aggressive program of expansion over Upper Mesopotamia (Bryce 2009: 237). That consisted of a direct threat to Mari. Despite the hostile relations maintained between the two kingdoms a peace treaty maintained. Finally, it was Elam who denied direct access to Eshnunna in Mesopotamia through its borders, allied with a coalition of powers consisted of Babylon, Larsa, and Mari and pillaged the city in 1766 B.C. managing a vital wound to Eshnunna's efforts for centralization of power (Bryce 2009: 237).

Elam⁹⁹ was located at the western part of the region of modern Iran. At the pick of its strength, Elam's possessions covered the area stretched across the Zagros mountains, from modern Khuzestan to Fars (Bryce 2009: 219; Henrickson 1997: 228). Its history, covering a period of more than 2000 years, indicated an active

⁹⁵ According Naram-Sin, there is a crucial problem related to the existence of two rulers with the same name (Naram-Sin) ruling the same time both in Eshnunna and Assur. Did Naram-Sin of Eshnunna conquered Assur or did Naram-Sin of Assur conquered Eshnunna? Due to the insufficient and ambiguous character of the evidence I will follow the interpretation that there was a single person who conquered Assur and Ekallatum. For the first opinion see Grayson 1987: 190; Edwards 1973: 636. For the second opinion see Frayne 1990(b): 560; Bienkowski and Millard 2000: 264. For a third scenario which posits two contemporary kings with the same name, one ruled at Eshnunna and the other at Assur see Yuhong 1994: 80-87.

⁹⁶ Around 1781 B.C.

⁹⁷ For comments and translation see Ismail and Cavigneaux 2003: 129-156; Genouillac 1910: 151-156; Charpin and Durand 1985: 293-343.

⁹⁸ Such as Suhum, for details see Bryce 2009: 237; Chavalas 2006: 98-102.

⁹⁹ The Sumerian name of the city-state. Its Babylonian name was Elamtu while the Elamites referred to themselves using the term Halamti, for details see Bryce 1990: 219; Henrickson 1997: 228.

participant in the historical events which characterized Mesopotamia during the second millennium B.C. Despite that several texts from Uruk were referred to the appearance of Elam no later than 3000 B.C., the first genuine Elamite tablets, written in Mesopotamian cuneiform script¹⁰⁰, suggested the mid-third millennium B.C. as the most likely date for Elam's appearance (Bryce 2009: 220; De Meyer 1986; Potts 1999; Voigt and Dyson 1992).

In several of the Mesopotamian sources survived, a glimpse about the history of Elam during its first 1000 years was presented.¹⁰¹ In the Sumerian King list, probably the earliest dated source recorded parts of the history of Elam, an attack upon Elam by Enmebaragesi, King of Kish, was recorded (Bryce 2009: 220; De Meyer 1986). Although the Sumerian King list is considered by the majority of scholars as an ambiguous source of historical information, it is not the only source we have towards the history of Elam. In several Mesopotamian texts dated around the late third millennium, B.C. Elam seemed to be the target of a number of several military campaigns conducted by several kings of Akkadian and Ur III royalty (Bryce 2009: 220). The hostility against Elam was first expressed by the Akkadian king Sargon (2334-2279 B.C.).

Sargon, in order to expand his empire, conducted a military expedition in Western Iran and conquered Elam, Parahshum, Susa, and Awan (Bryce 2009: 220; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 178-81). Sargon's occupation of Elam could not remain unanswered. A coalition of powers consisted of Elam, Parahshum and Zahara united their strengths but their effort against Sargon's successor Rimush (2278-2270 B.C.) failed (Bryce 2009: 220; Frayne 1993: 52-67). The coalition crushed and Elam remained under the Akkadian control until the reign of Manishtushu (2269-2255 B.C.), the brother and successor of Rimush (Bryce 2009: 220).

It was until the second millennium B.C. when Elam was part of an Elamite confederacy, having its core on Anshan¹⁰² and contained Fars and other cities under a system of a segmentary federation. The expansionist policy followed by Ur III

¹⁰⁰ Still imperfectly understood due to the nature of the language they were written. Their understanding ascribed so far in names of Kings and their royal capitals. In addition, their small quantity (only five pottery sherds) worked deterrently towards their study.

¹⁰¹ Such as the Sumerian King list which was composed around 1800 B.C. For details see Rowton 1960: 156-162.

¹⁰² Identified as the modern Tepe-Malyan.

Dynasty (2112-2004 B.C.) soon created clashes with Elam. After several attacks against it, Elam managed to retain its independence from Ur III. At the beginning of its independence, Elam turned against Ur and incorporated it in order to raise its influence over Mesopotamia. Although Ur's occupation terminated by Ishbi-Erra (2017-1985 B.C.) of Isin, it was Elam which shortly after the assertion of independence of several Babylonian states to the expense of Isin aided them. Hence, Elam was drawn into several alliances and conflicts (Van De Mieroop 2005: 95). The pillaging of Eshnunna (1776 B.C.) by a coalition of powers consisted of Babylon, Larsa and Mari as its disappearance from the political scene of Mesopotamia and Babylonia brought Elam in direct contact with the regional states and made it an appreciable player in the local affairs of Mesopotamia. Its success though was not meant to remain forever. It was around 1764 B.C. when Hammurabi of Babylon allied with Mari and Aleppo against Elam and defeated the Elamites terminating their influence.

Mari and the West

The well-known pattern of competition among city-states characterized Assyria and Babylonia during the second millennium B.C., was repeated at the western part of the Near East. Mari, one of the most important¹⁰³ and powerful¹⁰⁴ city-states of the region couldn't remain unaffected by the upheaval created due to the rise and fall of Ur.

Mari's history of occupation, extended from the third millennium B.C. to its destruction by King Hammurabi of Babylon at 1762 B.C., revealed the significant role of the city-state in the Syrian affairs (Bryce 2009: 450). Due to its strategic location, Mari was as blessed as cursed. Despite the wealth trade brought to Mari¹⁰⁵, also frequent invasion was the case (Hamblin 2006: 261). Due to its subjugation to the Akkads Mari had an Akkadian military governor (Shakkanakku) installed (Bryce 2009: 451; Hamblin 2006: 261). When the Akkadian empire collapsed the Shakkanakku governors constituted the so-called Shakkanakku Dynasty which remained virtually independent from any Akkadian parentage (Bryce 2009: 451; Hamblin 2006: 261). Throughout the Ur III period, Mari was governed by several

¹⁰³ Due to the existence of its huge archive of 20000 cuneiform tablets.

¹⁰⁴ From a military point of view.

¹⁰⁵ Mari was involved at the international trading operations maintained among Babylonia and Syria.

rulers quite unknown towards their military achievements (Frayne 1997a: 439-450; Hamblin 2006: 261). It was not until Puzur-Estar's rule (2046-2038 B.C.) when Mari became independent. Furthermore, his successors started to use the title of the king (Hamblin 2006: 261).

The collapse of Ur III (2004 B.C.), although crucial for Mari's independence, proved as the main reason for the reduction of its importance and finally its abandonment for reasons pretty much unknown (Van De Mieroop 2005: 96). Although the Shakkanakku Dynasty remained in power for almost a century after the collapse of Ur III, it seems that Ur's fate sealed its fortunes: Shakkanakku Dynasty seized its existence. It was about the mid-nineteenth century B.C. that a new dynasty of Amorite origins conquered various cities in the Middle Euphrates valley and settled in Mari. Yagid-Lim (1830-1820 B.C.), a local ruler of the nearby Suprum, gained control over Mari and declared himself as independent King (Hamblin 2006: 261).

Yahdun-Lim (1830-1820 B.C.), his son, managed through a series of innovations such as the adoption of Babylonian language and the usage of the practice of year names, to revive Mari. Nonetheless, it was his expansionist policy which established Mari as one of the dominant states on the Middle Euphrates (Bryce 2009: 451; Chavalas 2006: 96-98; Hamblin 2006: 261). His plans for expansion¹⁰⁶ and his several developments works¹⁰⁷ in territories which consisted an apple of discord for his Mesopotamian and Babylonian counterparts brought Mari into direct conflict with the kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and Shamsi-Adad to the northeast and Babylon to the south-east. In addition, Yandun-Lim turned his attention westwards, towards Syria and the Mediterranean coast.

Yandun-Lim's plans for expansion over Syria couldn't remain unchallenged. Supu-Epuh, the King of Aleppo, was the master mind behind a revolt organized against Mari (Bryce 2009: 451; Hallo, W., and Lawson Younger K 1997-2002: 260). The result for Yandun-Lim was victorious. Despite that Yandun-Lim's son and successor, Sumu-Yamam (1800-1796 B.C.), tried to repair the relationships with Aleppo, his assassination due to a conspiracy maintained inside his palace walls opened the road for the takeover of Mari by Shamsi-Adad.

¹⁰⁶ Extended as far as Babylon to the south-east, Assyria to the north-east and Syria and the Mediterranean coast westwards.

¹⁰⁷ Such as irrigation systems and fortresses like that in the region of Habur.

Shamsi-Adad conquered Mari (1795 B.C.), integrated it into his large territorial state and placed his younger son Yasmah-Adu on its throne. After Shamsi-Adad's death around 1776 B.C. his kingdom started to fall apart. It was Zimri-Lim, the grandson or nephew of Yandun-Lim, which seized the power and turned Mari into a significant player on the local affairs of the western part of Near East. Through the re-establishment of strong ties with Aleppo and Babylon by using the well-known practice of diplomatic marriage, Zimri-Lim made Mari one of the most respected kingdoms among its competitors. It was Mari's prestige and wealth that made Hammurabi of Babylon to turn against it in 1761 B.C. It was around 1778 B.C. when Hammurabi incorporated the Euphrates valley and Mari into his state.

1.10] Territorial states in the Early Second Millennium B.C.

The upheaval described above among rulers who wanted power and dynasties that competing with each other created the ideal situation for the shaping of short-lived territorial states. Such states, shortly disintegrated after their founder's death, were developed in areas such as Northern Mesopotamia which was unified under the rule of Shamshi-Adad, in Babylonia under the strong scepter of Hammurabi as in central Anatolia under the rule of Hattusili I. It was these states which created the base for the extended territorial states followed later.

The kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia flourished under the rule of Shamshi-Adad. After the inheritance of the throne of Ekallatum by his father and a rule calculated approximately during ten years, he forced to flee to Babylon due to Naran-Sin's conquest of Assur and Ekallatum (Van De Mieroop 2005: 101). After the death of Naran-Sin he returned from exile and conquered Assur as well. His influence was extended in northern Syria and clashes with Mari recorded. Soon after he annexed kingdoms such as Apum and Mari and incorporated northern Babylonia under his rule. After the shaping of the kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, Shamshi-Adad placed his two sons at the throne of Mari and Ekallatum, giving direct attention to the southeastern and southwestern frontiers but he kept the ultimate supervision (Van De Mieroop 2005: 103). A simultaneous attack by Yamkhad and Eshnunna as his death during 1776 B.C. by natural causes brought the disappearance of his kingdom. Local powers quickly restored themselves and Northern Syria became a patchwork of small independent city-states continues earlier practices.

In such a political situation Babylon became another major force of the area. During the last decades of Shamshi-Adas's life, the throne of Babylon was held by Hammurabi. The history of Babylon was extended from the Old Akkadian Period. Hammurabi's predecessors managed to create a strong state by incorporating several independent northern cities. But he was the one who truly changed the history of Babylon and made it a comparable force in Mesopotamia. While Hammurabi might have owed allegiance to Shamshi-Adad at the beginning of his reign, he made military enterprises against his neighbors with ambiguous results. After the reinforcement of Babylon with a strong system of government as with defensive works such as walls and irrigational canals, Hammurabi turned against more powerful opponents such as Mari. In a combination of military campaigns and diplomacy, he managed to establish a full dominance over southern Mesopotamia, making himself the strongest king in the area. The political layout of Mesopotamia was fundamentally altered by the end of his reign: Babylonia remained the single great power while its rivals did not remind anything of their glorious past. But that situation was not meant to hold forever. Ten years after Hammurabi's death a major rebellion in the south led by Rim-Sin created upheaval and the collapse of mighty Babylon into two parts.

During the same time, central Anatolia became a pivotal player in Near Eastern affairs. Centralization of power and the creation of what is called as the Old Hittite Kingdom caused the appearance of the Hittites, a force played a major role in the shaping of the political scenery during the Late Bronze Age. Old Hittite state was created by Hatussili in the early or mid-Seventeenth century B.C. Hattusa became his capital and expansion into Syria became his primary target. After an invasion to the kingdom of Yamkhad, the Hittite king sacked Alalakh and other north-west Syrian localities. Campaigns in south-western Anatolia caused the creation of a large state which by the end of his reign shocked hard by internal rebellion. His sons rebelled against him and caused the appointment, by the old aged king, of his grandson Mursili as his successor. Mursili destroyed Aleppo and Babylon without occupying the territories though. The result of such actions was a power vacuum in Babylonia as well.

The “Dark Age”

The aforementioned events changed the situation dramatically in Mesopotamia and Syria. The entire region became politically fragmented, the regional system that tied the political powers of the area together vanished and strong rulers with unchallenged authority, power and prestige vanished. Despite the fact that some royal houses still existed, these were pale reflections of the past. Urbanism was at an all-time low since 3000 B.C while several localities were abandoned for unknown reasons. Such an age was called by scholars as a “dark” one and the length of it is still much debated. The great states of the past had disappeared and areas such as Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Syria-Palestine faced a sharp reduction of inhabited zones and an expansion of nomadism. While textual evidence towards the course of that period is extremely scarce, it seems that the most important development which took place in such a turbulent period seemed to be the political ascendancy of groups such as Kassites in the South and Hurrians in the North.

The group of the Kassites was present in the Near East long before the “dark age” period. It was through such a turbulent period though when political control became a reality for them. They located around Babylonia and had a tribal organization. With the sacking of Babylon around 1595 B.C. Kassites took control and it was about 1475 that southern Babylonia was incorporated into their state. The situation was similar also in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. There, people with Hurrian names were present since the mid-third millennium and states with Hurrian rulers attested already from the Old Akkadian period. Hurrians spread out from Zagros mountain to the eastern Mediterranean. After the demolishing of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia Hurrians entered its territory and brought elements of their culture. They created the Mitannian state and were also dominant among Hittites and Kiziwatna, putting the bases for the growth of large territorial states during the Late Second millennium B.C.

1.11] Territorial states in the Late Second Millennium B.C.

The situation described above started to be reversed around the late sixteenth and the fifteenth centuries B.C. Political and economical decline gave its place to an unprecedented growth and extension. A system of territorial states occurred with the best examples being these of New Kingdom Egypt, Babylon, Hatti, Mitanni, and

Assyria. Syro-Palestine took a supplementary role in such a system, acting as a buffer zone among these territorial states and their claims for dominance over the Levant. There the well-known system of underdeveloped city-states continued to exist and the region became prey between competing territorial states such as Egypt, Mitanni, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon. Such an extended system of territorial states though could not rely only in means of force in order to be maintained. Aspects such as diplomacy made its appearance and shaped the policies followed by each participant as we will see in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Mitanni

If we try to make a comparison of the early political history of Mitanni to that of the other “*Great Powers*” of the Late Bronze Age (Egypt, Hatti, and Assyria), we will soon realize that due to the absence of official texts from Mitanni itself¹⁰⁸ historical events that portray its course in the history of the Near East are open to question. Several uncertainties concerned the exact length of the reigns of Mitannian rulers¹⁰⁹ as the ambiguity of the Egyptian sources on matters referred to the early history of the Mitannian state¹¹⁰, made the effort for a cohesive synthesis of an early Mitannian political history seemed fruitless.

The state of Mitanni was known under various linguistic designations. The native term was Maittani/Mitanni but the land was also known as Hurri, “*the land of the Hurrians*”¹¹¹, Hannigabalt¹¹², Naharina or Nahrina in Egyptian¹¹³ and Aram-

¹⁰⁸ Most of the Mitannian texts survived consisted of legal and administrative records from vassal territories.

¹⁰⁹ Due to the absence of Mitannian kings lists. For the Egyptian primary lists of Pharaohs see Gardiner 1959; Wilkinson 2000. For a Mitannian King list based on genealogies and family relations see Van De Mieroop 2005: 286; Harrak 1997: 36.

¹¹⁰ Despite the fact that the accounts of the campaigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian rulers consists the earlier references to Mitanni, we cannot surely associate the campaigns with specific Mitannian rulers. As a result, we do not have a firm chronological point that connects the Mitannian history with Egypt.

¹¹¹ According to Van De Mieroop the term reflected the perceived ethnicity of its inhabitants, see Van De Mieroop 2005: 142. For a comprehensive and authoritative study of the Hurrians based on available textual and archaeological sources see Wilhelm 1989.

¹¹² The term was used in texts derived from Nuzi, Arrapha, Hatti, Assyria and Babylonia, see Harrak 1997: 36; *Ibid.* 1987. Its etymology is unknown but it seems that the term was used when one referred to the state as a polity, see Van De Mieroop 2007: 142.

¹¹³ Due to the Semitic *nhr*, “river”. For the use of the term in Egyptian sources see for example Tuthmose I’s campaign against Nahrin people of Mitanni. For the celebration of the campaign in royal monuments see Naville 1898: pl. 80 and Urk. IV, 697:5. For the celebration of the campaign in private

Naharaim in the book of Genesis (Gen, 24:10).¹¹⁴ The kingdom of Mitanni was placed in the north Syrian area stretching, during the peak of its strength, its boundaries to modern Iraq (Kirkuk) and the south coasts of Anatolia in the east, the Orontes river and the Mediterranean sea to its west and possibly at the upper reaches of the Euphrates river on north (Harrak 1997: 36; Van De Mieroop 2005: 142). Southwards, the state of Mitanni has bordered Babylonia. Some of its most important centers were Alalakh¹¹⁵, Nuzi¹¹⁶, Arrapha and Tell Brak¹¹⁷ but the city which served as the Mitannian capital was that of Wassukani. Despite the efforts made for its identification with the city of Sikani, the modern Tell Fakhariyah, Wassukani has not identified yet archaeologically (Harrak 1997: 36; Van De Mieroop 2005: 142).

Mitanni appeared in the Near Eastern political scene around 1530 B.C. (Klengel 1978: 91-115; Redford 1992: 139). Their kingdom was incorporated to the Akkadian empire but after its decline (2193 B.C.) the Hurrians inhabited parts of the divided empire (Bryce 2003: 34).¹¹⁸ The information about their re-establishment after the decline of the Ur III Dynasty (*circa* 2000 B.C.) is quite fragmented. The names of the first two kings of Mitanni, Kirta, and Suttarna I, survived to us through a dynastic seal found in the city of Alalakh, one of the major centers of Mitanni (Harrak 1997: 36).¹¹⁹ It was Parrattarna¹²⁰, Kirta's son, through the inspired leadership of which Mitanni adopted an expansive policy and started to expand through Mesopotamia and eastern Anatolia first and later over the states of northern Syria (Bryce 2003: 35; Harrak 1997: 37; Van De Mieroop 2005: 142).

monuments see the biographies of Ahmose, son of Ibana (Urk. IV, 9: 8-10: 3) and Ahmose pa-Nekhbit (Urk. IV, 36: 9-11), directly concerned Tuthmose I's invasion on Mitanni.

¹¹⁴ *"Then the servant took ten of his master's camels and departed, taking all kinds of choice gifts from his master; and he sent out and went to Aram-naharaim, to the city of Nehor"*. For an explanation on "Nehor" see Easton 1894.

¹¹⁵ The modern Tell el Atchana, layed on the Upper Orontes.

¹¹⁶ Modern Gasur.

¹¹⁷ Tell Brak, located on Khabur, was the location where two tablets (19 4 and 19 6) mentioned the name of two Kings of Mitanni recovered, for details see Illingworth 1988: 87-108.

¹¹⁸ The attestation of several Hurrian proper names in texts survived from Mari, Ugarit, Alalakh, Nuzi etc. suggested a Hurrian migration from east of the Tigris river during the late third millennium B.C. to the coasts of the Mediterranean sea during the second millennium B.C., for details see Stein 1997: 126; Speiser 1941.

¹¹⁹ For a general overview of the seal impressions from Alalakh see Collon 1975.

¹²⁰ Known from a tablet from Nuzi and the autobiographic inscription of Idrimi, King of Aleppo, found at Alalakh, for details see Katzoff 1988; Greenstein and Marcus 1976: 59-96.

Somewhere around the first half of the fifteenth century B.C. Parrattarna created bonds of vassalage with Kizzuwatna in the west, Nuzi in the east and Terqa in the south (Van De Mieroop 2005: 142). Saustatar and Parsatatar, Parrattarna's successors known from a cylinder-seal impression from Nuzi, unified the Kingdom of Mitanni from west to east and continued the dominance of Mitanni in northern Syria. The Mitannian expansion westwards became a major threat to the kingdom of Hatti, creating hostility which was dated back during the reign of Hattusili I (1650-1620 B.C), the king of Hatti (Klengel 1978: 101). The hostility continued into the reign of Mursilli II (1321-1295 BC) and his successor Hantili I (1295-1272 BC). It was a matter of time for Mitanni to come to a direct conflict with Egypt.

Although Thutmose I's campaigns in Syria created a direct threat to Mitannian plans for expansion, the adaptation of a milder foreign policy during the reign of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut gave Mitanni the space to become a significant player in the Syrian affairs (Bryce 2003: 36; Redford 1992: 155). After becoming the chief Hurrian state, Mitanni soon controlled Mesopotamia and the northern part of Tigris (Van De Mieroop 2005: 143). It was the accession of Thutmose III to the throne of Egypt which changed the balance of power between the two states and created new perspectives and alliances in the political scene of the Near East. For Babylon, Hatti and Assyria, Thutmose III's campaigns in Syria was a kind of resistance towards the Mitannian expansionism. Hence, diplomatic gifts to Pharaoh were sent¹²¹, diplomatic relationships maintained and peace treaties between Egypt and the countries mentioned above sealed (Bryce 2003: 36-7; Redford 1992: 160).

Although Thutmose III's military achievements proved a threat for Mitanni, the accession of Saustatar in their throne changed the equilibrium of power again and made Mitanni a significant ally for the Egyptians (Khurt 1998: 289; Redford 1992: 162). At Saustatar's plans for expansion in Syria and Palestine, the major obstacles were Egypt and Hatti (Bryce 2003: 37). Saustatar needed to prioritize the expansion policy of Mitanni. If he was in conflict with both Hatti and Egypt the same time he would probably be entrapped in a war with two of the most powerful states of the

¹²¹ For details see Urk. IV: 700-701,727. Although the Egyptian sources did not mention the names of the kings the Assyrian king must have been Ashur-nirari I and Babylonian king perhaps Burna-buriash I, see Grayson 1972: 33-34.

time. The profound solution was the diplomatic alliance with one of them (Bryce 2003: 37; Redford 1992: 165).

Saustatar's successor, Artatama I, entered into negotiations with Amenhotep II (1425-1401 BC) seeking for an alliance. After time-consuming negotiations¹²² among Mitanni and Egypt, several diplomatic marriages concluded the peace conducted among the two parties: diplomatic marriages such as the marriage among Artatama I's daughter with Thutmose IV (Redford 1992: 165; Schulman 1979: 189), the marriage of Gilu-Hepa, Suttarna II's daughter with Amenhotep III and the marriage of Tusratta's daughter, Tadu-hepa, with Amenhotep III, all recorded in several letters from Amarna, sealed the peace among Mitanni and Egypt and testified the use of diplomatic marriage as a primary tool of diplomacy.

Babylonia

In the region of Mesopotamia, a political theater in which many civilizations played their dramatic role of their rise and fall, Babylonia remarkably endured. From a small, insignificant settlement which functioned as a regional administrative center of Ur III Dynasty (2112-2104 B.C.), Babylonia turned into a dominating force which unified the whole of Mesopotamia under Hammurabi's reign (1792-1749 B.C.) (Bryce 2003: 15-16). After Hammurabi's death, a new era of contraction adopted to Babylonia.

The arise of the "Sealand" people in the Southern part of Mesopotamia as the Hittite attack and conquest of Babylonia from Mursili I (1595 B.C.) created political chaos in its interior (Bryce 2003: 17; Van De Mieroop 2007: 171). Under that political situation, a group called Kassites made its appearance and established a new dynasty which endured in time remarkably (Bryce 2003: 17; Khurt 1998: 333; Redford 1992: 130).

From a semi-nomadic tribe, the Kassites turned into a sophisticated civilization which adopted the ways of settled urban life. In addition, they adapted the cultural traditions that Hammurabi imported to the Babylonian state, especially the Babylonian form of the Akkadian language attested in the Amarna Letters (Bryce 2003: 17). The presence of the Kassite Babylonia in the Amarna Letters (EA 1-14,

¹²² Recorded in EA 29 Amarna Letter, see Moran 1992: 92-99.

Moran 1992: 1-37) underlined its significance in the diplomatic scene of the Near East (Khurt 1998: 339). Diplomatic contacts and marriages, gift exchanges, and accounts of the relationship between Egypt and Babylon were attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, not only in the Amarna Letters but also in the annals of Thutmose III.

Hatti

The Kingdom of the Hittites expanded in the central area of Anatolia. Their state existed for a relatively short time, about 1800 to 1200 B.C. Two periods of great strength, the so-called Old Hittite Kingdom during 1700 B.C. and the New Kingdom one from 1400 to 1200 B.C. constituted time spans of extended growth with the period in the middle being quite insecure for safe conclusions towards the course of the state. The decline of Hatti reversed through the spiritual rule of kings who reaffirmed the Hittite dominance over central and southern Anatolia.

Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322 B.C.) solidified his control over Anatolian regions, invaded Mitanni and occupied their capital. He extended the Hittite influence west of river Euphrates as far as Damascus and created vassalage relations with states such as Kadesh, Amurru, and Ugarit with Egypt being at time less attentive to its Asiatic territories. The end of his reign found Hatti as a comparable force, having in its grasp, much of northern Syria and Mitanni as one of its most significant vassals. King himself as his first successor died by plague and it was Mursili II's (1321-1295 B.C.) turn to take the fortunes of Hatti on his one hands.

Mursili became able to maintain Syria and paid attention also to Anatolia, an area ignored by his father. Arzawa was defeated, Gasga failed in his grasp and Hatti extended itself in growth and power. Muwatalli II (1295- 1272) inherited such a powerful empire and became himself active in Syria, a decision which brought coalition with Nineteenth Dynasty Egypt which had interests in the territory. Such clash of interests led to the famous battle of Kadesh between Ramesses II and Muwatalli in 1274 while a treaty with Egypt was signed in 1259 between Ramesses II and Hattusili III.

Assyria

The Assyrian history was presented by the Assyrians as a long succession of Kings. A vaguely defined tripartite division of Old, Middle and Neo-Assyrian Periods constituted the written history of Assyria. The story of such periods was connected with individual rulers who were successful militarily. Through their successful reigns, Assyria managed to elevate itself from a petty state extended around the city of Assur to a substantial territorial state which played a major role in the regional affairs during the Late Bronze Age.

Firstly, Assur-uballit I (1362-1328 B.C.) managed to establish firm control over the heartland of Assyria. By taking advantage of the Hittite attacks against Mitanni, Assur-uballit managed to annex their eastern territories and established himself as a prestigious ruler. Indicative towards that direction were the letters he sent to the King of Egypt in order to claim a status equal with that of Mitanni, letters found in the Amarna archive corpora. Such diplomatic opening caused reactions on behalf of Babylon but still, the marriages of Burnaburiash II with Assyrian princesses demonstrated the elevated role of Assyria in the international affairs shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Death of Assur-uballit brought a temporary decline but kings such as Adad-nirari I (1305-1274 B.C.), Shalmaneser I (1273-1244 B.C.) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.) brought an extended growth.

The simultaneous development of territorial forces in the Near East, the geopolitical factors shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean the same period as the historical course occurred in the New Kingdom Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos, all described appositely above, dictated changes in the ways Egypt applied its grand strategy over its Near Eastern peers.

In order to archetypal enemies such as Mitanni, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon, strong enough and impossible to be beaten completely militarily, cease to demonstrate a direct threat, diplomacy applied. In order to incorporate them in a system which could guarantee further security though, aspects such as aggressive military policies and imperialistic ambitions needed to be ceased and adoption of customs foreign to the Egyptian ideology needed to be applied. In such an effort, internal aspects such as

ideology, theology etc. proved significant obstacles and at least internally, dictated imperialistic ambitions for the king of Egypt. It was such ambitions which led to the development of two different patterns inwards and outwards.

A theoretical model which on the one hand incorporated all the imperialistic ambitions Egypt demonstrated during the New Kingdom Period in Western Asia and on the other justified the actions of the monarch under theology/ideology used inwards. Under such model political flexibility acquired, but at the same time, preponderant ideological norms served as well as we will see in chapters 2 and 3. The same time, the development of a system of diplomacy based in equivocal and reciprocal actions dictated some sort of changes in the structure of relationships and how these applied outwards in order cost being minimized and Egypt being accepted in the system of diplomacy shaped during the Late Bronze Age. A new model, which incorporated policies of realism, together with the accredited system of patrimonialism and the "*fraternal*" relationships adopted by Egypt as we will see in Chapter 4. Such adaptations though led to cases of abandonment of such attitude as on aspects of Pharaonic prestige and power as we will analyze further in chapter 5.

2] Theoretical background in the Egyptian notion of imperialism

The mechanisms of imperial rule¹²³ the majority of the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom applied in Western Asia passed through several stages as demonstrated in Chapter 1. From large scale operations against enemies which challenged the safety and interests of Egypt to peaceful interaction through the application of several means of diplomacy¹²⁴ during the Amarna Period, the policies Egypt followed as the ways the country interacted with its Asiatic peers differed through the course of the New Kingdom.

The Egyptian dominion over the Levant is frequently characterized by scholars as imperialism¹²⁵, a political term used fashionably in order to describe tendencies and policies followed by states since the 19th century A.D (Koebner 1949; Koebner and Schmidt 1964; Horvath 1972: 46). The existence of two distinct policies in Nubia and Levant (Kemp 1978: 7-57; Frandsen 1979: 167-190; Smith 1991: 77-102), the presence of Egyptian-style artifacts in such areas (Higginbotham 1996; *Ibid.*, 1998; *Ibid.*, 2000), the introduction of Egyptian settlement patterns abroad (Morris 2018, *Ibid.*, 2005; Frandsen 1979: 171-181; Kemp 1978: 7-57), the consideration of economic return as primary factor¹²⁶ as the role theology and ideology played towards the justification of such policies inwards (Kemp 1978: 7-57) gave birth to several theoretical models tried to explain the phenomenon through different prisms (ideological, theological, economically, militarily etc.).

In this chapter, we will examine the accuracy of such models, present their drawbacks as provide appropriate definitions in order to define terms which did not occur in the Middle Egyptian vocabulary. In addition, through the juxtaposition and

¹²³ Such as exploitation of foreign manpower and sources, occupation of geostrategic points in Levant, development of garrisons in strategic points, economic control over vassals, sustainance of the trade routes through military conquest, regular campaigning etc.

¹²⁴ Despite the fact that the term does not emerge from the ancient documents and had its routes back to 1796 A.C (Noumelin 1950: 125-126), we chose deliberately to use it in this thesis because of the similarities presented between several practices followed among Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age. Similarly, while the term "great power" became a colloquial term after Napoleonic wars, its use in this thesis in order to describe the difference between sovereign states from the vassal ones occurred in purpose, see Webster 1921:88, 307; Rohstein 1926: 12-13.

¹²⁵ Indicative are the studies of Morris 2018, *Ibid.*, 2005; Murnane 2000; Galan 1995:1; Redford 1992: 76-80; Frandsen 1979: 168, 182; Kemp 1978: 7-57 to name a few.

¹²⁶ See Helck 1971: 310; Shaheen 1988: 69-103 and more precisely Ahituv 1978: 93-105; Na'aman 1981: 172-185; Wilson 1951: 174; Murnane 1983: 56 ; Save Soderbergh & Troy 1991: 10-13; O'Connor 1983: 255-68; Bleiberg 1988: 157-168; Adams 1984: 40.

criticism of various models, we will propose a new one suitable to describe on the one hand the way Egypt expanded northwards as on the other how such policies were justified inwards under the veil of theology and ideology. The several aspects the proposed model find use inwards will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 3 together with the juxtaposition of the relevant textual sources made for internal consumption.

2.1] Definition of Terms

While a vast body of literature regarding the conception and the application of imperialism, empire, and colonialism in the modern world exists¹²⁷, this is not the same for periods of history which go back to the roots of human civilization and state formation.¹²⁸

In the Anglophone published literature, the lion's share was taken mainly by theories which were based on the British experience of the 19th century (Koebner 1949; Koebner and Schmidt 1964; Horvath 1972: 46).¹²⁹ For many scholars,

¹²⁷ See for example the efforts made by Barnett and Finnemore (2004), Buzzan and Little (2000), Schumpeter (1951: 3-130) and Horvath (1972: 45-57) to name a few.

¹²⁸ The only efforts I am aware of are these of Cohen (2013: 15-30), Kaufman, Little and Wohlforth (2007), Adams (1984), Bartel (1980: 11-26), Garnsey and Whittaker (1978), Frandsen (1979), Dyson (1985), Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen (1987), Algaze (1993) and Lyons and Papadopoulos (2002). A reason for such a drawback might be the way scholars from different academic backgrounds approach such a difficult question. While Egyptologists and Near Eastern specialists use terms such as empire, great power, imperialism, colonialism, international system, balance of power etc. quite loose (Morris 2005; Murnane 2000; Galan 1995:1; Redford 1992: 76-80; Frandsen 1979: 168, 182; Kemp 1978: 7-57; Tadmor 1979: 3; Liverani 2004: 71, 100, 127-29, 130, 132; Van De Mierop 2010: 234; Van Dick 2000: 270; Cooper 2003: 241; Parpola 2003: 1051; Charpin 2006: 819), such terms in the discipline of IR are still matter of debate, see the literature produced by Bull 2002: 101; Griffiths, O'Gallahan and Roach 2007: 19. Terms such as imperialism and colonialism remain poorly understood inside case studies which are relative with ancient history and the state formation of the past. One reason for that is the danger of reductionism and oversimplification, substantive tendencies when the discussion contains some sort of analysis of the past using modern political theories and models of analysis. In addition, failure of the imposition of modern political notions in ancient political and religious formations is always apparent due to the fluid and complex nature of ideological, religious, political and economic interconnections among the ancient states, see Killebrew 2005: 53. Another reason which prevented scholars from the field of world politics from studying the ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern world under IR prisms is related probably to the absence of a familiar conceptual framework of the discipline, see Bentham 1781: 10, 236; Evans and Newnham 1998: 259; Freire 2015: 4. Furthermore, such a lack of dialogue is somehow related to the barriers each discipline of study keep, preventing different fields in academia meet each other, see Levy 2001: 30; Warleigh 2006: 31-2, 43, 41.

¹²⁹ Despite the use of imperial practices for thousands of years, the European notion used the term in order to refer to the activities of the European powers of the Early 18th to the middle of 20th Century A.C., during the so-called "*Age of imperialism*", see Baumgart 1982; Painter and Jeffrey 2009. For the use of the word and its negative connotation, identical with the aggressive imperial policies of Great Britain during the late 19th century, see Magnusson 1991: 19.

imperialism was veiled with a mantle of idealism and philanthropy¹³⁰ while for others, such as the Liberal Hobson and the Marxist Lenin, it was indistinguishably connected with microeconomic connotations (Proudman 2008:395-433; Fieldhouse 1992: 45-72).¹³¹ Despite the emphasis given by several theoreticians on the left in the structural character of imperialism though, the application of the term in other spheres of intellectualism in order to describe political systems and moral values created a differentiation of its meaning. As a result, terms such as colonialism and empire emerged in order to describe different political systems as systems of governance.

Colonialism can be identified as “*that form of intergroup domination in which settlers in significant number migrate permanently to the colony from the colonizing power*” (cf. Horvath 1972: 46-48, 50).¹³² Respectively, imperialism can be generally acknowledged as a result of intergroup domination where the migration from the imperial homeland to the peripheral colony was not a prerequisite in order for the domination to be completed (Killebrew 2005: 53; Horvath 1972: 45-47, 50, 56). It can be analyzed further in two basic branches:

- Administrative Imperialism where intergroup domination can be applied through direct controls of the affairs of the colony by a resident imperial administrative apparatus (Killebrew 2005: 53; Horvath 1972: 45-56).
- Informal Imperialism where power can be channeled through the existence of an acculturated, local elite and not through formal administrative controls which were emanated from the metropolis (Killebrew 2005: 53; Horvath 1972: 45-56).

Despite the fact that the use of such modern political terms in order to describe tendencies, reconstruct communicative acts and define motives behind political and military actions made thousands of years ago figures out as quite delusive (Kemp 1978: 7; Zibelius-Chen 1988: xiii-xv)¹³³, it is their vagueness which allowed such

¹³⁰ Indicative towards that direction is the approach of imperialism by Joseph Chamberlain, see Boyd 1914:1-6.

¹³¹ Imperialism, according to Lenin, was a natural extension of capitalism, born by the need the capitalist economies demonstrate to expand investment, manpower and material resources in a way depended at colonial extension, see Lenin 1916. For Hobson's evaluation over imperialism see Hobson 2005.

¹³² For a detailed overview of colonialism see Killbrew 2005: 197-246 with references.

¹³³ On the problem of the use of the term “empire” see the introduction in Garnsey & Whittaker 1978: 1-6; Duverger 1980-5-23; Zibelius-Chen 1988.

kind of use (Smith 1997: 66).¹³⁴ Hence empire can be considered as “*a state characterized by the dominion of conquering over conquered peoples*”¹³⁵ and imperialism, “*a policy, practice, or advocacy of seeking dominion or empire of a nation by the acquirement of new territory or dependences*”.¹³⁶

2.2] Previous Studies

Some of the most common explanations given towards the policies Egypt followed on the Levant had on their core military, ideological, theological and bureaucratic impetus towards conquest. For Helck (1971:310) Egypt’s intervention in Asia was primarily due to political and security reasons and secondarily due to economic ones such as the importance of reopening the trade routes and control over them (Helck 1971: 310; Shaheen 1988: 69-103). Save Soderbergh & Troy (1991: 10-13) saw military security and conceptions of Egyptian kingship as the most paramount factors for the Egyptian imperial policies demonstrated in Nubia and Western Asia. Trigger (1976: 78), together with Zibelius-Chen (1988: 69, 126-158, 195-196), saw in the personality of the monarch as in the nature of the conquered civilizations important influences towards the imperial policies selected by Egypt. Military occupation as guarantor of dominion was a demonstrative of Egyptian imperialism and empire in Western Asia (esp. Palestine) also for Weinstein.

Weinstein (1981: 1-28) analyzed the major developments in the history of the creation of the Egyptian empire in the Levant from a military scope. In his effort, he overlooked features such as the role the Egyptians played in the destruction of sites in Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age Palestine as the importance the destruction of the Hyksos strongholds had for the consolidation of the empire northwards. Furthermore, he exalted the significance of the military occupation of the cities along Via Maris had for the establishment of the Egyptian empire in the Levant as the

¹³⁴ Such vagueness fitted perfectly to the abstract conceptions several terms had in the vocabulary of the ancient Egyptians. The tendency the verbal and mental sequence in Egypt demonstrated to metaphor and religious symbolism (Kemp 1979: 7) as the absence from the Egyptian vocabulary of words such as “*imperialism*”, “*empire*”, “*religion*” etc., revealed, on behalf of the Egyptians, action without the need of abstraction to a specific activity as an independent phenomenon. Although these “omissions” of the middle Egyptian vocabulary made it weak to the eyes of the modern reader, what filled the gap among actions such as imperialism and empire and the absence of an appropriate word to register the word in the Egyptian vocabulary was the verbal and mental sequence of the language to the metaphor and religious symbolism, see Kemp 1978: 7.

¹³⁵ Cf. Webster’s International Dictionary of English Language, 1950: 839.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1248.

importance battles such as that of Megiddo had. Through the examination of textual sources and archaeological material Weinstein tried to draw conclusions towards the motives behind the Egyptian expansion northwards as to underline the significance of military occupation towards it. In his effort though, he neglected aspects such as trade and economy. In addition, he does not make a single reference to ideological/theological impetus towards conquest. Kemp filled this gap with a model oriented to the ideological-theological factors towards conquest.

For Kemp (1978: 7-58) the motivating factor behind the Egyptian expansion was ideology. The problems empires bureaucratically run presented in rooting the interests had abroad in political reality can be bypassed through theological/religious justification. New Kingdom Egypt and its expansion northwards was for him a perfect example. Kemp (1978: 7-58) suggested an ideologically driven model on which ideological aspects if combined with aspects of theology, aspects of direct involvement as with specific interests the empires demonstrate in conquest and control¹³⁷, can explain persuasively the imperial policies Egypt followed in the Levant. For him the interests of Egypt in Levant were rooted in political reality through the use of an ideological scheme rendered on the theme of conquest/subjection of foreigners (Kemp 1978: 8-12), the development of the notion of the theology of conquest (Kemp 1978: 9-15) and the use of the theme of the already accomplished universal rule (Kemp 1978: 10-20).

The theme of the conquest/subjection of foreigners made use of several documents in order to solidify the role of the king as conqueror. In other words in order to support the notion of divine kingship, a theological formula which used repetition not as propaganda but as an effort of particularization of the role of each king abroad as conqueror developed (Kemp 1978: 8-13). In such an effort the theme of the theology of conquest used supplementary. Through the relationship king had with Re as due to the role Re had in the development of the creation of the world, conquering and expansion abroad presented as one of the main duties the gods passed to the king. As a result, any claim of universal rule by Pharaoh was rooted in political reality through such a theme. But how relationships such as these between Pharaoh and his peers could be explained inwards?

¹³⁷ Such as the aristocratic pursuit of glory, the role the temples had, the way the Egyptian empire was administered etc.

Such relationships became for Kemp part of the political reality of Egypt through the use of the theme of the accomplished universal rule (Kemp 1978: 10-20). The use of hyperbole in order to present Egyptian dominion over lands which belonged to the sphere of the myth or in lands which were thousands of miles away gave birth to Universalist ideals which were expanded in the peers and vassals Egypt had in Western Asia. In such a notion, the only accepted relationship which could be rooted in the political reality of New Kingdom Egypt was that between overlord and vassal (Kemp 1978: 14).

While Kemp underlined the use, on behalf of the Egyptians, of an idealized/ritualized counterpart of the real world in order to root in political reality the actions of the monarch abroad (Kemp 1978: 14), he does not excluded aspects of direct involvement as the several interests empires demonstrate in their effort to conquer and control. Through the use of textual sources such as several treaties or the letters from Amarna, Kemp sees a political base towards the relationships maintained between Egypt and the states of Levant (Kemp 1978: 15-17). In addition, aspects such as economic return mentioned but not as the major stimulus towards the Egyptian decision for expansion (Kemp 1978: 19-20). In addition, Kemp (1978: 19) saw in the aristocratic pursue of glory one of the major stimulus for the Egyptian efforts abroad, especially northwards. Apart from that, the extension of the state administration system abroad as its submergence in a subsystem well integrated throughout the Egyptian state deployed abroad (Syropalestine) worked for Kemp as a decisive factor towards the Egyptian imperial policies followed in Levant (Kemp 1979; Smith 1997: 69). What his model fails to explain though is why different imperial policies were followed by Egypt abroad during the New Kingdom Period.

In his model, Kemp rejects economics as a motivating factor and supports ideological/theological factors as the major stimulus for expansion northwards but this can hardly stand as a statement of foreign policy.¹³⁸ Furthermore, it can not explain Egypt's turn on diplomacy during the Amarna Age, indicative in the course of the Egyptian imperialism described in chapter 1 as in several Amarna Letters opposed in chapter 4. In other words, while Kemp's model offers a persuasive explanation

¹³⁸ See for example the economic way temples worked during New Kingdom Egypt. Through the use of foreign manpower, people which arrived in Egypt after succesfull expeditions abroad, under the command of the temples in order to harvest grain and provide protection against famine, the social web as the monarchy remained stable and sustained, see Redford 1984:27.

towards the means used for justification of such policies inwards, it cannot explain the differences in patterns of imperialism demonstrated in Levant and Nubia, the reasons why Egypt participated in the system of diplomacy maintained during the Late Bronze Age, the significance economic and geopolitical factor had for such decisions nor the change in means of communication and exploitation Egypt followed during the Amarna period. Fradsen (1979: 171-181) tried to present a model which could cover some of the aforementioned dissimilarities by favoring ideological aspects (acculturation) over economic considerations but not without flaws.

The different imperial policies Egypt followed in Nubia and Western Asia was Fradsen's main stimulus towards the application of a model which favored acculturation over economic/military aspects. For Fradsen (1979: 171-181), differences in scope, measure and execution made the use of labels such as imperialism and empire hardly justifiable in any effort to characterize the policies Egypt followed northwards and southwards respectively. For him what Egypt brought in Nubia was a program of perfect Egyptianization. Through aspects such as the introduction of the Egyptian administration system in an area which was not as developed as the Levant, an extensive program of acculturation developed. Such program allowed to the acculturated Nubians a) to hold offices even in Egypt itself, b) the integration of Nubian economy into an Egyptian system of redistribution of goods as c) the transformation of local settlement patterns to Egyptian ones. Such an Egyptianization policy had acculturation as its primary stimulus as demonstrated in diagram a.

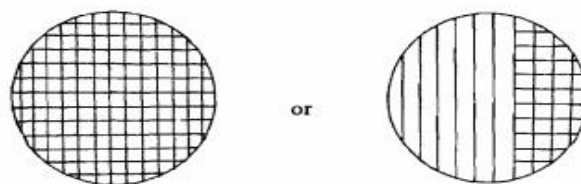


Diagram a: The integration of Nubian economy to the Egyptian system of redistribution (After Fradsen 1979: 171)

Things were completely different in Western Asia though. There the relationships were maintained not through a program of acculturation but under the development of a system which was based on the acknowledgment, on behalf of the vassals, of the right of the Pharaoh to exercise power as through a system of

“international” law. The administration was in the hand of Egyptians and Egyptianized vassals which run a system similar to the medieval feudal ones, functioning under the existing political and administrative organization patterns. The local economy was not integrated into the Egyptian one, being either a separate entity on the Egyptian economic sphere or part of the surplus product appropriated by Egypt as demonstrated on diagram b.

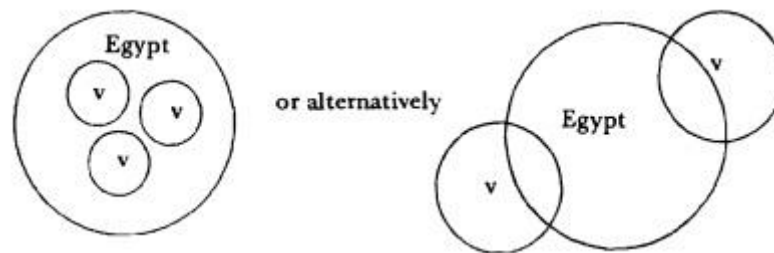


Diagram b: The integration of Western Asian vassal states economy to the Egyptian system of redistribution (After Fradsen 1979: 178)

Despite the fact that acculturation indeed played a major role in Egypt’s effort for submission and exploitation of foreign territories, Fradsen made no use of ideological factors in such an effort nor took seriously similarities in settlements patterns and artifacts. In addition, no cultural imperialism identified in Western Asia, an opinion contradicted with what Higginbotham (1996; 1998; 2000: 6-7) suggested for Canaan region.

For Higginbotham (1996; 1998; 2000: 6-7), the policies Egypt followed in Western Asia have not reflected forms of imperial rule. According to her, any relationship between Egypt and Levant (esp. Canaan) was more a core-periphery interaction which allowed in prestigious periphery cultures to obtain a legitimizing function from core cultures such as the Egyptian one through a direct rule. At her effort to support her *elite emulation* model, Higginbotham saw in artifacts and settlements found in Canaan an imitation of the Egyptian style. That reflected, according to her opinion, the adaptation and adoption of elements of the core culture (Egypt) by the local the elites (Canaan) (Higginbotham 2000: 263-301).

What her model failed to explain though is the lack of a correlation between the number of Egyptian style objects *in situ* (Hasel 1998: 109), the disappearance of hybrid Egyptian and Canaanite features in Late Bronze Age II, the role ideology

played as impetus of conquest, the economic factors behind the conquest of Canaan and especially the intensive program of conquest followed by the majority of the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom in the Levant as the changes in attitude during the Amarna Period.

As we demonstrated in chapter 1, during the course of the New Kingdom conquest and subjugation of Levant was one of the primary goals for Egypt (Hoffmeier 2004; Morris 2005: 41-56, 142-177, 276-293; Redford 1992: 140-147). In a considerable body of textual evidence as the one cited on 3.1, valuable information towards Egypt's military activities provided for the course of the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Dynasties (Weinstein 1981: 1-28; Murnane 1992; Redford 1992, *Ibid.*, 2003; Morris 2005; Spalinger 2005: 46-69; 130-139, 187-215). What became clear from the primary evidence mentioned is that Egyptian interest and influence fluctuated over the course of the New Kingdom (Hoffmeier 2004; Tubb 1998: 82-83). Through subsequent military operations, Levant subjugated into a *Pax Aegyptiaca* which had on its core the promotion and overseeing of Egyptian imperial interests in the area, the administration of the collection of tax and tribute and the imposition of security agreements (Weinstein 2001: 223; Redford 1992: 169). All of these were transported from core to periphery not through direct rule or elite emulation but through imperial policies which demonstrated control over acculturated local elites. In order to describe such tendencies, Horvath's and Bartel's models proved of some significance due to the central role power and settlers acquired on it.

The model provided first by Horvath (1972) and later adopted by Bartel (1980; *Ibid.*, 1985) defined colonialism and imperialism having power, dominion, and movements of population from the core to the periphery as its central axes. Such a model attempted a comparison among the two terms having as its key elements the presence of settlers and the types of relationship maintained between imperial and colonial powers with the people they dominated. Furthermore, the two terms were combined with eradication, acculturation and equilibrium strategies in order a more accurate description being provided (Horvath 1972; Bartel 1080; *Ibid.*, 1985).

	Colonialism	Imperialism
Eradication	Regional habitation disappeared	Replacement of native by colonial culture

Acculturation	Colonial culture prevails indigenous culture	Economic system transformed from indigenous to imperial
Equilibrium	Separate settlement enclaves of the two cultures	Indigenous cultural maintenance with small imperial presence

Diagram c: Colonialism and imperialism according to the model followed by Horvath (1972) and Bartel (1980; Ibid., 1985)

Despite the fact that the model was oriented in the relationships maintained among modern states of the Western world with the “*third world*” ones (Horvath 1972), it could be of some use in order to describe the imperial policies followed in Nubia and Western Asia as Smith (1997: 67-68) suggested. Such an effort though presents specific flaws.

In Nubia, a model which evolved from what Horvath named equilibrium imperialism during the Middle Kingdom to acculturation colonialism through the course of the New Kingdom Period could be proposed (Smith 1997: 67-68). The evolution of sites such as Askut (Smith 1997: 72-75; Ibid., 1995; Kemp 1986), the presence and contact of Egyptian natives with the locals (Smith 1995; Save-Soderberg 1989; Fradsen 1979; Kemp 1978: 29-34) as the products sent from Nubia to Egypt as *inw* demonstrated a system fully complied with the Egyptian needs and demands. Nubia turned into a locality fully integrated into the Egyptian state and despite the different phases of subjugation followed the transition from the Middle to the New Kingdom it presented a unique example of political annexation. The political reality in Western Asia though was completely different and the model proposed by Horvath and Bartel proved inadequate in order to describe the imperial policies Egypt followed there.

What such a model fails to explain in Egypt’s New Kingdom expansion in Western Asia is primarily the motives behind the application of different imperial strategies. The transportation of gold, grain, and cattle from Nubia helped the finance

of a “*feudal*” imperial infrastructure, located *in situ* in Western Asia and administered through local Egyptian/Egyptianised governors and garrisons. In such a system, members of the acculturated elite played their role in a political situation which was characterized by instability due to the political and economic demands of the era. Wealth and luxury products were brought from Asian principalities in order to reinforce Pharaonic power, reward the cast of elites and finance the construction of monuments. These exaggerated, on the one hand, the power of the king and the gods and finance on the other the demanding needs of the bureaucratic mechanism developed on its whole extent inside the empire shaped during the New Kingdom Period (O’Connor 1983: 206-218; Kemp 1989: 232-260).

While Horvath and Bartel’s model could place the policies demonstrated by Egypt in the Levant under what they refer as equilibrium imperialism, such placement neglects the role ideology, theology and economic return played on such decisions. The choice for more peaceful means of interaction during the Amarna period is not explained by such model, neither ideologically or in terms of economic return. In other words, the classification of the terms provided by Horvath and Bartel if stands alone, it provides an adequate explanation towards the policies followed in Nubia but it fails to explain why the Egyptians choose different systems of administration in Western Asia, the adoption of several ways of diplomacy in order to interact with their Asiatic peers, the ways these policies explained and justified inwards as the role economic gain played on them.

Apart from ideological, theological and administrative explanations of imperialism also economic reasons for the expansion of Egypt northwards and southwards presented. For Ahituv (1978: 93-105) conquest of Canaan proved the most appropriate way to control the trade routes and provide a source of commodities. For him, Egyptian conquest provided no drastic changes in land ownership. The land became the property of Pharaoh and several city-states in Canaan were dedicated to temples and gods together with their corvee. Ahituv made a simple reference to the granaries in such city-states as in the role they played for the support of further expeditions northwards but for him, the general benefit of Canaan was of no concern for the majority of the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom (Ahituv 1978: 93-105). Part of wealth produced on Canaan sent abroad but most of it expanded locally in order to maintain troops and the several colonial functionaries placed there. While he stresses

the significant geographical position of Canaan in order to control the trade ways lead to Mesopotamia he does not presents any analysis towards geopolitical factors as towards the ways these policies were implanted inwards.

For Na'aman (1981: 172-185) the Egyptian burden for Canaan was proved very heavy. Wilson (1951: 174) and Murnane (1983: 56) perceived commerce as one of the major factors towards the emphasis Egypt gave on expansion, Save Soderbergh & Troy (1991: 10-13) and O'Connor (1983: 255-68) emphasized on Nubia's importance for the provision of gold, cattle manpower and timber while Bleiberg (1988: 157-168) saw an economic basis behind the Egyptian expansion. Adams on his turn (1984: 40), using as case study the imperialism demonstrated in Nubia, attributed any changes in the imperial strategy followed by Egypt to the changes in the nature of the resources exploited through the Dynastic Period (Smith 1997: 69).

The several models analyzed above presented the phenomenon of the Egyptian imperialism in the Levant through ideological, theological, military or economic stimulations. A model which could incorporate all the imperial goals Egypt had in territories such as Western Asia, combine them with the nature and needs of the native and the Egyptian cultures (ideology, theology, need for justification, etc.), highlight the economic and geopolitical factors which dictated such policies and explain the differences in the imperial strategies followed proved necessary. In such a model the relations developed among the political and economic organization of the center and the subject periphery (territorial and vassal states) should gain their own share of importance.

As demonstrated in chapter 1, the Egyptian expansion northwards was not a series of military victories occurred only for geopolitical reasons or reasons of prestige. The main stimulus towards the expansion northwards was not solely due to reasons of theology/ideology in order to consolidate the Pharaonic power and authority or because of the possible economic return. It was a combination of all of them. Having as a starting point the expulsion of the Hyksos, the imperialist pattern Egypt followed in Western Asia evolved from a raw demonstration of power to more acquiescent means of interaction such as diplomacy during the period of Amarna. Hence, Egyptian imperial expansion can be considered as a set of carefully planned and efficiently executed policies which on the one hand considered the conditions and

circumstances of the region during the Late Bronze Age while, on the other, combined them with the imperial goals and the internal needs of justification of the deeds of the monarch. A theoretical model which could incorporate all of these aspects proved of primary need.

D’Altroy (1992) first provided such a model¹³⁹ by envisioning relations among the political and economic organization of the center and the subject periphery. An emphasis towards the disposition of imperial sources, vital for the construction of the empire, and the extraction of resources brought from abroad was given while ideology took a supplementary role (Smith 1997: 70). For D’Altroy (1992: 19) imperial strategies can be rendered into a scheme which placed at the one end territorial control (direct incorporation) and on the other what is called as hegemonic control (control and co-operation) as envisioned in diagram d.

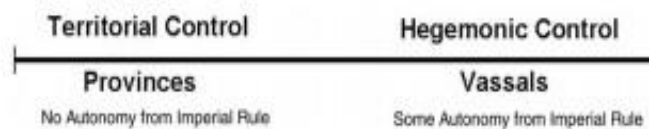


Diagram d: Territorial-hegemonic continuum as envisioned by D’Altroy (1992) (After Parker 2013: 136)

Territorial control can be defined as the direct administration of an area by imperial authorities (D’Altroy 1992; Parker 2013: 136). It is one of the most excessive characteristics of a territorial empire. Despite its cost of maintenance, territorial control allows raise in the extracted resources which came inside the empire from abroad. Such an aspect of control was characterized by the exploitation of natural resources, the colonization of hinterlands, the implantation of the system of the colony to the newly added territories as the construction of fortified administration centers (D’Altroy et al 2000; Parker 2013: 136). Apart from territorial control, D’Altroy envisioned in his model a system of hegemonic control inexpensive to maintain but effective in matters of dominion, with the alteration beyond the two strategies occurred due to long term strategies and ad hoc responses to changing circumstances (D’Altroy 1992; Hassig 1988).

¹³⁹ Despite its focus on Mesoamerican civilizations, D’Altroy’s model presented several characteristics which could be applied in Egyptian Imperialism demonstrated in Nubia and Western Asia during the New Kingdom Period but not without flaws as we will demonstrate later.

In a system of hegemonic control rule and power were imposed not through ways which unpinned the existing governmental organization but through mechanisms of annexation (Muller 2011; Parker 20013: 136). Despite the exploitation of the subject policies economically, military and politically by the core culture, imperial power was transferred through governmental channels already existed *in situ* (Parker 2013: 136). Administration of such policies occurred through royal delegates stationed in vassal territories and such kind of rule was imposed in areas where the benefits as the indigenous culture seemed insufficient or not appropriate in order to justify forms of territorial control (Parker 2013: 136). The same pattern was followed also by Alcock (1989), oriented this time in the Roman Empire. For her, a cost-minimizing model inside which features such as the needs of imperial power and characteristics of indigenous cultures would be blended could provide determinative explanations towards the nature of exploitation.

By using a model as D'Altroy's, any distinctions between the imperialism demonstrated by Egypt in Nubia and Western Asia could be explained not only because of differences in patterns of exploitation. There could be assigned also to differences in the local systems as in the way the latter could meet the several Egyptian needs. Nevertheless, while such models could explain the differences in patterns quite adequately they were not flawless.

The first drawback in models as such is that they consider territories on which degrees of imperial power could be applied easily (Parker 2013: 137). Although imperial power and control could be applied quite easily by Egypt in areas such as Syropalestine, where the low level of local development as the distance from other major forces of the territory worked favorably towards Egypt, the presence of forces that actively oppose the empire such as Mitanni, Hatti, Babylon and Assyria could not be explained. Respectively, while territorial control could be easily applied in territories such as Nubia where the level of development differed from that in Western Asia, it fails to explain the differences in the policies followed there by Egypt. As a result, such models can consider only what Parker called "*positive degrees of imperial power*" and not situations in which states remained neutral, autonomous or opposed to any application of imperial power by the core (Egypt) to the periphery (vassal-enemy states) (Parker 2013: 137).

A second drawback is that the spatial relationships maintained (fraternal/vassal-overlord relationships) as the channels (trade, diplomacy, exchange of royal gifts and brides, etc.) inside which these relationships were transported among territorial and vassal states are not represented adequately. In a core-periphery relationship imperial power, territorial control as the way applied acquired several manifestations. Furthermore, the ways different regions of an empire with different levels of autonomy interconnected each other were not explained adequately (Parker 2013: 136-137). What is not also explained adequately is the role ideology and economic return played in internal justification of the deeds of the monarch or in the choice of specific imperial strategies (Parker 2013: 136-137). In order such difficulties being bypassed, an expanded version of what D’Altroy proposed needed. Such model, oriented in the nature of territoriality the Neo-Assyrian empire demonstrated during Mesopotamian Iron Age, presented by Parker (2013: 127-144). Despite its orientation in Assyria though, Parker’s model can be applied in the way the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom applied imperial policies in Western Asia if combined with the model provided above by Kemp (1978: 7-58).

2.3] A proposed model for the Egyptian imperialism demonstrated in Levant

In Parker’s model territorial and hegemonic power placed at the left of the continuum while the opposition was placed to the extreme right. Neutrality and autonomy placed at the center (Parker 2013: 137). Hence, the presence of forces that actively oppose the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom such as Mitanni, Hatti, Babylon, and Assyria or these which demonstrated some sort of neutrality can be explained adequately.

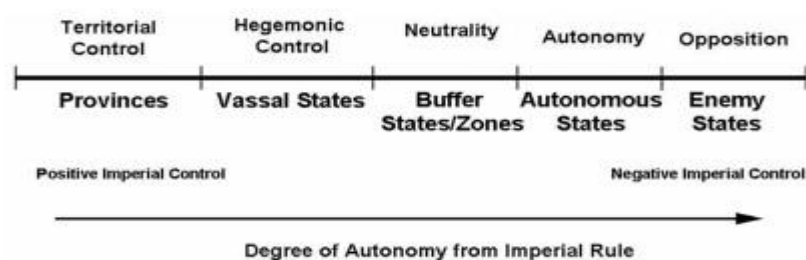


Diagram e: Parker’s continuum of imperial power model (After Parker 2013: 138)

In such model what empire appears to be is not one of the contiguous territories but one of scattered “*islands*” of territorial control (Liverani 1988) through which political, military and economic advantage offset the cost of annexation. The areas between these “*islands*” of power can be filled by the establishment of hegemonic rule over existing states such as these of Syropalestine or the several allies Egypt had through the course of the New Kingdom. Other space can be filled through the establishment of territorial control over territories which the benefit of annexation proved more than its cost such as Nubia. In the same pattern existed states neutral in nature, buffer zones such as that of Syropalestine as several other vassal states played that role through the course of the New Kingdom or states presented hostility against territorial forces such as New Kingdom Egypt as presented in diagram f.

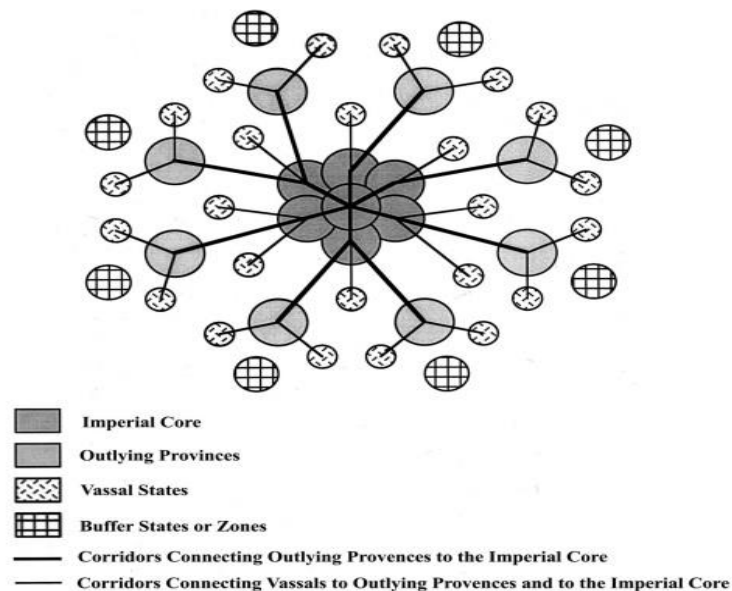


Diagram f: The Egyptian imperial network of the Late Bronze Age (After Parker 2013: 139)

Under such a model, the Egyptian foreign policies followed in Western Asia can be explained as an effort towards the maximization of the extraction of resources with the minimum cost. That happened through an imperial relationship which took several forms through the course of the New Kingdom. Inwards, a vast scale of military operations which had as their main goal to keep the trade routes open and to consolidate the position of the empire northwards occurred. Territories such as Nubia were annexed politically in order to present an economic base sufficient towards the expansion northwards. Furthermore, regions such as Syropalestine subjugated in a

vassalage relationship in order to provide a solid base for further expansion northwards. In such effort, ideology as justification through religion proved a significant tool towards the rationalization of the acts of the monarch inwards.

Parker's model, a combination of the nature of territoriality demonstrated by the New Kingdom Egypt in the Levant if combined with the ideological/theological explanations Kemp provided above could explain adequately the different policies followed, the role ideology and economy played in such decisions as why diplomacy was finally chosen as the ultimate tool of maintaining filial relations in order effort being maximized and cost in resources and manpower minimized. It was the evidence derived from several Egyptian textual sources dated during the New Kingdom Period which justified the use of such model and highlighted several aspects where the imperialistic ambitions of Egypt made their appearance inwards through the course of the New Kingdom.

3] New Kingdom evidence for the Egyptian imperialism

While the several aspects of contacts maintained between Egypt and the foreigners were presented in a great variety of studies¹⁴⁰, the Egyptian's very own view regarding such relations was mainly neglected from the scholarly research. The ways the imperialist policies Egypt followed in the Levant during the New Kingdom justified, rooted and used inwards in several aspects of Egypt's governmental policies lacks further analysis.

Despite the fact that the representation of acts of continuous contact and exchange with foreigners created a significant corpora of scholarly published literature in order a glimpse towards the attitudes the Egyptians had on such contacts being given appositely, this did not occur under a sufficient manner. This occurred mainly due to the focus provided to the ritualized and submissive character of such depictions in ideological and theological norms indissolubly connected with kingship and legitimization of authority (i.e Hall 1986). In order to become able to understand how the Egyptians applied and perceived inwards the imperialistic ambitions that Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties demonstrated in Western Asia, a deeper analysis based on texts as in the use of phrases and verbs in textual sources relevant with the external policies Egypt followed in Levant during the New Kingdom Period needed. In addition, an examination of the aforementioned factors on several aspects of governmental policies and goals Egypt followed during the New Kingdom seems vital in order to understand how imperialism was perceived inwards and justified under the model selected in 2.3.

Lexicographical studies on relative terminology had been presented with the attempts made by Lorton (1974; 1974b), Grimal (1986), Morschauer (1988), Bleiberg (1984b), Hoffmeier (1989), Galan (1995) and Hasel (1998) being the most important contributions. In addition, aspects such as the poetic structure of the texts (Hornung 1983; Fecht 1983; Lichtheim 1976), the establishment of different accounts (Spalinger 1983b; *Ibid.*, 1985a; 1985b; Redford 1986 b) as the general military organization (Faulkner 1953; Schulman 1964a; Gnirs 1996) and administration (Helck 1971; Naaman 1975; Israelit-Groll 1983) attempted in order an illusion of

¹⁴⁰ See for example the works made by Assmann 1996; Booth 2005; Forbes 2005; Haring 2005; Helck 1964, *ibid.*, LdA 1977, II: 306-310; Leahy 1995; O'Connor & Quirke 2003; Schneider 2003, *Ibid.*, 2010; Liverani 1990.

completeness being given. But it was in these attempts were several drawbacks presented.

Despite the fact that Lorton (1974; 1974b) discussed several terms of juridical terminology associated with the exercise of diplomatic relationships among Egypt and its international peers, his studies had as an ending point the Eighteenth Dynasty. Furthermore, studies such as these of Hoffmeier (1989), Galan (1995) and Hasel (1998) restricted the limits of research to specific Pharaohs and Dynasties and did not treat the way terminology used in Egyptian texts dated during the course of the New Kingdom. In addition, their approach based mainly in the description of the roles the king acquired in such sources through the apposition of the epithets the monarch received could not be proved helpful. The same exists in the presentation of the role the foreigners overtook through descriptions which derived from the analysis of the posture and the gestures the latter acquired in such texts: such an approach could not give persuasive answers towards how the Egyptians perceived their own external policy abroad.

Simple explanations towards the ways such roles were connected and justified through theological and ideological norms are not sufficient in order to understand the deeper nuances created from an Egyptian point of view as towards the ways these norms were justified inwards. A deeper analysis, based on the apposition of relative texts dated during the New Kingdom Period as on the use and transformation of specific terms and expressions relative with the actions of the king towards foreigners and *vice versa* seems vital towards that direction. Such an approach can reveal several aspects to the application of justification of imperialism inwards. Furthermore, an analysis of the juridical terminology maintained around the international relations shaped between Egypt and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age in the same texts can give us glimpses towards how the Egyptians perceived such relations from their own point of view and justify the selection of the model presented above in 2.3 in order to explain the ways Egypt used in order to present its imperialistic ambitions to its own audience under such a model of imperialism.

While terms occurred in almost every literary genre, it is in the military texts dated from the Second Intermediate Period onwards were significant changes in terminology introduced. In such texts, theological, ideological, geopolitical and

economical implications can be made and a solid picture towards how Egyptians viewed the international relations of Late Bronze Age from their own scope can be rendered. Furthermore, the specific areas on which the proposed model on 2.3 made its appearance will be analyzed. Through such an analysis we will be able to create a base for comparison towards the different policies Egypt followed when entered in the diplomatic system shaped during the Late Bronze Age, something which will be analyzed in detail in chapter 4 as the fields Egypt and its Pharaohs displayed some sort of “*abandonment*” in prestige and power, something which be dealt in chapter 5.

3.1] Selected Texts

Writing in ancient Egypt served two basic major purposes: administration/accounting and monumental display (Baines 2007: 3). In the first case, it allowed some sort of control over any kind of economic activity which took place on Egypt while in the second one writing turned itself into a medium for communication and propaganda (Baines 1983: 575; *ibid.*, 2007: 37; Eyre 2013: 4).

Almost a couple of generations after the creation of what John Baines identified as *decorum*¹⁴¹, a new era for Egypt started: the Dynastic Period (Baines 2007: 37). It was during the Dynastic Period when the Egyptian history started to record events in the annals, entries consisted of written records of the names of the kings combined with the length of their reign in the Egyptian throne (Eyre 2013: 4, 9; Wilkinson 2000: 18-20). Under that perception, history was separated from prehistory and writing acquired special significance due to its consonance with the formation of the state and the presentation on the monuments of the Egyptian “*ordered*” world under the custody of Pharaoh, the incarnation of Horus and the earthly representative of the gods (Baines 1983: 576).

Writing was indissoluble connected with the state during the Dynastic Period and acquired great prestige in relation to it (Baines 2007: 38). It was the aforementioned connection between writing and state development which made the texts written for internal consumption to acquire a strict, causative, laudatory character which placed on the apex of hierarchy Pharaoh. Such texts were usually oriented to the ideals constituted the institution of kingship and its relationship with

¹⁴¹ The combination of pictorial and written material on monuments, see Baines 2007: 37.

the divine¹⁴², the role the officials acquired in the function of the Egyptian administrative system¹⁴³ as the relationship maintained among Egypt and the foreigners.¹⁴⁴ The same texts downgraded anything non-Egyptian. Such a tendency prevailed over the texts dated during the New Kingdom Period.

In several paradigms such as in letters to and from royalty, edicts, vassal treaties, royal decrees, marriage scarabs, annals, autobiographies, documents of military nature, etc., the placement of the Pharaoh at the apex of the Egyptian hierarchy became prominent. In such texts, Pharaoh, the prime ritualist, the main sustainer of order and justice in the earthly realm and the physical embodiment of Horus was beyond evaluation, superior in comparison with every other human being (Wente 1990: 17). The same sense of superiority of the Pharaoh was reflected in the relationship the Egyptians had with the foreigners.

In texts made for internal consumption non acculturated foreigners were presented as partners of chaos, totally subordinate and submissive to Egypt, begging for “*the breath of life*” and delivering tribute (*inw*).¹⁴⁵ In such relationship Egypt and its Pharaoh had the upper hand: it was considered by the Egyptians as the dominant center of the world, an *axis mundi* placed among heaven and earth (Cornelius 2010: 324).¹⁴⁶ Foreign lands on their turn were perceived as the periphery, as localities placed outside the “*civilized*” world and inhabited by the forces of chaos (*iwsft*) (Allen 2003c: 23; Cornelius 2010: 324; Gordon 2001: 544). The only fate that awaited the non-acculturated foreigners was either destruction or subjugation. The “*wretched*” and “*vile*” Asiatics, Nubians, Hittites, Mitanni, Babylonians, etc. had to be prevented

¹⁴² For a discussion round a general characterization of kingship and its origins see O’Connor & Silverman 1995; Baines 1995a; Silverman 1995. For the concept of kingship see Windus-Staginsky 2006; Gundlach 1998; Redford 1995; Barta 1975; Goedicke 1960. For a discussion around its nature see Silverman 1991; Goedicke 1986; Barta 1978. For the royal titular of the Pharaoh see Leprohon 2013; *Ibid.*, 2010. For royal divinity on general see Quigley 2005, while for divinity on Egypt see O’Connor and Silverman 1995. For the legitimization of the king see Otto 1969; O’Connor and Silverman 1995.

¹⁴³ For a complete discussion around ancient Egyptian administration through the course of Egypt’s Dynastic history see Moreno Garcia 2013 with references.

¹⁴⁴ On foreigners in Egypt and Egypt’s relation with them see Assmann 1996; Booth 2005; Forbes 2005; Haring 2005; Helck 1964, *ibid.*, *LdA* 1977, II: 306-310; Leahy 1995; O’Connor & Quirke 2003; Schneider 2003, *Ibid.*, 2010. For the ideology of foreigners cf. also Liverani 1990.

¹⁴⁵ Notable exception the hymns to Amun-Ra in P. Boulaq 17 as the hymns to Aten, see Lichtheim 1976, II: 98.

¹⁴⁶ For an iconic representation see the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer from Saqqarah (Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.7.1; photo in Forman & Quirke, 1996:136) from the early Ptolemaic period, see Allen, 2003, Fig. 2.2; Keel, 1977: Abb. 33.

from entering Egypt and drew the country into a downward spiral of inversion and chaos (Muhlestein 2011: 83; Belova 1998: 145). It was the Pharaoh himself who maintained order over chaos and political violence, having the motif of Pharaoh smiting the enemies reproduced quite fashionably in the Egyptian iconography, was eulogized and legitimized (Muhlestein 2003; Assman 1995; Cornelius 2010: 326; Hall 1986).

In the genres mentioned above, a strong tendency towards the glorification of the past and the sanctioning of the actions of the king was also demonstrated (Bjorkman 1964; Tait 2003; Baines 2007: 179-201). Despite the fact that the level of awareness the Egyptians demonstrated towards their past was seriously questioned (Bull 1955: 32; Gese 1958: 128; Helck 1977f: 1226; Otto 1966; Wildung 1977b: 560-562; Ibid., 1977c: 562-564), a vital interest in the direction of recording events happened in the past, demonstratives of actions of sanctioning and legitimization of kingship and political authority, as towards the religious justification of the actions of the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom in foreign lands such as Nubia and Western Asia appeared. Such actions were glorified for reasons of theology, ideology and political reinforcement of the position of the monarch.

Past was perceived as events cyclical in nature and not linear in sequence (Wildung 1977c: 563) and it was intimately tied up with the concepts of kingship, theology, and ideology (Barta 1975; Baines 1995a; Blumenthal 1978; Baines 2007: 179-201). Hence, history and historiography in texts meant for internal consumption were given in an Egyptian sense as “*a dogma of sacrosanct monarchy*”, fully oriented to the actions of the king as to the recording of such actions through ways which were fully complied with the norms theology and ideology dictated (Morenz 1973: 11; Hasel 1998: 17). It was narrated through the eminence of the role of the Pharaoh as the good god (*ntr nfr*), the monarch who was preordained by gods to triumph and obtain glory through military activity justified by them. Pharaoh was the smiter of foreigners which brought upheaval and destruction on Egypt, he was and guarantor of Maat, the incarnation of Sun god on earth and the protector of Egypt, the one who enlarges its borders always forward to “*what the sun encircles*” (Hassel 1995: 17; Hornung 1992; Assman 1990).

Kingship and its technics of legitimation were closely related to such consumptions. In such connection kingship was reformulated through divine sanctioning (Hornung 1973: 188) and the king acquired such roles through his selection from the gods in several concepts, even from the moment of his conception in the womb (Hornung 1973: 188; Radwan 1985; Baines 1995a) as from the passing of duties such as the annihilation of foreigners the gods inherited to him. Hence, any military activity the kings took in Nubia and Western Asia was presented in the New Kingdom textual sources as an attempt, on behalf of the king, to maintain the order in the earthly realm in a way similar to that in the celestial realm of the gods. Through divine justification, the king smashed the enemies of Egypt, destroyed those who rebelled against the country and its gods and presented tribute and prisoners to the gods, especially Amun. And verbs and expressions used towards that cause were carefully selected by the Egyptian scribes of the New Kingdom.

Doc. 1: The Emhab stela (Cairo JE 49566)

Bibliography: Baines 1986: 41-53; Klotz 2010: 211-244; Cerny 1969: 87-92; Drioton 1942; Redford 1997.

“I am (Emhab) the one who followed (*šms*) his lord (Kamose) at his movements, who was not defeated (*tm*¹⁴⁷ *hz.t*)¹⁴⁸ regarding a command he said. The *tmrhtn*¹⁴⁹ said (*h̄.n dd.n tmrhtn(t)*): **“I will fight (*wd.t*) against him to the death.”** Then I passed the third regnal year (*ir=i rnp.t 3*) beating the drum every day. He is a god (*sw m ntr*), while **I am a ruler (*iw=i m hk3*)¹⁵⁰**, it is with me sustaining (*s̄nh*)¹⁵¹ that **he** (Kamose) **kills (*wnn=h hr hdb*)**”.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ In most of the cases *tm* is used as an accompanying clause which underlines the final outcome of military activity, see Hasel 1998: 64 with examples.

¹⁴⁸ A phrase used quite commonly in Eighteenth Dynasty biographical texts. See for example Urk. IV, 944, 4-5. For more examples on the use of the phrase see Baines 1986: 42.

¹⁴⁹ A “*personennamen*” according to Grimm (1989: 221).

¹⁵⁰ *hk3* (Faulkner 1962: 178, rule over, govern; Wilson 1991, II: 1217; Wb III: 170 (5-21), to rule). Several differences on the spelling of the verb occurred with the ones on Urk. IV, 16, 9.14 (𓄀𓄁/𓄀𓄁) (Faulkner 1962: 178), and Edfu (𓄀 at I 482, 7/ 𓄀𓄁 at IV 53, 13) being easily noticeable, see Wilson 1991: 1217. Its Old and Middle Kingdom use as indicator of a private person/administrator of landed estates disappeared during the New Kingdom, see Helck 1958: 238f. Its Middle Kingdom use as noun, verb and abstract noun though continued, see Wb. III: 170-174. The verb was used during the 18th Dynasty to denote the authority of the Pharaoh in Egypt and in the outside world in general, see Lorton 1974: 29; Wb. III, 170, 6, 11, 13. Political control which was exercised through the possession of kingship implied in several occurrences in contexts of international relations (Urk. IV 16, 7; Urk. IV 17, 14-17; Urk. IV 82, 12-13; Urk. IV 58, 16-59; Urk. IV 368, 8; Urk. IV 572, 16-573, 1; Urk. IV 1260, 1-6; Urk. IV 1293, 3-5; Urk. IV 1702, 15; Urk. IV 2054, 11 etc). Its use in expressions such as *hk3 psdt-pdwt* “the ruler of the nine bows”, clearly involved foreign relations and it was first attested under the

Doc. 2: Carnarvon tablet no 1

Bibliography: Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 36-37, Pls. XXVII-XIII; Gardiner 1916; Simpson 2003: 345-348; Pritchard 1969: 232-233; Smith and Smith 1976; Redford 1997: 1-44.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*nsw-bity*) [Wadi-kheper-Re, Son of Re] (*w3d-hpr-rꜥ s3 rꜥ*) Kamose (*k3-ms*) the valiant...His Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of officials¹⁵³ which was in his following: To what effect do I perceive it, my might (*sib=i sw r ih p3i=i nht*), while **a chief is in Avaris and another in Kush** (*wr*¹⁵⁴ *m hwt-*

reign of Thutmose III. Expressions such as *hk3 n šnt n itn/hk3 šnnt itn* “Ruler of what the sun encircles”, were attested in the beginning of the reign of Ahmose and as nominal expressions first occurred during Thutmose III (i.e. Urk. IV 1239, 17; Urk. IV 2126, 8-9). *hk3* comes to a clear contradiction with *wr*, “chief”, a common designation used for the rulers and the local princes of the Near Eastern principalities.

¹⁵¹ The verb refers to the economic support an official with the rank of Emhab provided to the population of Edfu.

¹⁵² *hbd* was probably used here in order to demonstrate Kamose as a warrior Pharaoh, the expeller of the Hyksos, see Klotz 2010: 234. The use of the verb without subject (intransitive use) finds parallels in the story of Sinuhe and in the Wadi el-Hol literary inscription, describing in both occasions a Pharaoh who was on a semi-divine status, see Darnell 2002, Vol I: 111; Klotz 2010 234; Wb II: 2021. In autobiographies, a hierarchy on which the semi-divine king is responsible for the slaughtering of the foes while the other combatants can achieve at the highest level some captures of prisoners only is visible, especially in biographical inscriptions dated during the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁵³ The plural *ḥꜣtꜣ* was used in the text in order to demonstrate the officials of the council, see Smith and Smith 1976: 62, note b.

¹⁵⁴ *Wr* (Wb I; 328; Faulkner 1962: 64, great one, chief, magnate, ruler (of foreign country). The basic translation of the term is “Great one”, see Wb. I: 328. While the usual term in use in order to designate foreign rulers before the Second Intermediate Period was *hk3*, examples which connected *wr* with foreign rulers and foreigners do exist in Papyrus (i.e. BM 569, see Fischer 1957: 228), in execration texts (Posener 88f, 93) as in accountant papyri dated during XIII Dynasty (Save-Sdoeberg 120; contra Posener 1958: 39; Borchardt 1890: 94). During the Hyksos Period the term indicated a lower status of ruler than *hk3* implied and took in several occasions the connotation “vassal”, acquiring this way a political relationship and not one denoting property inheritance (Lorton 1974: 61). That was demonstrated vividly in texts such as the one inscribed on Kamose stela (doc.3 below). Despite its connection with vassals the term was also used to indicate foreign rulers such as those of Mitanni, Babylon and Hatti (i.e. Urk. IV 1309, 13; Urk. IV 1738, 13) in a way which ignored their independent status (Lorton 1974: 62). In such occurrences, an explicit distinction among terms such as *wr* and *hk3* was made. The use of phrases such as *hk3w h3swt wrw nyw rtnw*, “the independent rulers of foreign countries and the dependent princes of Retenu” (Urk. IV 1290, 3), and *hk3w h3swt wrw*, “the independent rulers of the foreign countries and the dependent princes of the lands” (Urk. IV 1744, 1), highlighted that distinction. The term *wr* was also used on behalf of Egyptians in reference to the rulers called Sarru in the Letters from Amarna no matter their overlord or vassal status (Lorton 1974: 62). Indicative towards that direction were the references made to the kings of Mitanni, Assyria, Hatti and Babylon by Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III (*p3 wr n nhrn/sngr/ ht3-ꜥ3* “the prince of Mitanni/Babylon/Hatti”, *wr n nhrn/sngr/Issr* “prince of Mitanni/Babylon/Assyria”, *p3 wr n ht3-ꜥ3* “the prince of Great Hatti” etc, in Urk. IV 1309, 13; Urk. IV 1738, 13; Urk. IV 700, 16; Urk. IV 727, 13; Urk. IV 668, 6 etc). Such a use though was not in compliance with the way terms such as “Sarru” used in Accadian, the diplomatic *lingua franca* of Late Bronze Age. In the Amarna Letters Sarru was used also in order to designate the Egyptian Pharaoh while “sarru rabu”, “the Great King”, although used for both Pharaoh and great kings, when transported into texts made for internal consumption transformed into *wr* and not as *hk3*. The main difference was the refusal, on behalf of

*w^crt ki m Kš(i)*¹⁵⁵, I am sitting **joined**¹⁵⁶ with an Asiatic and a Nubian (*hms.kwi sm3.kwi m^c3m nḥsi*), **each man having his own portion of Egypt** (*s nb hr fdk=f m Kmt*), **sharing the land with me** (*psš t3 hn^c=i*)...**I shall encounter in battle with him and I shall smash his body** (*tw=i r thn hn^c=f sd=i ḥt=f*), **for my intention is to save Egypt, striking the Asiatics** (*ib=i r nhm Kmt ḥw(i).t 3mw*)¹⁵⁷... I shall sail northwards to do battle with the Asiatics, and success will come to pass...His eyes will be about to weep, and the entire land will say: the ruler within Thebes, Kamose the valiant, **is the protector of Egypt. By the command of Amun, astute of counsel, I sailed north** (*m wd imn mtr shrw*) **to my victory to drive back the Asiatics**".¹⁵⁸

Doc.3: The second Kamose Stela

Bibliography: Gardiner 1916:95-110; Habachi 1972; Smith & Smith 1976: 43-76; Spalinger 1982: 34-48; Simpson 2003:345-350.

“A vile report is in the interior of your town. You are driven back with your army (*tw=k¹⁵⁹ tf.ti r-gs mš=k*). **Your speech is vile** (*r=k hns¹⁶⁰*) **when you make me as a “chieftain”**¹⁶¹ (*m ir=k mi m wr*) **while you are a ruler** (*iw=k m hk^c*).¹⁶² So, as to want for yourself what is wrongly seized, though which **you shall fall** (*r¹⁶³ dbḥ n=k t3 nmt¹⁶⁴ ḥrt=k n=s*). **Your back sees misfortune since my army is after you** (*m^c s^c=k bin mš^c=i m s3=k*). The women of Avaris will not conceive (*nn iwr ḥmtw ḥt-w^crt*), for their hearts will not open in their bodies when the battle cry of my army is heard. I was moored at *pr-dd-kn*¹⁶⁵, my heart being glad as I caused Apophis to see a miserable moment... Their bodies do not move, for they see me (*nn sn ḥt=sn m33=sn*

Egyptians, in texts of the recognition of foreign rulers as equals who treated on a parity basis with Pharaoh.

¹⁵⁵ Once again, *wr*, “chief”, was used in order to declare the ruler of the Hyksos and that in Nubia.

¹⁵⁶ A frequent literary use of *hms*.

¹⁵⁷ One of the primary duties the king of Egypt had was to ensure the safety of Egypt as a prototype of the celestial reign of gods in heaven.

¹⁵⁸ Even in such a premature manifestation of the Egyptian imperialism, it is Amun who commanded the sailing north, highlighting this way that expansion was considered as a duty passed by the gods to Pharaoh as we will see in other texts below.

¹⁵⁹ Used here in a sentence in which the predicate (*tf(y)*) is adverbial in order to demonstrate the notion of a sudden or violent motion, see Habachi 1972: 32, note c with references.

¹⁶⁰ Lit. “Your mouth is narrow”.

¹⁶¹ As the head of a town, a mayor, not as the king, the ruler of Egypt or at least a part of it, see note 153.

¹⁶² The contradiction between “chief” and “ruler” is clear. Calling the Pharaoh of Egypt with the designation *wr* is intolerable by the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners and the king himself.

¹⁶³ Expression of a future action.

¹⁶⁴ Referred to the lands that Apophis had under his possession.

¹⁶⁵ A vague toponym, probably a village. Despite the absence of the “hill-country” determinative, the mooring of Kamose there before and after the battle suggests that *pr-dd-kn* must be a place name.

wi) as they look with their noses on their walls like the young of mice in their burrows (*mitr3w r inhw m hnw b3b3w=sn*), saying: “it is an attack”. Behold, I have come, I am successful and the remainder is in my possession (*spt m^c=i*)...As the mighty Amun endures (*w3h Imn kn*) I will not leave you alone (*nn w3h=i tw*)...O wicked of heart (*whm ib=k ir f*), vile Asiatic. I shall drink of the wine of your vineyard, which the Asiatics whom I capture press for me...I am the Lord, there is not my peer as far as Ashmunein (*s^c r hnmw*) and even Per-Hathor brings tribute to Avaris in the two rivers (*r pr-hthr hr hrp r hwt-w^crt m irrw*). I leave them in desolation (*W3h=i st m wš3*), there are no people in them. I laid waste their cities, I burnt their places which were made as red mounds for eternity *because of the damage (*hr p3 hdt*) they did in Egypt (*t3 kmt*)*, they who caused them to serve the Asiatics when they overran Egypt, their mistress.¹⁶⁶

Doc. 4: The biography of Ahmose, son of Ebana

Bibliography: Urk. IV, 1-11; Gunn 1926: 281-284; Gunn and Gardiner 1918: 36-56; Loret 1910; Pritchard 1969: 233-234; Lichtheim 1976, II: 12-15; Vandersleyen 1971: 17-87; PM V: 182.

“The naval commander Ahmose (*i^ch-msiw*), Son of Abana the justified, he says: I speak to you all people. I will let you know the favors that were granted to me. I have been rewarded with gold seven times (*iw^c.kw m nbw sp 7*)...with male and female slaves as well (*hmw hmwt r-mitt-iry*). I have been endowed with very many fields (*s3h.kw m 3hwt s^cw wrt*)...I became a soldier (*w^cw*) in his place¹⁶⁷ on the ship “The Wild Bull” in the time of the Lord of the two lands Nebpehtire (*Nb-phti-R^c*) (Ahmose) the justified...When the town of Avaris (*dmi n hwt-w^crt*) was besieged (*hms*¹⁶⁸.*tw*) I showed valor on foot in his Majesty’s presence...there was fighting on the water in Padjedku of Avaris (*wn.in.tw hr s^ch3 hr mw m P3-ddkw n hwt-w^crt*). Then I made a capture (*kf^c.n=i*) and carried of a hand...I was given gold of valor (*rdit n=i nbw n knt*)...Then Avaris was captured (*wn.in.tw hr h3k hwt-w^crt*) and I brought booty from there: One man and three woman, total four people. And his Majesty gave them to me

¹⁶⁶ Another manifestation of the Egyptian ideology against foreigners according to which Egypt was the center of the universe and the dominant center of the world, see Allen 2003b: 23; Gordon 2001: 544.

¹⁶⁷ Ahmose became a soldier at his father’s place.

¹⁶⁸ Literally slaughtered, mutilated. For *hms* as slaughter see Wb III: 96.

for slaves. Then Sharuhēn¹⁶⁹ was besieged for three years (*wn.in.tw hr hmst šrh n m rnp(w)t 3*) and his majesty captured it (*wn.in*)...After His Majesty had slain (*sm3.n*) the Bedouins of Asia, he sailed northwards to Khent-hen nefer to destroy (*r sksk*¹⁷⁰) the Nubian nomads and his Majesty carried out a large massacre (*hm=f hr irt h3t 3t*) among them...His Majesty sailed northward, rejoicing in strength and victory (*ib=f3w(.w) m knt nht*), captured southern and northerners (*it.n=f rsiw mHtiw*)...Thereafter one (Thutmose I) proceeded to Retjenu, to vent his fury (*r i^ct ib=f*) throughout the lands (*ht h3swt*). When his Majesty reached Naharina (Mitanni) he found that enemy marshaling troops, and his Majesty carried out a large massacre (*hm=f hr irt h3t 3t*)¹⁷¹ among them (*im=sn*). Countless were the captives that his majesty brought away from his victories... His Majesty saw my valor...I was rewarded with gold once more”.


Doc. 5: The inscriptions of Ahmose Pen-Nekhbet

Bibliography: Breasted 1906, Vol II; Urk. IV, 35: 16-17.

“Ahmose (*i^ch-msiw*), called Pen-Nekhbet, the justified he says: I followed the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebpehtire (*Nb-phtī-R^c*) (Ahmose), the Justified. I took captive (*kf^c=i*) for him (*n=f*) in Djahi (*d3hi*)¹⁷²: one prisoner and one hand...I did this again (*wḥm in.n=i*) for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djoserkare (*dsr-k3-R^c*) (Amenhotep I) the Justified. I captured (*kf^c=i*) for him (*n=f*) in the north of Iamu-

¹⁶⁹ This is the only recorded military activity of Ahmose in Southern Canaan. The military activity took place at Sharuhēn was probably part of a subsidiary campaign the Egyptian troops conducted the same time they besieged Avaris. The capture of Sharuhēn by Ahmose was indicative towards the military policy the first Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty followed in Asia: through the application of military control by Egypt over strategic points of defense along the coastal plane as far as north as Yursa (Sharuhēn, Kedem etc.), Egypt became able to create a sphere of influence over the Palestinian Hill country without get herself involved into a costly, long scale military operation of permanent conquest. In addition, the circumstances for a future expansion in Asia were created.

¹⁷⁰ Finite verb, used quite fashionably during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties by the Egyptian scribes in order to give emphasis to the action of destruction of the enemy lands and towns by the Pharaoh. Another use of the verb was referred to the strength of the Pharaoh in metaphorical terms (Hasel 1998: 58). The verb occurred in several documents dated during the New Kingdom period such as the Gebel Barkal stela (Urk. IV, 1288), documents from the campaigns of Seti I (i.e KRI I: 18, 16; KRI I: 99, 3; KRI I: 13, 14; KRI I: 18, 14; KRI I:19, 9), the campaigns of Ramesses II (i.e KRI II: 157, 9; KRI II: 164, 16; KRI II: 180, 13; KRI II: 303, 7; KRI II: 319, 15-16) and the inscriptions of Ramesses III where its use increases dramatically (Hasel 1998: 58).

¹⁷¹ Literally “His Majesty made great corpses from them”. For *h3t* as corpse see Faulkner 1962: 200 (, Urk. IV. 619, 3.

¹⁷² An obscure toponym which referred probably to Canaan and Lebanon, see Gardiner 1947: 145-146; Drower 1980: 425.

Kehek (*Bmw-Khk*)¹⁷³: three hands (*drt 3*)...I did this again for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperkare (*ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ*) (Thutmose I) the Justified. **I captured (*kjʕ=i*) for him** in the land of Naharina (*Nhrn*)¹⁷⁴: 21 hands, one horse (and) one chariot. I followed the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperenre (*ʕ3-hpr-n-Rʕ*) (Thutmose II) the justified. What **I brought (*int.n=i*)** from Shasu (*š3sw*)¹⁷⁵ **were many prisoners (*skrw-ʕnh ʕš3 wrt*)** which I couldn't count...The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperkare gave me: of gold (*nbw*), four rings (*ʕwʕw 4*), four necklaces (*šbw 4*), one bracelet (*msktw 1*), six flies (*ʕff 6*), three lions (*m3i 3*), of gold, two battle axes (*ikhw 2*). The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperenre gave me: of gold, four rings (*ʕwʕw 4*), six necklaces (*šbw 6*), three bracelets (*msktw 3*), one armlet (*mhtbtt 1*), of silver (*hd*), two battle axes (*ikhw 2*)".¹⁷⁶


Doc. 6: Rhind mathematical papyrus colophon

Bibliography: Helck 1975: 78; Morris 2005: 41.

“Regnal year 11, second month of Shomu¹⁷⁷: Heliopolis has entered (*ʕk.tw ʕiwnw*). First month of Akhet, day 23: this southern ruler (Ahmose) advanced to Tjaru¹⁷⁸ (*twn wr pn rsy r t3rw*). Day 25: it was heard, “Tjaru has entered” (*ʕkw t3rw*)”.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³ Again, another vague toponym probably referred to one of the oases of the Libyan desert, see Winnicki 2009: 76.

¹⁷⁴ The term the ancient Egyptians used for Mitanni, see Wb. II: 287.1.

¹⁷⁵ Semitic-speaking cattle nomads in the Levant, see Redford 1992: 271-272. Indicative towards their nomadic nature was the use of the verb *š3s* by the Egyptians as a demonstrative of movement by foot, used quite often of journeys or to describe the daily movement of the sun, see Albright 1943: 32, note 27; Ward 1972: 56-59; *ibid.*, 1992; Wb IV, 412.5. The presence of the “hill-country” determinative  as the preposition *hr* before the term demonstrates the reference of the writer to a foreign place of origin from where the numerous captives mentioned in the inscription brought in Egypt by Ahmose Pen-Nekhet.

¹⁷⁶ Rewards mentioned also in the biography of Ahmose son of Ibana (doc. 2). Indicative towards the sustaining of a special class made of army people as towards the role military expeditions and the loot brought inwards as *inw* played towards the sustaining of the Egyptian economy of the New Kingdom.

¹⁷⁷ The season of the harvest, see Allen 2000: 103-106.

¹⁷⁸ Determined by the Gardiner town sign O 49. In many texts dated during the New Kingdom period, Tjaru identified with the *htm* fortress which guarded the border between the eastern Delta and Canaan. Despite the fact that many archaeological sites have been proposed as its original position, Tell Abu Sefeh seems the most appropriate location for Tjaru, see Davies 1995: 127, n. 499; Morris 2005: 45, n. 64.

¹⁷⁹ The Rhind mathematical papyrus colophon can be seen as one of the starting points of the Egyptian reaction of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty against the Hyksos. It reveals the capture of the towns of Heliopolis and Tjaru before the fall of Avaris, the Hyksos capital, an event which was described at the biography of Ahmose, son of Ibana. The time gap between the fall of Heliopolis and the capture of Tjaru might demonstrate a possible Hyksos counter attack against the Egyptian forces of Ahmose. Finally, the capture of Tjaru, although not a violent affair, can be seen as one of the major turning points of the war against the Hyksos.

Doc. 7: The Tombos stela of Thutmose I


Bibliography: Sethe 1927: 82-86; ibid., 1914: 42-44; Breasted 1906, II: 27-31; Goedicke 1996:161-176; Hannig 1995.

“Regnal year 2, second month of the season of inundation, day 15...The king of Upper and Lower Egypt: Aakheperkare (ϵ^3 - hpr - $k3$ - R^c), given life, son of Re, Thutmosis ($dhwti$ - $msiw$)...His appearance ($h^c t=f$) as ruler of the two lands (m hri - tp $t3wi$) to rule (r $hk3$) what the sun revolves around ($\check{s}nt$ n itm),¹⁸⁰ the southern and the northern lands as well (rsm mhn m - $r3$ - ϵ^c)...As his Majesty took possession of his inheritance (it . $n=f$ $iw^c t=f$), he sat down (htp . $n=f$) on the dais of the Horus ($tnt3t$ hr) to make wide the borders (r $swsh$ $t3\check{s}w$) of Thebes ($w3st$)¹⁸¹...To make her servant the bedouin (r $b3k$ $n=s$ $hriw$ - \check{s}^c), the hill dwellers ($h3sti$), those abominated by god (bwi tiw ntr), the inhabitants of the Greek (Aegean) islands ($h3w$ - $nbwt$)...All foreign lands ($h3swt$ nbt) together carrying their tributes ($dmdy$ hr inw ¹⁸²= sn) to the good god of the primordial time (n ntr nfr sp - tpi), Aakheperkare (ϵ^3 - hpr - $k3$ - R^c)... Offered to him were the chiefs (hnk $n=f$ hns pnw $hriw$), their villages to him (mhw $t=sn$ $n=f$), kissing the ground (m sn - $t3$)¹⁸³...Not one there of remained (n sp $w^c im$)...Their skulls flooded

¹⁸⁰ An implication of universal rule, demarcating a mythical border (the so-called drw) fixed in its optimal position, untouched by politics and historical incidents.

¹⁸¹ A clear manifestation of the Egyptian imperialism demonstrated in Levant.

¹⁸² *Inw* (Gardiner 1947: 127; *ibid.*, 1956: 11; Wb I: 91; Wilson 1991, I: 150, tribute, revenue; Faulkner 1962: 22, produce of a region, tribute of subject lands, gifts from palace, diplomatic gifts; DLE I: 37, tribute, deliveries, gifts, contribution, impost, produce). A term used quite commonly during the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. In monumental inscriptions such as these of Thutmose III as in several campaigns such as that of Seti I against the Hittites (i.e. KRI I: 19, 6; KRI I: 19, 9) and the Libyans (i.e. KRI I: 23, 3; KRI I: 23, 5-6) or those of Ramesses II against the Hittites at the battle of Kadesh (i.e. KRI II: 144, 13; KRI II: 144, 3, 5; KRI II: 147, 9), the action attributed to *inw* was that of an exchange which was driven mostly out of force, not as an exchange of gifts among rulers of equal rank, see Hasel 1998: 69. Furthermore, in textual evidence dated during the reign of Seti I such as the campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan recorded at the Karnak (KRI I: 10, 12; KRI I: 11, 4) or the one to Yeno'am and Lebanon (KRI I: 15, 8; KRI I: 15, 12), the Pharaoh presented to Amun-Re goods that included among others gold, silver, lapis lazuli and prisoners (i.e. KRI I: 10, 12; KRI I: 15, 8; KRI I: 19, 9; KRI I: 23, 3). As Bleiberg demonstrated (1984: 158), a response from Amun-Re provided in several occasions (KRI I:11, 4; KRI I:15, 12; KRI I:26, 10; KRI I:30, 11) and prisoners or *inw* was promised to the king due to the piety demonstrated to the god. Despite the several similarities noticed in the different meanings of *inw*, its definition proved a matter of discussion, see Hasel 1998: 69 with references. Although the traditional nuance attributed to the noun was that of the “tribute”, it was Gardiner which first challenged the generally accepted translation and translated it as “gifts” (Gardiner 1947: 127; *ibid.*, 1956: 11). Helck perceived *inw* as an “Angebliche Tribut” (Helck 1971: 166) while Muller-Wollerman supported Gardiner’s translation and agreed that it should be understood simply as “gifts” (Muller-Wollerman 1983: 81-93).

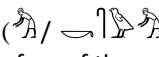
¹⁸³ *sn-t3* (Wilson 1991, II: 1516; Wb IV: 154 (8-24), kiss the earth/ground, bow to someone. For *sn*, to kiss, smell () see Wb IV: 153-154; Wilson 1991, II: 1516; Faulkner 1962: 230). Expression used frequently in the texts of the New Kingdom in order to declare obedience. Usually, it was used by the Egyptian scribes as a sign of adoration and piety of the foreigners towards the king. Accordingly, *sn-t3*

their valleys (*ʿisw=sn bʿh=f inwt=sn*)...His southern boundary reaches to the beginning of this land (*tʃš=f rsi r hntiw tʃ pn*), his northern to that reversed water flowing south (*mhti r mw pfkdw hddi m hnty*).¹⁸⁴ Such has not happened to other kings, his name has reached the circumference of heaven (*rn=f spr.w r dbnw n pt*), it has reached the end of earth (*ph.n=f tʃwi rht*)...Subservient to him are the islands of the ocean (*gnh n=f iww nw šn-wr*), the entire land is under his feet (*tʃ r-dr=f hr tbt=f*).

Doc. 8: Biography of Ineni

Bibliography: Breasted 1906, II: 20, 40-44, 47-48, 142-43; Sethe 1914: 28-33.

“I was leader of all craftsmen (*hnwt nbt*), every office was under my command (*iʃwt nbt hr st-hr=i*)...His Majesty (Thutmose I) passed a lifetime with good years in peace, went to heaven, united with the sun (*hnm.n=f itn*) and joined him whom he had come from, the good god who smote the Asiatics (*hw(i) stiw*), lord of strength (*nb phti*), who defeated the Bedouin (*ssh mntw*). He established his border (*ir.n=f tʃš=f*) to the crest of the world (*r wpt-tʃ*)¹⁸⁵, the ends in the void of Horus...The Bedouin carrying their tribute (*hriw-šʿ hr inw=sn*), as tributes to Upper and Lower Egypt (*mi bʃkw šmʿw mhw*) so that his Majesty might bring them to Thebes for his father Amun every year¹⁸⁶...The king departed from this life (*hṭp nsw m ʿnh*) and went to heaven (*pr r hrt*)...The falcon in the nest (*bik imi šs*)¹⁸⁷ had appeared on the Horus throne, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperenre (*ʿʃ-hpr-n-Rʿ*) (Thutmose II) ...He went to heaven and united with the gods (*pr r hrt hnm.n=f m ntrw*)...His son took his

was used in order to express the adoration of the king before the gods, especially Amun-Re and Horus, in a context quite different than that of the obedience of the foreigners to him, see the several texts of Edfu where *sn-tʃ* rite was performed before Horus, see Wilson 1991, II: 1517. Apart from the military documents of the New Kingdom, the expression made its appearance in several hymns of praise (Wilson 1991, II: 1516). There, it counterparts *dwʃ* and *ksw*, having a meaning equivalent with *ksw* (Barucq 1966: 163). As Wilson noticed *ksw* () represented the ultimate gesture of homage towards Re and it was caused due to the fear of the god, see Wilson 1991, II: 1516-1517. For *ksw* (bowing) see Faulkner 1962: 287.

¹⁸⁴ The use of *tʃš*, the word the Egyptians used for their political border, implies a political reality which demonstrates conquest and military expansion.

¹⁸⁵ *Wpt-tʃ* (Wb I: 298; Wilson 1991, I: 409, beginning of the land; Faulkner 1962: 59; Wb I: 297, Horns, Horns of the earth (met.)). Implication of universal rule. A metaphorical expression used commonly during the New Kingdom Period in texts of biographical and military nature. Despite the fact that *wpt-tʃ* was used primarily in order to demonstrate the extent of the northern borders of Egypt in areas where the expansionary policy of Egypt set under Egyptian control (i.e. KRI I: 26, 2; KRI V: 5, 43, 10), there are examples (Edfu) where it was used in order to demarcate the Egyptian borders southwards, see Wilson 1991, I: 409.

¹⁸⁶ A reward, on behalf of the king, to the gods and especially Amun for granting him power and the ability to overcome the difficulties and conquer the foreigners.

¹⁸⁷ A poetical designation of the crown prince as Horus who also succeeded his father Osiris.

place as the King of the two lands... His sister, the gods wife (*hmt-ntr*) Hatshepsut (*h^ct-špswt*) governed the land (*hr irt mhrw t3*), the two lands were united under her direction (*t3wi hr shr=s*)...Her Majesty praised me, she loved me, she recognized my excellence in palace.

Doc. 9: Scenes from the life of Ineni

Bibliography: Sethe 1914: 69-74; ibid., 1927: 69-74.

“Beholding the Nubians, given as finest of the prisoners (*rdy m tpw skrw-^cnh*) for an offering of Amun (*r htp ntr n Imm*)...Together with tributes (*inw*) of all foreign lands (*n h3swt nb*) which his Majesty gave to the temple of Amun as tax every year (*m htr r tnw rnpt hr-tp*)¹⁸⁸ for the l.p.h of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperkare (*3-hpr-k3-R^c*) (Thutmose I) by the Prince regent and count, overseer of the granaries of Amun, Ineni the justified.

Doc. 10: The Assuan inscription of Thutmose II

Bibliography: Breasted 1906, II: 48-50; De Buck 1948: 47-48; Hanning 1995; Sethe 1906: 137-141; Ibid., 1914: 67-69.

“Year 1, second month of the season of inundation, day 8...The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Aakheperenre (*3-hpr-n-R^c*) (Thutmose II) ...His father Re protects him (*it=f R^c m s3=f*) and Amun (*imn*), Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands while they smite his enemies for him (*hnw=sn n=f šntiw=f*). When his Majesty is in the palace his fame is mighty (*b3w=f shm(.w)*), the fear of him (*snd=f*) is throughout the land (*ht t3*), awe (respect) is in the Greek (Aegean) islands (*šfšft m idbw h3w-nbwt*)...The nine bows are united (*psdt-pdt dmd.w*) under his sandals (*hr tbt=h*).¹⁸⁹ The Bedouin come to him carrying tribute (*iw n=f mntiw hr inw*)...His southern boundary reaches to the crest of the world, the northern to the ends. Asia is subject to his Majesty (*stt mndt nt hm=f*), one does not repulse (*n-hsf-^c*) his messenger (*n mpwti=f*) throughout the land of Fenkhu (Lebanon) (*ht t3w fnhw*).

Doc. 11: Hatshepsut’s expedition at Punt

Bibliography: Breasted 1906: 102-122; De Buck 1948: 48-53; Sethe 1906, no 106; Hanning 1995.

“She is whom he favored (*mrt n=f*) to be on his throne (*nst=f*). He entrusted (*swd.n=f*) to her (*n=s*) the heritage of the two lands (*iw^ct t3wy*), the kingship of Upper and

¹⁸⁸ Direct implication of the taxation of foreign lands as towards its use as revenue for the economy of the temples and that of the New Kingdom Egypt.

¹⁸⁹ An expression used frequently in order to express obedience of the foreigners.

Lower Egypt. He gave to her what the sun resolves (*šnnt itn*) and what Geb and Nut surround (*ʿrft Gbb Nwt*).¹⁹⁰ She has no enemies among the southerners, she has no opponents (*nn itnw(w)=s*) among the northerners (*m mḥtiw*). Heaven (*pt*) and all foreign lands (*h3swt nbt*) created by God (*kḥm3t.n ntr*) are completely subservient to her (*b3k=sn n=s mi-kd*). They come to her with heart full of fear (*m ib snd*), their chiefs (*hriw-tp=sn*) bowing their heads down (*m w3h-tp*)¹⁹¹ with tributes on their backs (*m3ʿw=sn hr psdw=sn*). They present her their children so that they may be given the breath of life (*t3w n ʿnh*) because of the greatness of the might of her father Amun, who placed every land under her feet (*rdi t3w nbw hr tbtī=s*)... Words by Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “You satisfy my heart every moment. I have given you all life and dominion for me (*di.n-in=t ʿnh w3s nbhr=i*), all stability for me (*ddt nb hr=i*)... I have given you all flat lands and all lands with hills so that you may enjoy them (*di.n=i n=t t3w nbw h3swt nbt 3w ib=t im=sn*)”. Arrival by the envoy of the king’s land together with the expedition who was accompanying him before the princes of Punt. Bringing of every good thing from the palace to Hathor, mistress of Punt for l.p.h of her Majesty”.

Doc. 12: Obelisk (base) inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut

Bibliography: Breasted 1906, II: 130; Lichtheim 1976, II: 26-29; Urk. IV: 356-59; LD, III, 22-24.

“The living Horus: Mighty of Ka’s; Two Ladies: King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Makare¹⁹²; Daughter of Re: Hatshepsut Khenemet-Amun who lives forever... Amun, Lord of Thrones of the Two Lands; He made me rule Black Land and Red Land (*rdi.n=f hk3 Kmt dšr(t)*) as reward, No one rebels against me in all lands (*nn rk m t3w nb*). All foreign lands (*h3stw nbt*) are my subjects, He placed my border (*ir.n=f t3š=i*) at the limits of Heaven, what Aten encircles labors for me”.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Another claim for universal dominion under gods command.

¹⁹¹ *w3h-tp* (Wb I: 257 (1-2); Wilson 1991, I: 361; DLE I: 90; Faulkner 1962: 53, Lay down the head, bow the head down). Term which incident with the obedience shown by foreigners and their chiefs to the king of Egypt in several texts which were dated during the Dynastic Period (Wilson 1991, I: 361; Lorton 1974: 83). In several occasions such as in some of the Pyramid Texts, in various inscriptions of Ramesses II (i.e KRI II: 151, 1-2), in texts from Edfu (i.e IV 56, 7) or in the texts described the expedition Queen Hatshepsut made at Punt to name a few, *w3h-tp* underlined the submission of the foreigners to the supremacy of the king of Egypt. In several of the aforementioned cases, the foreigners came with their heart full of fear (*m ib snd*) while their chiefs (*hriw-tp=sn*) bowed their heads down (*m w3h-tp*), carrying tributes on their backs (*m3ʿw=sn hr psdw=sn*), an undisputed proof of their obeisance to Egypt and its Pharaoh.

¹⁹² The throne name of Queen Hatshepsut.

¹⁹³ Once more, claim for universal dominion under Amun’s commands.

Doc.13: Poetical Stela of Thutmose III (Cairo Museum 34010)

Bibliography: Lacau 1909: 19-21; De Buck 1948: 53-56; Lichtheim 1976, II: 35-39; Kitchen 1999: 165-176; Breasted 1906, II: 262-266; Assman 1975: 485-489, 636-37.

“Words spoken by Amen-Re (*imn-R^c*), Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (*nb nswt t3wy*): “Welcome to me (*ii.ti n=i*). Be glad to behold my beauty, my son, my champion (*ndty=i*), Menkheperre (*Mn-hpr-R^c*), living forever...I grant to you (*di=i n=k*) valor and victory (*knt nht*) in all foreign countries (*r h3swt nb(w)t*), I set the awe (power) (*b3w=k*) and the fear of you (*sndw=k*¹⁹⁴) in all lands (*m t3w nbw*), and the terror of you (*hryt=k*) to the four pillars of heaven (*shnt nt pt*). I magnify your greatness (*s^c3y=i ššf=k*) in every person, I set your Majesty’s war cry (*di=i hmhmt hm=k*) throughout the nine bows (*ht pdwt 9*), the chiefs of all foreign countries (*wrw h3swt nb(w)t*) being united in your grip (*dmd(w) m hf^c=k*). I myself extended my arms that I may rope them in for you (*3wy-i 3wy=i ds=i nwh=i n=k st*), I bind up (*dm3=i*) the Nubian tribesfolk (*iwntyw-sti*) by ten thousands upon thousands (*m db^cw h3w*) and the northerners by hundred-thousand as prisoners (*mhtyw m hfnw m skr-^cnh*¹⁹⁵). I caused your opponents (*di=i hr rkyw=k*) to fall beneath your sandals (*hr ibty=k*), so you may trample upon (*titi=k*) the rebellious (*šntyw*) and the treacherous (*h3kw-ib*), according as I decreed you the earth in its length and breadth, westerners, easterners, under your control (*imntyw, i3btyw, hr st-hr=k*)...You crossed over the waters of Euphrates (*d3.n=k mw pht-wr*) of Naharina (*Nhrn*), with strength (*m nht*) and might (*m wsr*) that I had decreed (*wd.n=i*) for you. They heard your war cry (*sdm=sn*



¹⁹⁴ *snd* (Wb IV: 183 (4)-184 (14); Wilson 1991, III: 1560, fear; Faulkner 1962: 234, fear, respect). In several of the Egyptian texts dated during the New Kingdom Period *snd* was combined with the genitivus objectivus (=k, f etc.), creating one of the most used expressions of fear, see Wilson 1991, III: 1560. In texts of military and biographical nature, it is the fear for the king which penetrates in the heart of the foreigners (*m ib snd*), spread in every land or throughout the land (*ht t3*), causing the foes of Egypt to enter into a chaotic state of mind. Furthermore, fear can be caused also due to the sight of the Pharaoh in his regalia (Wilson 1991, III: 1560). Hence, due to the fearless state of the king and the gods of Egypt, *snd=f* used in the majority of the texts as demonstrative of the fear the foreigners shown in front of the king, taking the role of a tool of subjugation of foreigners to the supremacy of the king and the gods of Egypt.

¹⁹⁵ *skr-^cnh* (Wilson 1991, III: 1665; Wb IV: 307 (12-19), prisoner, captive). Term occurred from the beginning of the Dynastic Period, displayed on royal monuments dated from the Old Kingdom Period onwards (Wilson 1991, III: 1666; Schulman 1988). *skr-^cnh*, literally “one who is for striking alive”, was usually referred to prisoners who were taken captives in war alive, explicitly brought for ceremonial execution and tied up for ritual slaughter (Schulman 1988: 8 ff.; Wilson 1991, III: 1665). According to Kaplony, *skr* alone referred to a ceremonial ritual where although the scepter of the king was waved it was not used against captives. Hence, the prisoner of war turned into a living prisoner (Kaplony 1977: 269, n. 483).

hmhmt=k), entered into their holes (*ʕk m b3b3w*), I starved their nostrils of the breath of life (*g3.n=i šr(w)t=sn m t3w n ʕnh*¹⁹⁶), I set the terrors of your Majesty in their hearts (*di=i nrw nw hm=k ht ibw=sn*)...There will be no rebel against you in what heaven surrounds (*nn hpr bšt=k r šnnt pt*). They come bearing the tribute on their backs (*iw=sn hr inw hr psd=sn*), in submission to your Majesty (*m k sw n hm=k*), as I have decreed...

Paean of Victory

I have come (*ii.n=i*), I caused you to trample upon the chiefs of the Levant (*di=i titi=k wrw d3hi*), spreading them out under your feat through the lands (*sš=I st hr rdwi=k ht h3swt=sn*)...I have come, I caused you to trample upon those who were in Asia (*di=i titi=k imyw stt*), you struck the heads of the Asiatics of Syria (*skr=k tpw ʕ3mw nw rtnw*)...I have come, I caused you to trample upon the Eastern Lands (*di=i titi=k t3 t3btv*)...I caused you to trample upon the Western Lands (*di=i titi*¹⁹⁷*=k t3 imnty*), Keftiu and Asiya are overcome by your renown (*kftyw isy hr šfšft=k*)...I caused you to trample upon those who are in the faraway lands (Aegean) (*di=i titi=k imyw nbw=sn*), the lands of Mitanni tremble for fear of you (*t3w nw mtn sd3(w) hr snd=k*)... I caused you to trample upon those who were in the isles (*di=i titi=k imyw iww*), those amidst the Great Green, awed under your war cry (*hryw-ib w3d-wr hr hmhmt=k*). I caused them to see your Majesty as champion...I caused you to trample upon Libya (*di=i titi=k thnw*)...the southernmost reaches of the earth (*imyw hʕt t3*).”

¹⁹⁶ *t3w n ʕnh* (Faulkner 1962: 303, Wb V: 350 (12)-352 (29); Wilson 1991, III: 2032-2033, breath, wind, air (), Ibid., 43; Wb I: 198, life ()). Phrase used commonly in military texts of the New Kingdom period, attributed with a metaphorical significance. *t3w n ʕnh* used by the Egyptian scribes in order to highlight the dependence and the submission of the foreigners to the king of Egypt. In several aspects of the Egyptian ideology the creation of air was paralleled to the creation of life (Wilson 1991, III: 2033). Indicative towards that direction were documents such as the Coffin Texts (i.e CT IV 296; Urk. V, 55) or examples from those found in the temple of Edfu (i.e I 155, 2; III 169, 4-5; IV 290, 14; V 315, 5; VII 31, 13) where Horus was presented as “the one who gives air with the breath from his mouth” (*t3w m hh n r3=f*). In several military documents dated during the New Kingdom, it is Amen-Re who “starved the nostrils of the foreigners from the breath of life” (*g3.n=i šr(w)t=sn m t3w n ʕnh*) for the sake of the Pharaoh. Foreigners on their turn, completely submissive to the Pharaoh beg “the breath of King’s giving” (*ssn t3w n didi=k*), seeking from the king to give breath to them (i.e KRI II: 2-147) so they can “inhale his breath” (*htp=f tpi=sn t3w=f*) (Kitchen RITA I: 6-12, 14-20; Ibid., RITANC I: 10-17, 19-20, 22-26).

¹⁹⁷ *titi* (Faulkner 1962: 294; Wilson 1991, II: 1979; Wb V: 244 (1-7), to trample on, crush; DLE II: 201, to trample on). Finite verb used under a stereotypical way in order to express one of the most common actions taken by the King himself (trampling) against his enemies (Hasel 1998: 61). Despite the fact that it was used quite commonly in military documents dated during the Eighteenth Dynasty, it was in the records of Seti I at Karnak (i.e KRI I: 7, 10; KRI I: 18, 1; KRI I: 18, 8; KRI I: 24, 13) and in one occasion at the textual record of Ramesses III (i.e KRI V: 87, 7) where titi made its appearance during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (Hasel 1998: 61). There, the enemies were trampled by the king himself (i.e KRI I: 7, 10), by his horses (i.e KRI I: 18, 1) or both (i.e KRI I: 18, 8).

Doc. 14: Tuthmose III Armant stela

Bibliography: De Buck 1948: 64-65; Cumming 1982: 7-9; Hannig 1995; Mond and Mayers 1940: 182-184; Redford 2003: 153-159; Spalinger 1982: 200-203.

“Horus of Edfu (*hr-bḥdti*), great god, lord of heaven, may he give life. Words to be spoken (*dd mdw*): “I have given you all life and dominion (*di.n=i n=k ᵑnh w3s nb*), all health and all valor and strength (*snb nb ḳnt nḥt nb*)”. Montu, Lord of Thebes. The good god, lord of rituals (*nb irt-iḥt*), Menkheperre (*Mn-ḥpr-Rᵑ*), given life forever. Tjemenut. Praising the god four times, so that he may be given life... Words to be spoken: “I have given you millions of years (*di.n=i n=k ḥḥw nw rnpwt*), while all foreign lands are under your feet (*h3swt nb hr tbt=k*). Son of Re, his beloved Thutmose (*mri=f dhwti-msiw*), ruler of truth, given life forever... Regnal year 22, second month of the season of growing (proyet), day 10.¹⁹⁸ A compilation¹⁹⁹ of the deeds of valor and strength (*shwi spw n ḳnt nḥt*) that this good god performed (*ir.n ntr pn nfr*)... When he shoots a copper target (*stt=f r dbt ḥtm*) all wood is splintered like a papyrus reed (*ḥt nb tš.w mi dyt*)... I am telling you what he did (*dd=i n mw irrt=f*) without deception and without lie (*nn ḥrt-ᵑ nn iwms*)... When he spent a moment of recreation (*ir iry=f 3t sd3-ḥr=f*), hunting in any foreign land (*m bhs ḥr h3st nb*), the quantity he captured (*int.n=f*) was greater than what the entire army achieved... He killed 120 elephants in the foreign country of Niya (*sᵑrk.n=f 120 n 3bw ḥr h3st nt Nii*) when he came from Naharin (*m iwt=f m Nhrn*). He crossed the Euphrates (*d3.n=f itrw phr-wr*) and tread the towns of its banks (*ptpt.n=f dmiw nw gs=f*) which were destroyed by fire forever (*sswn.w*²⁰⁰ *m ḥt r nḥḥ*)... His Majesty didn't halt while proceeding to the land of Djahy to slay the rebels who were there (*r sm3 btnww ntiw im=s*) and to reward those who were loyal to him (*r rdit iḥt n nti ḥr mw=f*)... Thereupon his Majesty left to slay the vile lands of Retenu as his first deed of victory. It was his Majesty who opened its road and who explored its every way for his army after making [...] Megiddo (*Mkti*). His Majesty entered upon that road that

¹⁹⁸ A date which alludes to the beginning of the sole reign of Thutmose III, see Grimal 1992: 213; Spalinger 1982: 200; Redford 2003: 154, note 3.

¹⁹⁹ For *shwy* see Wb. IV, 212:9-15.

²⁰⁰ *sswn* (Faulkner 1962: 245; Wb IV: 273 (7-15); Wilson 1991, III: 1630; DLE II: 76, to destroy). Causative form of *swm*, “to perish” (𓂏𓂏𓂏) (Faulkner 1962: 217) with intensive use from the Middle Kingdom onwards (Wilson 1991, III: 1630). Although *sswn* is translated as “to destroy”, scholars such as Zandee see a connection of the use of verb in several royal tombs of the New Kingdom with the punishment the godless receive (Zandee 1960: 284).

was very narrow (*nti w3 r hns wrt*) at the head of his entire army (*m tp n mš3=f tm*) while all foreign lands were assembled (*iw h3swt nb šhw.n=sn*), standing prepared at its mouth (*ḥḥ.w hr.w r rḥ=s*). The enemy fallen exhausted and fled quickly to their town (*hrw ddš.w wth.w m ifd r dmi=sn*), together with the **chief** who was in [...] (*hnḥ wr nti m [...]*)...**His Majesty came in joy (i.n hm=f m 3wt-ib) since every foreign land was entirely subject [...] came carrying tribute with one accord**".

Doc.15: Thutmose III Gebel Barkal stela

Bibliography: Redford 2003: 103-116; De Buck 1948: 56ff; Urk. IV. 1288ff; PM VII: 217; Hanning 1995; Cummings 1982: 2ff.

“Regnal Year 47, third month of Akhet (season of inundation), day 10, under the Majesty of Horus...[titulary]...King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre (*nsw-bity mn-hpr-Rḥ*) (Thutmose III), Son of Re (*s3-Rḥ*) whom he loves, **Lord of every foreign land (nb n h3st nb)**, Thutmose nefer-Khepru (*dḥwti-msiw nfr hpr*). This is what he did as his memorial for his father Amun-Re...²⁰¹ For he (Amun-Re) has magnified the victories of my Majesty (*dr-ntt sḥ3.n=f nḥtw hm=i*) more than any king of the past (*r nsw nb hpr*). **I have seized the southerners under the commands of his spirit (it.n=i rsiw hr wd k3=f)**²⁰² **and the northerners in accordance with his guidance (mḥtiw hft sšm=f)**. He (the god) make son of Re, Thutmose (*dḥwti-msiw*), the ruler of Thebes (*ḥk3-W3st*), given life like Re, forever...[Encomium]: The perfect god (*ntr-nfr*) who seizes with his arm (*it m hps=f*), **who smites the Southerners (hw rsiw) and beheads the Northerners (hsk mḥtiw)** and shatter the heads **of the evil-minded (ssh tpw nbdw-kd)**, **who slaughter the Montiu (Bedouins) of Asia (ir šḥt²⁰³ mntiw-stt) and overthrows the rebellious sand-dwellers (shr btnw nw hri.w-šḥ)**, **who ties up the lands at the end of the world (wḥf t3w nw phww t3) and smites the Nubian bowmen (skr iwntiw nw t3-sti)**, **who reaches the limits of the foreign lands (in drw h3swt)**²⁰⁴ that had attacked him (*pḥn sw*), the one who confronts the battlefield in a rage (*his sw m pri*

²⁰¹ So far the narration uses the third person. Afterwards, the first person was used by the King himself in order to narrate his achievements.

²⁰² “I have seized the southerners at the behest of his ku”, cf. Redford 2003: 103.

²⁰³ *šḥt* (Faulkner 1962: 262, slaughtering, terror; Wilson 1991, III: 1752; Wb IV: 416 (11)-417 (7); DG 490, slaughter, injury; DLE II: 110, terror, slaughter, and massacre). Having a number of variations, *šḥt* generally takes the role of the object in verbal sentences (Wilson 1991, III: 1753). From a grammar point of view, as a noun it usually takes the role of the object of the verbs *ir* (ⲓⲣ), “do, make”, *rdi* (ⲣⲉⲓ), “cause, give, appoint” and *wdi* (ⲱⲃⲓ), “place, put”, implying for the sake of the king the actions of making slaughter, causing slaughter or putting his slaughter in front of the gods respectively. In non-verbal sentences *šḥt* has the role of the adverbial predicate.

²⁰⁴ For the expression *ini drw* see Galan 1995: 128-132.

nšn.w)...[Reminiscence of the 1st campaign]: Every foreign land all together were standing as one, prepared to fight (*h3swt nb dmd(.w) ḥḥ mi wḥ hr(.w) r ḥ3*)...But he with the mighty power felled them (*shr.n st shm pḥti*), he with the flexed arm who tramples upon his enemies (*tm3-ḥ titi ḥftiw=f*)...[King as fighter]: This king fights alone (*nsw pw ḥ3 wḥ.w*)...He is abler than a million men in a vast army (*3ḥ sw r ḥḥ m mšḥ ḥ3*), no equal to him has been found (*n gm.tw n=f*), a fighter aggressive on the battlefield (*ḥ3wti pri-ḥ hr pri*) with scope to left no one standing (*nn ḥḥ m h3w=f*), one who overpowers every foreign land (*shm hr-ḥwi r h3swt nbt*) at the head (as a commander) of his army (*m tpi n mšḥ=f*)...who enters the turmoil of battle (*ḥḥ m wmt*), breathing fire against them (*thi ḥḥ=f r=s m sdt*), who overthrows them while they lie in their blood (*ir st m tm wn ḥdb.w hr snfw=sn*)...The numerous army of Mitanni was completely overthrown in minutes (lit. hours) (*mšḥ ḥ3 n Mtn shr(.w) m km n wnwt*), completely destroyed as though had never existed through the bellicosity of the “Devourer”...Who alone on his one makes a heap of corpses of everyone (*ir ḥ3yt m sw nb*), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, may he live forever...[Encomium]: He is Horus with flexed arm...one who defeats all lands as they were move against him (*hd t3w nb m ḥw-ni-r hr*), who rescues Egypt on the battlefield (*nḥm kmt hr pg3*), a savior who is not afraid of the rapacious (*mk n snd=f ḥwn-ib*)...His southern boundary stretches to the “horn of the Earth” (*t3šw=f rs r wpt-t3*) south of this land (*r ḥntiw nw t3 pn*).²⁰⁵ His northern to the marshes of Asia and the pillars of heaven (*mḥti r phww nw stt r shnwt nwt*). They come to him with bowed heads (*iw=sn n=f m w3ḥ tp*) seeking his breath of life (*r ḥntiw nw t3 pn*). [Reminiscence of the 8th campaign]: He is a King, triumphant (*kn*) like Montu...They had no champion in the land of Naharin...I damaged his towns and his people (*hb.n=i niwwt=f whyt=f*) and set them on fire (*di.n=i sdt im=sn*). My Majesty turn them into ruins (*ir.n st ḥm=i m i3wt*) which shall never be reconstructed (*nn ḥpr grg st*). I plundered (ruled) all their inhabitants (*h3k.n=i rmt=sn nbt*) who were taken away as prisoners...I took away their corn crops from them (*nḥm.n=i ḥnḥt r=s*), uprooted their barley (*wḥ3.n=i it=sn*) and chopped down all their trees (*šḥ.n=i mnw=sn nb*) and all their fruit trees (*ḥtw=sn nb bnr*).²⁰⁶ Their districts were massacred (*ww=sn wn=sn n*

²⁰⁵ Instead of a specific place, the “horn of earth” represented in the Egyptian intellectualism of the New Kingdom the image of a cosmic bovide, signifying by this was an extremity, see Redford 2003: 105; Hornung 1957: 124; Spalinger 1978: 37.

²⁰⁶ A military activity known already from the Sixth Dynasty onwards as referred to the autobiography of Weni, see Lichtheim 1973, I: 20.

dn{f}²⁰⁷ and My Majesty destroyed them (*sksk.n sw hm=i*) so that they have turned into burnt dust.²⁰⁸...[The return from the 8th campaign]: I have no enemies in the southern lands, the northerners come bowing down to my might (*iw mhtiw m ksw n b3w=i*). It is Re that has ordained it for me: I have grasped all that his eye revolves around (earth) (*rf.n=i šnt.n 3ht=f*)²⁰⁹, he gave to me earth in its length and breadth (*di.n=f n=i t3 m 3w=f wsh=f*). I tied up the Nine bows (*dm3.n=i psdt-pdt*), the islands in the middle of the ocean²¹⁰ (*iww hri-ibw nw w3d-wr*), the Hau-Nebu²¹¹ and all rebellious foreign lands (*h3w-nbwt h3swt bštwt*)...That's an active King, an excellent fortress for his army and a wall of iron (*nsw pw pr-^c mnnw mnḥ n mš^c=f sbti m bi3-n-pt*). He attacks every land with his arm (*hd=f t3 nb hr hpš=f*) without a care for even a million of men (*nn s ḥḥw h3=f*)...[The Hunt in Niya]: Here is another victorious accomplishment which Re ordained for me...He joined the Black and the Red Land for me (*sm3.n=f n=i Kmt dšrt*) and what the sun disc encircles is in my grasp (*šnt.n itn mh^f=i*). [Reminiscence of the First Campaign]: He conferred on me the foreign lands of Retenu (*wḏ.n=f n=i h3swt Rtnw*) during the first expedition as they came to engage (*hn^c*) my Majesty, being hundreds of thousands and by millions, the very best of foreign countries...My Majesty attacked them (*hd.n st hm=i*) and they fled immediately, falling over one another in their haste to enter Megiddo. My Majesty besieged them for a period of 7 months (*ddḥ.n st hm=i ḥnti-r 3bdw 7*)²¹² until they came out begging my Majesty saying: “give us your breath our Lord (*im n=n t^cw=k nb=n*), the foreigners of Retenu will never be rebellious again (*nn whm h3stiw Rtnw r bšt ky sp*)”...So my Majesty had them take the oath (*h^c.n rdi.n hm=idi.tw sdf3=sn tryt m=dd*)²¹³: “We will not again act evilly against Menkheperre...”...I captured their inhabitants for Egypt (*h3k.n=i niwtiw iri r Kmt*) and their properties as well (*iḥwt=sn r-mitt*). [The King's first song]: ...My mace overthrew the Asiatics (*in ḥd=i shr ^c3mw*) and my scepter smote the Nine Bows (*3ms=i ḥw psdt-pdt*). I have tied up every land (*w^c.f.n hm=i t3 nb*), Retenu are under my feet (*Rtnw hr tbtⁱ=i*), the Bedouins of Asia are subject to my Majesty (*stiw m ndt nt hm=i*)...[The Taxes of South and North]:

²⁰⁷ For the transliteration here I followed the note concerning 1231.17 on Cummings 1982: 6.

²⁰⁸ Obscure passage. Redford (2003:106) considers *tkw* as a visible sign but I could not manage to follow his translation.

²⁰⁹ “I have wrapped up that which his effective one encircles”, cf. Redford 2003: 107.

²¹⁰ Lit. “the midst of the Great green”.

²¹¹ The inhabitants of the Aegean islands, see Osing 1998: 254.

²¹² Cf. Morschauser 1988: 97, no. 54.

²¹³ For *sdf3 tryt* see Wb. V, 318: 10-11.

They are subservient to me as one (*b3k=sn n=i mi w^c*), taxed in products of labor on a million varied things of the “Horn of Earth”... My army which is the constituting force in Ullaza (*iw mš^c=i nti m iw^cyt m Wnr^t*) comes to my Majesty yearly with [...]...[The King’s Second Song]: My Majesty speaks: He has made me (Amun Re) “Lord of the Portions” (*ir.n=f wi m nb psšti*)²¹⁴, ruler of what the sun encircles (*hk3 n šnt.n itn*)...My terror extends to the southern marches (*hryt*²¹⁵ *hm=i r dnbw rsw*)...”.

Doc. 16: The Annals of Thutmose III (Translation after Redford 2003)

Bibliography: Urk. IV, 647-756; PM II, 97-98 (280-282); 89-90 (240-242, 244-245); Redford 2003; Breasted 1905, II: 163-227; Grapow 1949; Barguet 1962: 151-153; Helck 1972: 120-156; Ibid., 1986: 49-52; Spalinger 1982: 134-142; Redford 1992: 155-161; Goedicke 2000.

Day book excerpts I: The battle of Megiddo

“Regnal year 22, 4th month of Proyet, day 25. His Majesty was in Sile²¹⁶ on his first victorious campaign...For a long period of years Retenu (*rtnw*) had fallen into anarchy (*w3 r h^cd3*), every man had shown hostility²¹⁷ towards his neighbor (*s nb hr rwd r sn-nw=f*).²¹⁸ It was in later times (*h3w kwywy*)²¹⁹ that it happened the garrison (*iwšyt*)²²⁰ which was there was now in the town of Sharuhen²²¹ while the region from Yursa²²² as far as the marshes of the earth had fallen (*phw t3 w3w*) in rebellion against his

²¹⁴ The numeral “5” which is omitted here can be seen in many versions of the transliteration of the text and it is probably a mistake derived by the misreading of the *dnit*-sign, cf. Moller 1965, no. 584.

²¹⁵ Noun usually ascribed as one of the “gifts” the gods attributed to king in order to use it against his enemies. In several texts dated during the New Kingdom (KRI V: 57,10; KRI V: 23,4; KRI V: 23,32; KRI V:24,6; KRI V:41,15; KRI II: 7,15; KRI II: 150, 15-6; KRI I: 17,4; DLE I: 326 with references) terror is what the enemies feel when they see Pharaoh at the battlefield, usually alone, having Amen-Re as his only aid. It is Amun-Re who sets “the power (*b3w=k*) and the fear of him (the king) (*sndw=k*) in all lands (*m t3w nbw*)” as “the terror for him” (*hryt=k*) in places so remote as “the four pillars of heaven” (*shnt nt pt*). In other cases such as in several texts from Edfu, the terror of the king was placed into the bellies of the enemies (foreigners) by gods such as Horus (I, 49, 16) and Nephthys (I, 239, 18) while the epithet “Great in terror in the Two Lands” followed the king in several examples (Wilson 1991, II: 1198).

²¹⁶ Identified with modern Tel Hebwa, see Redford 2003: 8 with references.

²¹⁷ Redford (2003: 9) translated it as brigandage (*h^cd3*), following the pattern proposed at the Great Harris Papyrus, for details see Grandet 1994: 215ff.

²¹⁸ A reference towards a situation of chaotic condition, a description of how political situation was during these times of turbulence. For a political analysis see Redford 2003: 9-10. The dark, chaotic nature of foreigners as their rebellious behavior justified action on behalf of the Pharaoh.

²¹⁹ For the meaning of the term see Redford 1986: 139 n. 55. For an ingenious connection of the phrase as a reference in a period of Thutmose III’s life see Goedicke 2000: 16.


²²⁰ Referred to Egyptian militia, not in foreign troops as used in Urk. IV, 696: 3.

²²¹ Associated with Tell el-Ajjul, Tell el-Farah and Tell Hathor, see Steward 1974: 62-63; Ahituv 1984: 171-173; Redford 2003: 11, n. 58 respectively.

²²² For Alt (1959: 105) Yursa was located somewhere north of the Philistine localities, somewhere near Muhazzi and Jabneh.

Majesty (*r b3t3 hr hm=f*)²²³...Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 5: departure from this place (Gaza) (*wḏi m st tn*) in valor, in victory (*nḥt*), in might (*knt*) and justification (*m3^c hrw*) to overthrow the vile doomed one (*r shr(t)*)²²⁴ *hrw pf hsy*) and to extend the frontiers of Egypt (*r swsh t3š kmt*)²²⁵...Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 16, at the town of Yehem.²²⁶ His Majesty gave orders...speaking as follows: That vile doomed one of Kadesh²²⁷ (*r nt.t hrw pf hsy n kds*) has come and entered into Megiddo...he gathered the chiefs of all foreign lands (*shwy.n=f n=f srw n(y)w h3swt nbt*) who used to be loyal (*wnw*) to Egypt, together with places as far away as Naharin, Khurians and Qodians, their horses and their troops being very many indeed, that he had said “I will make a stand to fight his Majesty in Megiddo (*sw hr dd hr.tw ḥ^c=i r ḥ^c r hm=h 3 m mkti*)”...Thereupon His Majesty issued a challenge (*nis*)²²⁸ on this road: ‘draw up the battle lines’. They were discomfited for that vile doomed one took to flight while the army broke into a chorus of cheering²²⁹ to the ruler...A command was issued to the entire army as follows: ‘Get ready! Sharpen your weapons! For battle will be joined with that vile doomed one in the morning...Regnal year 23, first month of shomu, day 21-the exact day of the *psdntyw* feast. Appearance of the king at early morning (*h^ct nsw dw3yt*). The entire army was commanded to fall in the battle line (*ist rdi m hr n mš^c r dr=f r sš*)...Then his Majesty bore down on them at the head of his army...and they fled headlong straight to Megiddo (*iw sn hr ifd m gbgbyt r mkti*) with faces full of fear (*m hrw ny sndw*). They had abandoned their horses (*h3^c.n sn ssmt=sn*) and chariots of gold and silver (*wrrtw=sn nw nbw hr ḥd*)...Now if only the army of his Majesty had not set their hearts on plundering the possessions of the doomed ones they would have

²²³ Columns 11 to 13 recorded a historical situation on which Kadesh and its chief exercised hegemony over territory far south Megiddo, see Redford 1992: 155.

²²⁴ Finite verb, causative of *hr* () , “fall”. *shr* was an indissoluble part of the stereotypic language used by the Egyptian scribes in texts of military and biographical nature in order to portrait the defeat and the destruction of the enemies of the king and Osiris (Hasel 1998: 56; Wilson 1991, III: 1611; Zandee 1960: 190). Hence, in several texts of the New Kingdom the king is depicted as overthrowing his enemies in general (i.e KRI I: 30, 6; KRI II: 86, 7-9; KRI II: 142, 15; KRI II: 150, 13; KRI IV: 24, 5), their chiefs (i.e KRI I: 35, 8; KRI II: 157, 12) and the Nine Bows (i.e KRI II: 196, 14), see Hasel 1998: 56.

²²⁵ A phrase encloses the transformation of Egypt’s interests in Asia, during the Eighteenth Dynasty, from the creation of spheres of influence through razzias to the transformation of the territory into a buffer zone demarcating on the one hand Egypt from the other superpowers of the Late Bronze Age and on the other supplying Egypt with resources and manpower, see Redford 1992: 148.

²²⁶ Identified with modern Jemmeh, see Ahituv 1984: 197-198.

²²⁷ Identified with modern Tel Nebti Mend, see Pezart 1931; Parr 1983: 99-117.

²²⁸ See Wb II: 204.

²²⁹ Despite the several destroyed lacunas, the presence of *hnw* in such context suit such restoration, see Wb III: 164:21.

captured/plunder (*h3k*)²³⁰ Megiddo instantly (*m t3 3t*)...Fear of his Majesty had entered (*is snd hm=f hrk*) their bodies (*m h^cw=sn*), their arms became weak (*wy=sn bdšw*). **His uraeus had overpowered them** (*h^c.n shm.n 3ht=f im=sn*). Then his Majesty gave a decree: ‘Behold, this town is given to me through the command of Re on this day (*mk rdi h3swt nb m dmi pn hft wd Re m r^c pn*), every official on foreign northern land is inside it (*r ntt sr nb n h3swt nbt mGtt štbw m hnw=f*), to take Megiddo is like taking 1000 towns (*r ntt mh pw m dmi h3 pw mh m m mkti*)...**Now the chiefs of this foreign land came on their bellies** (*ist srw n(y)w h3st tn hr htw irw*), **to kiss the earth to the power of his Majesty** (*r sn t3 n b3w hm=f*), **to beg breath for their nostrils** (*r dbh t^cw r šrt^y=sn*), so great was his word, so powerful was Amun...Every chief came in front of the power of his Majesty, carrying gifts of silver, gold, lapis lazuli and turquoise, and carrying grain, wine, beef to his Majesty’s army...His Majesty reappointed chiefs to every town (*ist hm=f hr dnh srw m m3wt n dmi nb*).

Day book excerpts II: The campaigns of Thutmose III²³¹

Year 29

“Regnal year 29. His Majesty was in Djahy, **destroying the foreign lands which had rebelled against him...He plundered the town of Waret**...Then seized upon the boats and the *sktyw*-ships, despatched loaded with various things, male and female slaves, copper, lead, emery and all fine things...Then his Majesty sacked the town of Ardata with its grain and fruit trees being chopped off...He found the harvest of Djahy at its fullest and trees laden with fruit...And so his Majesty’s army were in their cups and anointed with oil every day just like in festival days in Egypt”.

Year 30

“Regnal year 30. His Majesty was in the country of Retenu...Arrival at the town of Kadesh; sacking it, cutting down its fruit trees and pulling up its grain...Arrival at the

²³⁰ *h3k* (Wb III: 32; Faulkner 1962: 163, plunder, capture towns, carry off captives; DLE II: 97, to capture, to plunder, to seize, to make prisoner, to take captive). Finite verb, used commonly in military documents dated during the New Kingdom period. Due to its extended use, its contextual setting extended in two central linchpins: a) the description of the action of “plundering” the king does against specific socioethnic entities located in the Syropalestine region (i.e Ashkelon, Gezer, Gaza, Byblos etc.) and b) the action of “plundering” the king does against foreign lands which were mentioned in the texts under a general geographical sense (Hasel 1998: 72; Hoffmeier 1989). In both occasions, the king captures enemies (i.e KRI I: 7, 2; KRI II: 300, 2), their possessions (i.e KRI IV: 9, 7) or foreign lands in general (i.e KRI II: 289, 11; 16; KRI V: 25, 14; KRI V: 86, 1; KRI V: 58, 9 see Hasel 1998:71-72 with references).

²³¹ Translations after Redford 2003: 68-98.

town of Sumur and Ardata. Doing the same to them...Now the chiefs and their brothers (Retenu) were brought to be detainees in Egypt...”

Year 33

“Regnal year 33. His Majesty was in the land of Retenu...Then his Majesty sailed north, plundering the towns and razing the villages of that doomed one vile of Naharin...Arrival of his Majesty at Niya on the homeward journey, when his Majesty had come having his stela in Naharin, extending the frontiers of Egypt...Benevolence of the chief of Sangar...Benevolence of the chief of Asshur...Benevolence of Great Khatte²³² in this year...His Majesty arrived safely in Egypt when he came from Naharin, extending the frontiers of Egypt”.

Doc. 17: Amenhotep II Kunsthistorisches Museum Stela 5909

Bibliography: Kunsthistorisches Museum (KHM). Führer durch die Sammlungen. Wien. 1988, 30.; Hüttner, M. & H. Satzinger 1999.

“Year 3, third month of Shemu, day 14, under the majesty of [titulary] (Aa-kheperure, the bodily son of Re), whom he loves, the lord of all foreign countries, a ruler who has emerged out of (the maternal body, being already powerful), image of Horus on the throne of his father; one who is great in strength, who has no equal and for whom one cannot find a second; he is a king (with a very mighty arm), there is none who can draw (his bow, neither among his soldiers nor among the rulers of the foreign countries), the monarchs of Syria, because his strength is so much greater than that of any previous king; raging like a panther who enters the battlefield, around whom a battle (can)not be held; (a brave archer in the melee), a wall protecting Egypt, persistent in the battlefield from the moment he enters it; who smites those who rebel against him; one who dominates instantly over all foreign countries, with men and horses, (when they come) as millions of men, without acknowledging that Amun-Re is on his side. Immediately he is seen rushing to the front with glory covering all of his body; who resembles Min in the (year) of Anxiety, when there is none (who can save himself from him, when he makes) offering prisoners (?) among his enemies and likewise among the Nine Bows. One to whom all countries and all rebellious foreign nations have become servants; a king who is praised as much as his arms are in battle. (There is no foreign country which can shield itself) against him, because they live

²³² Adjective “Great” (ꜥꜥ) for Hatti was used only in Thutmose III’s references of the campaigns took place in years 30 and 41 under the same context. The use of the adjective could imply both similarities in size or prestige, see the analysis made by Redford (2003: 76) as Wb I, 161: 5-8, 19-21, 162.

from his breath.
King of kings, ruler of rulers, who eliminates the borders of those who attack him. The uniquely brave one, whose power is praised even recognized by Re in heaven. He withstands) on the day of the melee. There is no limit to what he has done to all foreign nations and against every land, after they had fallen because of his fiery serpent, (as if they had been consumed. There is none who escapes the massacre, even as the enemies of Bastet, on the path of the one fashioned by Amun. Successful beyond measure, because he knows (that he is his) true (son), who has come forth from (his body, alone with him, in order to) rule over what the sun encircles. All countries and foreign countries which he has come to know he conquers instantly with might and strength.”

Doc. 18: Amenhotep II Amada Stelae (Translation after Breasted 1905)

Bibliography: Urk. IV, 1296: 13-1298; Champollion 1844: 105-107; Morris 2005: 127-128; Breasted 1905, II: 309-314; Lepsius, Denkmaller III, 65a.

“Year 3, third month of the third season, day 15, under the majesty of...Amenhotep (II)...He is a King with a strong arm. There is no one who can draw his bow among his army, the hill country Seikhs or among the chiefs of Retenu because his strength is much greater than any King who has ever existed....trampling down those who rebelled against him, instantly prevailing all the barbarians with people and horses when they came with myriads of men...There is not one that saves himself from him, he makes a slaughter among his enemies, the Nine Bows likewise. All lands and all rebellious countries pay him impost...There is no one who makes a boundary with him, they live by his breath...There is no boundary made for him towards all countries united, towards all lands together...There is none among them that escapes from the overthrow, like the foes of Bastet on the road of Amon...Then his Majesty caused that this tablet should be made and set up in this temple...after the return of his Majesty from Retenu yhe Upper, having overthrown all his enemis, extending the boundaries of Egypt, on the first victorious campaign...When his Majesty returned with joy of heart to his father, Amon, he slew with his own weapon the seven princes who had been in the district of Tikhsi and had been placed head downward at the prow of his Majesty’s barge”.

Doc. 19: Amenhotep II Memphis and Karnak Stelae (translation after Hallo and Younger 2003, based on Memphis text)

Bibliography: Urk. IV, 1300-1309; Champollion 1844, II: 185, 186; Morris 2005: 127-128; Breasted 1905, II: 309-314; Hallo and Younger 2003, II: 19-23; Cummings 1982: 29-33; Pritchard 1969: 245-247; Edel 1953: 98-175.

“Regnal Year 7, 1st month of summer, day 25...(titulary)...Amenhotep (II), Divine ruler of Heliopolis, may he be given life forever...His heart is satisfied when he sees them after he decapitated the trouble makers. His Majesty went to Retenu on his first victorious campaign in order to widen his border and to give gifts to whom were loyal to him...His Majesty arrived at Shamashu-Adom.²³³ He hacked it up in a brief moment like a lion roaming the hills...A record of that which His Majesty captured on that day: 35 Asiatics and 22 bulls. His Majesty crossed the Orontes river on water, wading like Resheph...He noticed a few Asiatics coming, creeping forward, equipped with weapons for fighting in order to attack the army of the King. His Majesty charged them like the swoop of the divine falcon. They halt, their hearts becoming weak as one after another fell on his companion, including their chief...His Majesty slew them with arrows...A record on which his Majesty captured on that day: 2 chieftains, 6 Maryanu including their chariots, horses and all their weapons. Journeying south to Nyie. Its chief and all his people, male and female alike surrendered to his Majesty...His Majesty arrived at Ugarit. He surrounded all those who defied him. He slew them like those who did not exist, being placed beside those who lay prostrate...Mendjat was plundered...His Majesty arrived at Hatjera. Its chief surrendered to his Majesty...His Majesty arrived at Kadesh. Its chief surrendered. They were made an oath of allegiance and their children likewise...His Majesty arrived at Memphis...Regnal year 9, 3rd month of winter, day 25. His Majesty went to Retenu on his second victorious campaign to the city of Aphek.²³⁴...His Majesty went out on his chariot at dawn to the city of Iturun and Migdalen.²³⁵...After his Majesty reviewed the very great amount of booty, they were turned into prisoners of war...Then Ankharat was plundered...His Majesty arrived at Memphis..every foreign country and every land is under his sandals...Now at the time the chieftain of Naharin, the chieftain of Hatti and the chieftain of Sangar I heard of the great victories

²³³ Identified with Tell el-Abeidiyeh, see Ahituv 1984: 174-176.

²³⁴ Located in the valley of Acco, see Ahituv 1984: 62.

²³⁵ Modern Killbet el-Maydal, see Ahituv 1984: 142.

which his Majesty accomplished. Each one tried to outdo his counterpart with gifts of every foreign land".

Doc. 20: Amenhotep III Triumph Hymn (Cairo CGC 34025 Recto)

Bibliography: Kitchen 1999: 177-182; Petrie 1897:10-11, Pls. 11-12; Lacau 1909: 47-52; Helck 1961: 194-199; Lichtheim 1976, II: 43-48; Davies 1992: 1-5, no. 562.

“Words spoken by Amun, King of Gods: “My bodily son whom I love, Nebmare (*Nb-m³t-R³*)²³⁶...My heart rejoice greatly when I see your beauty, so I work a wonder for you (*bi3y=i n=k*): I turn my face towards the South (*di=i hr=i r Rsy*) so I may work a wonder for you (*bi3y=i n=k*): I cause the chiefs of despised Kush to serve you (*di=i phr n=k wrw kš hsy*), carrying all their tribute on their backs (*hr inw=sn nbw hr psd=sn*). I turn my face towards North (*di=i hr=i r Mhty*) so I may work a wonder for you: I cause the countries of remotest Asia to come to you (*di=i iwt n=k h3swt phww stt*), carrying all the tribute on their backs (*hr inw=sn nbw hr psd=sn*). They present to you both themselves and their children (*hnk=sn n=k ds=sn m msw=sn*), seeking that you may grant them the breath of life (*si-tw rdit=k n=sn t^cw n ^cnh*). I turn my face towards the West (*Imntt*), so I may work a wonder for you: I cause you to conquer²³⁷ Libya (*di=i iti=k thnw*), without missing any of them (*nn why n=sn*), who built in this stronghold in the name of my Majesty (*kd m mnnw pn hr rn n hm=i*), surrounded with a mighty wall (*phrw m sbty wr*), reaching up to the sky (*hr tkn r pt*), staffed with the offspring of chiefs of the tribesfolk of Nubia (*grgw m msw wrw iwntyw-sti*). I turn my face towards the Orient (*Wbn*), so I may work a wonder for you: I cause the foreign countries of Punt to come to you (*di=i iwt n=k h3swt nwt Pwnt*), carrying all aromatic herbs from their countries, to beg peace from you (*hr dbh htpw m=f*) and breath the breath of your giving (*ssn t3w n didi=k*).”

Doc. 21: Gilukhepa scarab of Amenhotep III

Bibliography: Blackenberg-Van Delden 1969: 18; Breasted 1906, II: 347-348; De Buck 1948: 67; Davies 1992: 36-37; Helck 1961: 234.

“Year 10 under the Majesty of Horus. Gold Horus: Great of strength who smites the Asiatics (*hr-nbw 3-hpš hwi²³⁸-šttiw*), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of

²³⁶ The throne name of Amenhotep III.

²³⁷ For *ity*, “rule as a King”, see Wb I: 143; Wilson 1991, I: 223.

²³⁸ *hw(i)* (DLE II: 100, to strike, to smite, to repress, to beat, to clap, to tresh; Faulkner 1962: 165, beat, strike, smite; Wilson 1991: 1121-1122; Wb III 47(19)-48 (5), go, roam, rush, tread). A finite verb commonly used in order to demonstrate a direct action of the king, especially in the Egyptian military records which were dated during the Late New Kingdom (Hasel 1998: 37; Schafer 1957; Hall 1986). In

rituals (*nb irt-ih*t), Nebmaatre (*Nb-m3^ct-R^c*), whom Re chose, Son of Re: Amenophis, ruler of Thebes, given life...Marvel brought to his Majesty (l.p.h) (*bi3yt innyt n hm=f 5.w.s*): Gilukhipa, daughter of the prince of Naharina Satirna (*s3t wr n Nhrn s3turn3 Kirgip3*) and 317 women of her harem (*tpw n hnr=s st 317*)”.

Doc. 22. Ramose delivers to the King (Amenhotep III) a standard of Amun

Bibliography: Davies 1994: 2; Davies 1941, pl. 30.

“Words spoken by the overseer of the city and vizier Ramose, the justified: ‘...May he (Amen Re) praise you, may he loves you and make you endure...(3) He (Amen Re) overthrows your enemies both as dead and as living...May he give you millions (8) of years and all your records and Sed Festivals (1781) with all the lands being under (9) your soles. He overthrows your enemies both as dead and as living...”.

Doc. 23. Statue of Amenhotep, son of hapu from Karnak (Amenhotep III)

Bibliography: Davies 1994: 16.

“(1820) True King’s scribe, his beloved Amenhtep the justified he says: ‘...(12) the good god, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmare, eldest son of Horakhty has praised me, and I am appointed as a royal scribe and chamberlain...(14) I have poot the troops at the head of the road in order to repulse the foreigners from their places which surround the two banks (Egypt), by keeping an eye on the traveling of sandfarers...I was the supreme chief before the brave ones, in order to smite the Nubians and tha Asiatics. All my Lord’s plans are a shelter around me... I reckoned the booty of the victories of his Majesty when I was at their head...

(Backpillar): (3) I have seen him making captives upon the battlefield, when he was like Min in a year of trouble. I have recorded the heads of his booty and the serfs for the temples, over and above what existed before (1824)...”

several occasions the Pharaoh was referred to himself as a deified form of Horus which “*smites*” the foreign lands (KRI I: 30, 1; Wildung 1977) while in others, the epithets which precede the name of the king dictated that the action the verb described was attributed to the king himself (Hasel 1998: 37). In addition, in several examples the king is perceived as the one who “*smites*” the Asiatics and the Nine Bows (i.e KRI V: 28, 8), every land (i.e KRI V: 21, 8) or the rebellious countries (i.e KRI V: 10, 12). Cases such as the ones of Ramesses III where the gods dictate the battle occurs quite often with the king being ordered by them to “*receive thou the sword and smite the Asiatics*” (i.e MH II:121A,3; MH II:121B,6). For several depictions of Amun standing before the king and handles him the sword see Hall 1986: Figs. 45, 46, 50, 52, 55, 56, 64, 65, 70.

Doc. 24. Inscriptions from the tomb of the overseer of the granary of Upper and Lower Egypt Khaemwat in West Thebes, no 57 (1841; 570), reign of Amenhotep III

Bibliography: Davies 1994: 26; Lepsius, denkmaller iii, 72 c.

Inscription of the King: The appearance of the King upon the great throne in order to receive the records of the harvest of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Inscription of the action: Announcing the report of the harvest of Upper and Lower Egypt in the presence of the King together with the harvest tax of the high Nile flood for the first Sed Festival of his Majesty, by the stewards of the estates of Pharaoh, l.p.h., together with the directors of Upper and Lower Egypt, beginning from the land of Kush as far as the boundary of Naharin.

On the Papyrus: Total gathered up, millions, hundreds of thousands, tons of thousands, thousands and hundreds.

Doc. 25. Inscription of the scribe Amenmose, a subordinate of Paheesy from Sinai, reign of Amenhotep III

Bibliography: Davies 1994: 47; Gardiner, Peet and Cerny Peet 1952-55: no 211; cf MIO, II 189.

“Year 36, second month of winter, day 9 under the Majesty [titular] Amenophis III, ruler of thebes, given life forever and ever. (3) Now his Majesty was in the southern city (Thebes). (4) Then the royal scribe [titles] Panehesy was commanded to bring turquoise when his Majesty was planning (6) the Sed Festival...The overseer of the treasury (8) Paheesy came in order to make a good journey to this foreign country to bring every product (9) from there for his lord as what was given to him by his father Geb...Now he receives it from Hathor, Lady of turquoise, and Her Majesty rejoices and is glad...One shall be witness this scribe (17) as he says ‘I have followed my lord in the foreign country and I have held to the business that he placed in my charge. I have gone forth by the shore of the sea (18) in order to make known the wonders of Punt and to receive the gum-resin for the perfume which the chiefs brought (19) in boats as the produce of foreign countries...The expedition that was under my authority was safe without loss, absolutely complete on its arrival at the southern city in peace”.

Doc. 26. Stela in a rock niche of an Aenhotep at Silsila (Amenhotep III)

Bibliography: Davies 1994: 61; Lepsius, Denkm. III, 81 c; Legrain, Ann. Serv, IV. 198.

“Year 35, the first month of summer, day 1 under the Majesty of (titular) Amenophis III, ruler of Thebes, given life...The one who smites (3) the chiefs of every foreign country. His two strong arms beat (*sd*²³⁹) all the chiefs (*wr-nb*)...[all lands are under his sandals]. He makes his southern boundary at the top of the earth (*Wpt-t3*), (4) for Nubia in under his fear and his northern one at the four pillars of heaven. Every foreign country who does not know Egypt (5) comes humbly because of his war-shouts... (6) The chiefs of distant foreign countries come bearing the taxes. The serfs of his Majest carry al their (7) tribute upon their backs. (1921) He has made his name brave in every foreign country, and everyone gives praise to his uraeus, for his terror (8) is in their hearts and his power...”

Doc. 27: The great hymn to Aten

Bibliography: Davies 1908: 29-31; Sandman 1938: 93-96; Lichtheim 1976, II: 96-100; Simpson 2003: 278-284; Murnane 1995; Kitchen 1999: 249-260.

“Your appearing is beautiful (*h^cy=k nfr*) on heaven’s horizon, O living Aten (*itn ^cnh*), who initiated life. As you shine forth (*iw=k wbn.ti*) in the Eastern horizon, you have filled every land (*mh.n=k t3 nb*) with your beauty (*m nfrw=k*)...Your rays embrace earth (*stwt=k inh.sn t3w*), reaching as far as all that you have made (*r-r-^c irt.n=k nb(t)*)...How manifold are they (*3s^c.wy sy*), that you have made (*ir=k*), even when they are hidden from sight, O sole god besides whom is no other. You created earth (*km3=k t3*) by your wish (*n ib=k*), on your own, all mankind (*m rmt*), herds (*mnmnt*), beasts (*^cwt nb*); all upon earth (*ntyw nb hr t3*) who go upon their feet (*šmw hr rdwy*), all in the sky (*ntyw m ^ch hr*) who fly with their wings (*m dnhw=w*). The foreign countries of Syria and Nubia (*h3swt h3rw kš*), the land of Egypt (*t3 n kmt*), you set

²³⁹ *sd* (DLE III: 120, Faulkner 1962: 256, to brake, tremble, penetrate, inflict, smash, beat; Wilson 1991, III:1724; Wb IV: 373 (8)-375(7), to break). A transitive verb which its abstract use highlights the king as the cause of activities such as breaking, smashing, penetrating etc. (Hasel 1998: 59). Usually, the Egyptian scribes employed it in order to depict the effects of the Egyptian military activity against foreign lands but it was also used in order to provide a personal tone to the actions of the Pharaoh. Hence, it is Pharaoh who *sd-ib*, “breaks the enemies heart” (Wb IV: 374, 20-22 i.e KRI I: 19, 2; KRI II: 150, 16), inflicting fear which “penetrates” the enemy (i.e KRI V: 21, 9) and causes “dread” to the bodies and souls of the enemies (i.e KRI I: 21, 4; KRI I: 30, 8). Hasel sees the metaphor of piercing through something as an arrow as a solid contextual setting of *sd* (Hasel 1998: 60), an idea which found parallels in the textual records of Ramesses III where the king is described and depicted as an arrow penetrating his enemies (KRI V:32, 10; KRI V:80, 1).

each man in his place (*di=k s nb m st=f*), you provided for their needs (*ir=k hrwt=sn*).
 Each one has his food (*w^cn b hr wnm=f*), and reckoned is his lifespan (*hsdw ^ch^c=f*),
 their tongue is diverse in speech (*ns=w wp(w) m mdt*) and their natures likewise.
 Their complexions are different, and you distinguish among foreigners (*stni=k*
h3styw)...All distant foreign lands (*h3swt nbt w3wt*), you provide for their life (*ir=k*
nh=sn)...You have set a Nile flood in the sky...The heavenly Nile-flood is for the
foreigners (*h^cpt m pt sw n h3styw*) and for all wild beasts that go upon their feet (*n ^cwt*
nb(t) sm hr rdwy.w). The proper Nile-flood that issues from the netherworld is for
 Egypt”.

Doc. 28: Seti I, Northern wars, Karnak (North wall Hypostyle Hall)

Bibliography: Davies 1997: 1-27; PM II, 53ff.; Breasted 1906, III: 43-54, 58-75, 83-112, 150-152; Murnane 1990; Kitchen RITA I: 6-12, 14-20; Ibid., RITANC I: 10-17, 19-20, 22-26.

East side, Lower register: Campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan

a) The defeat of Shasu.


“The good god, the sun for Egypt, the moon for all lands (*i^ch n t3w nbw*)...He has
widened the boundaries of Egypt to the end of heaven on every side (*swsh.n=f t3sw*
Kmt r r-^c pt r w3t nbth). As for the rebels, it was not known how to pass them because
 of the enemies of the Shasu (*hrw š3sw*) who were attacking²⁴⁰ him (*wnw hr tkn im=f*
h3k sn). His Majesty made captures of all, the rest do not exist (*hm=f r-3w, r spyt n*
iwtv)”.

b) The receipt of the tribute given by the chiefs of the Asiatics.

“The good god...one who has trampled upon Asia (*titi stt*), who has made his border
as far as his heart determines (*ir t3sw=f r ddi ib=f*). His arm is not opposed in any
 land (*n hsf^c=f m t3w nbw*)...He causes the chiefs of Khor to cease all the boasting of
 their mouths (*di=f kn wrw nw h3rw ^cb^c nb n r=sn*)”.

c) Victory at Pa-Canaan.

“Year 1, under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre (*Mn-m3^ct-R^c*). The
 destruction which the strong arm of the Pharaoh (*p3 fh ir.n p3 hpš tyr n pr-^c*), l.p.h. ,
 made of the Shasu (*n n3 n hrw n š3sw*)...His Majesty turned them into a heap of
 corpses through their villages (*iw hm=f irr=sn m h3yt h tint=sn*), they were

²⁴⁰ For *tkn*, () , “attack”, see Wilson 1991, III: 2027; Wb V: 333 (10)-335 (12); Faulkner 1962: 302.

overthrown (*hr*)²⁴¹ in their own blood like the ones who had never existed (*hdb hr snf=sn mi n hpr=sn*)...It is by the strength of his father, Amun who has given you bravery and victory in every foreign land (*m phty it=f imn wd n=k knt nht hr h3st nb*).

d) The return to Egypt and the welcoming of the King by his dignitaries.

“The good god rejoices at the commencement of fighting...His heart is pleased at seeing blood when he cutted off the heads of the rebellious people (*htp ib=f hr m33 snf hsk(t)=f tpw n h3kw-ib*). He loves the moment he tramples upon more than a day of rejoicing (*mrr=f 3t n titi r hrw n ihhy*). His Majesty killed them all together...The prophets, noblemen and leaders of Upper and Lower Egypt had come to honor the good god when he comes from the land of Retenu...They said on worshipping his Majesty: “you being vengeful towards the Nine Bows (*hr ib=k n pdwt 9*). Re has made your boundaries...Your mace is upon the head of every foreign country (*m s3 h3=k hr tp n h3st nbt*), their chiefs fallen by your knife (*wrw=sn hr n ds=k*). Presentation of tribute (*inw*) by his Majesty to Amun when he returned from the land of vile Retenu. The chiefs of the foreign countries are captured alive (*wrw h3swt m skr-^cnh*), their tribute upon their backs (*inw=sn hr psd=sn*)”.

West side, Bottom register: Campaign against the Hittites

“The vile land of Hatti (*p3 t3 hsy n ht*), amongst which his Majesty, l.p.h., made a great slaughter (*h3t ^c3t m im=sn*)...King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, Son of Re, Sety I (*sthy*), beloved of Amun... Re has made his boundary for him at the limit of that which the sun disc illuminates (*ir.n n=f R^c t3šw=f r-dr=w shd itn*)...Mighty bull, sharp-horned and stout-hearted, one who tramples the Asiatics (*titi styw*) and who treads on the Hittites (*ptpt htyw*), who slay their chiefs (*sm3*²⁴² *wrw=sn*) who were left postrate in their own blood (*hdb hr sns=sn*), who

²⁴¹ As transitive of *hr* (𓂏𓂏𓂏) “to fall”, see Faulkner 1962: 195. Having the nuance of “overthrow”, the verb survived principally in Coptic. There, speaking from a grammar point of view, its intransitive use was superseded by the transitive one (Wilson 1991, II: 1328). By maintaining its transitive use, the verb took the nuance of “fall” in several phrases such as in the ones the enemies of Egypt fell under the feet/sandals of the Pharaoh, the guarantor of Maat and the incarnation of Horus on earth (i.e KRI I: 164, 5; KRI I: 276, 13). Regarding its subjective quality, apart from the foes of Egypt which individually mentioned in several texts which were dated during the New Kingdom Period there are also the foreign countries, pray to pharaoh’s intentions, which are fallen (i.e KRI VIII: 117, 12).²⁴¹ Furthermore, the king has his foreign foes felled by his knife in several other occasions (i.e KRI VIII: 169, 5) (Wilson 1991, II: 1328).

²⁴² *sm3* (Wilson 1991, II: 1490; Wb IV: 122 (7)-123 (11); DG 432,1, to slay; DLE III: 47, to slay, to murder, to sacrifice, to slaughter; Faulkner 1962: 226, kill, destroy). Finite verb used in several military documents of the New Kingdom in order to describe the action taken by the king himself against his enemies. The sense of totality which accompanies the use of the verb as its connection with the final outcome of the battle were used inside bombastic exaggerations and stereotypical phrases in order

charges amongst them like a flame of fire (*ḥk m im=sn mi nsrt n sdt*), turning them into those who do not exist (*irr sn m tm wnw*)...who tramples upon hundreds of thousands (*titi ḥfnw*)...When he is at peace they can inhale his breath (*htp=f tpi=sn t^cw=f*). Retenu comes bowing down to him (*iw n=f Rtnw m ksw*) and the land of Libya is on its knees (*t3 thny hr pdw iry*). He leaves seed as much as he desires in this wretched land of Hatti (*t3 pn hsy n ht*), their chiefs are felled by his knife (*wrw=sn hr n dmt=f*), became as the ones who had never existed (*hpr m tm wn*)...The chiefs of the foreign countries they say, in praising his Majesty: Hail to you o King of Egypt, sun of the Nine Bows (*R^c n pdwt 9*). Great is your strength o Lord of the gods (*wr b3w=k nb ntrw*). You have brought away the limits of the foreign countries (*in.n=k r-^c ḥ3swt*) and you have subdued them (*w^cf²⁴³=k sn*) under the feet of your on Horus (*hr rdwy n s3=k hr*) who keeps alive the Two Lands”.

Doc. 29: Seti I, Temple of Ptah stela (Karnak).

Bibliography: Davies 1997: 41-45; PM II, 198; Legrain 1902: 112-113; KRI I: 40-41; Breasted 1906, III: 41-42; Murnane 1995: 45ff., 75; Kitchen, RITA I: 32-33, Ibid., RITANC I: 45.

“Now as for the good god...He went to widen his boundary (*itⁱ=f šm=f r swšḥ²⁴⁴ t3š=f*)...No foreign country stood before him (*bw ḥ^c.n ḥ3st r-ḥ^ct=f*). Fear of

to underline king’s bravery, triumph and prowess against the foreigners (Hasel 1998: 55). Hence, the verb was used quite often in expressions which carried out the action of the king to his enemies in general (i.e KRI II: 134, 9), against their chiefs (i.e KRI I: 18, 1; KRI I: 23, 8; KRI II: 197, 6) or against the Nine Bows (i.e KRI II: 134, 6; KRI II: 143, 9). The frequency the verb was employed during the New Kingdom Period made it one of the most preferred verbs by the Egyptian scribes, used in order to depict the military action of the king against the enemies of Egypt (Hasel 1998: 54). Iconographical, the scenes accompanied the verb shown the foreigners in a chaotic state of disarray in front of the King. Indicative towards that direction were the several reliefs of the Seti I on the northern wall of the hypostyle hall at the temple of Karnak (Epigraphic survey 1986: Pl. 6, 11, 23). There, the enemies were in a state of confusion before the living incarnation of Horus on earth, the king of Egypt.

²⁴³ *w^cf* (Wilson 1991, I: 393; Wb I: 285 (1-14), be bent down, subdue; DLE I: 108, to crush, to subdue, to curb, to bind; Faulkner 1962: 57, Bend down, subdue, be bent, curled up). Finite verb, usually used as an epithet for the king in order to underline his role as a “*binder/subduer*” of the foreign lands in general (i.e KRI I: 21, 1; KRI II: 309, 2 etc.) or particularly (i.e KRI I: 110, 7; KRI I: 126, 13) (Hasel 1998: 30). The verb was used quite fashionably during the New Kingdom Period, especially during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II but its use was declined since Merneptah, see Hasel 1998: 29-30. Several variations on the spelling of the verb was noticed at the temple of Edfu were *w^f* seems to be the prominent choice for the Egyptian scribes (Wilson 1991, I: 393).

²⁴⁴ *šwsḥ* (Faulkner 1962: 218; Wilson 1991, II: 1445; Wb IV: 74-75, to widen, enlarge, extend boundaries). Causative form of *wsḥ*, used to demonstrate one of the main duties the Egyptian ideology attributed to the king in order Egypt being in a state similar with that of the kingdom of the gods, that of the widening of the borders of Egypt and the expulsion of the foreigners. Despite the different terms the Egyptians used in order to demarcate the political (*t3š*) from their mythological border (*drw*), in several texts used for internal consumption the limits of their political borders imitate the mythological ones and spread all over the horizon, containing what “*the sun encircles*”,

his renown (snd n šfyt=f) together with his war-cry encircled the foreign countries (hnhmt=f phr=s h3swt), his power being in the hearts of the Nine Bows (b3w=k m ib pdwt 9). His Majesty came from his first victorious campaign, his heart full of joy, his attack had been successful over every foreign country (hd=f hpr hr h3st nbt). He ruled the rebellious countries by the strength of his father Amun (h3k.n=f h3swt bštw m phty it=f Imn)...He who attacks his boundary was in his grasp and none opposed his arm (tkk t3š=f r-šw m 3mm=f nn hsf=f). Their chiefs were brought as (living) captives (in wrw=sn m skr-šnh), their tribute on their backs (inw=sn hr psd=sn), presenting it to his noble father Amun together with his divide ennead in order to fill their storehouse with male and female servants (mh šnšw=sn m hmw hmwt) and with the plunder of every foreign country (m h3kt nw h3st nbt)".

Doc. 30: Seti I First Beth-Shan Stela

Bibliography: PM VII: 380; Moret 1925: 18-30; KRI I: 11-12; Galling 1950: 31-32; Pritchard 1969: 253-254; Davies 1997: 29-33.

“Year 1, 3rd month of Summer, Day 10...A good God, eager with his strong arm (tnr hr hps=f), active and brave like Montu, abundant in booty (š3 kf(w)²⁴⁵)...the foremost brave of his army, brave warrior in the middle of battle (šh3wty kn m hr-ib skw), powerful Bastet in fighting, who enters into the mass of Asiatics (šk m wmt n sttyw). One who makes them prostrate (in sn m hdbyw) and who tramples the chiefs of Retenu (ptpt wrw nw rtnw). One who brings an end to attack on his road (in phwy n tnt mtm=f). He allows the chiefs of Khor to recognize every boast from their mouths. Every foreign country at the far north of the earth (h3st nbt nw phw t3), their chiefs

widened by the king “to the end of heaven on every side” (swsh.n=f t3šw r r-š pt r w3t nbth) and made “as far as his heart determines” (ir t3šw=f r ddi ib=f), see Tawfik 1973: 7981. Cf. Lorton 1974: 13, 16, 18, 30, 32-3, 127; Davies 1997: 1-27. It was under that perception, fully complied with the Egyptian ideology which prevailed in the interior of Egypt, which the Egyptian scribes declared a claim for universal dominion of Egypt and its Pharaoh over the rebellious and uncivilized foreigners, forces of chaos and devices of Isfet.

²⁴⁵ Kf (DLE IV: 39, to plunder, to take captive, to grasp; Faulkner 1962: 285, make captures, make requisition; Wb V: 121, make booty of war). Finite verb which its contextual setting implies use in different ways and backgrounds (Hasel 1998: 74). In cases such as in several of the inscriptions of Seti I in Amara West (i.e KRI I: 102, 10) or these of Ramesses II at Karnak (i.e KRI II: 180, 13) to name a few, the use of the verb indicates that it is the king himself “who captures in every foreign land”. Apart from the king also soldiers can capture booty or prisoners, an activity which perceived by the king as an indication of valor and was rewarded with gold, slaves and land, as it happened in cases such as in the biography of Ahmose, son of Ibana (Urk. IV, 1-11), and that of Ahmose Pa-Nekhbet (Urk. IV, 35: 16-17). While in cases such as the Amarna Letters or in the treaty signed by Ramesses II and the Hittites during his 21st year of reign the use of the verb implied a gift giving procedure among equals under the veil of solidarity, reciprocity and equality, it is necessary here to underline that kf was accompanied by nouns such as h3kw (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏) instead of inw (𓆎𓏏𓏏), a separate annual gift-giving activity followed by the vassals-allies of Egypt as a sign of vassalage-obedience.

said “who we are”? They shall be inactive (*sdr=sn hr=s*), bearing witness (oath) to his name (*smtr m rn=f*), protecting it with their hearts and with the strength of his father Amun, for bravery and victory have been decreed for him. Now on this day (*hrw pw*) someone come to tell his Majesty that the vile enemy who is in (*r-nty p3 hrw hsy nty m*) the town of Hammath has gathered to himself many men (*nwy=f n=f rmt ʕš3*) and he has taken the town of Beth-Shan (*iw=f hr nḥm dmi n btšr*)...Then his Majesty sent forth he first army of Amun...to the town of Hammath and the first army of Pre...to the town of Beth-Shan, and the forst army of Sutekh...to the town of Yeno’am. In the course of one day they fell to the might of his Majesty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt...Seti I, beloved of Ptah, Given life.

Doc. 31: Ramesses II Battle of Qadesh (Poem)

Bibliography: Davies 1997: 55-96; KRI II: 2-147; PM II: 179; Breasted 1906, III: 129-157; Gardiner 1960; Lichtheim 1976, II: 57-72; Hartman 1967; Spalinger 1982: 157-173, 182-185; Goedicke 1985: 43-75; Kitchen 1982: 51-63.

The poem

“The beginning of the victory of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermare Setepenre (*Wsr-m3ʕt-Rʕ stp.n Rʕ*), son of Re, Ramesses II (*Rʕ-ms-sw*) which he made in the land of Hatti, Nahrin, in the land of Arzawa, in Pidasu, in the Dardany, in the land of Masa, in the land of Qarqisha and Luku, in Carchemish, Qedy, the land of Qadesh, the land of Ugarit and in Mushanet...Now his Majesty was a young lord, active and without equal (*prʕ-iwty sn-nw=f*)...great of victory in every foreign country (*wr nḥtw hr h3swt nbt*)...Hundreds of thousands become faint as seeing him (*hfnw bdš n prt=f*). Lord of fear (*nb sndt*), loud of war cries in the heart of every land (*ʕ3 hmhmt m h3ty nw t3w nbw*)...His Majesty journeyed northwards, passed the fortress of Tjel (Sile), being like Montu in power. All foreign countries trembling before him (*h3swt nbt hr isdd r-hʕt=f*), their chiefs bringing their tribute (*wr=sn hr msy inw=sn*), every rebel (*bštw nbw*) coming bowed down (*iw m ksw*) due to the fear of the might of his Majesty...He cross over the fort of the Orontes (*d3.n=f mšdt nt Irnt*)...and then his Majesty arrived at the town of Qadesh (*kḏš*). Then the wretched fallen one of Hatti came (*ist p3 hr hsy n ht*) and he has assembled to himself every foreign country so far to the end of the sea (*iw shw=f n=f h3swt nbt r š3ʕ phwy n p3 ym*)...Now his Majesty was alone himself with only his followers, the army of Amun marching behind him...Now the vile chief of Hatti (*ist p3 wr hsi n ht*) was standing...he did not come forth to fight for fear of his Majesty (*n snd n ḥm=f*)...His Majesty started to gallop

and entered into the forces of the enemy of Hatti (*n hrw n ht*), being on his own, no other with him...Then his Majesty said: “What is wrong with you my father Amun? Has a father ever ignored his son? ...What are they to you, o Amun, these Asiatics who are vile and ignorant of god (*hsyw hmw ntr*)? Have I not built you great and many monuments? Have I not filled your temple with my captives (*mḥ=i t3y=k ḥwt-ntr m n3y=i ḥ3kt*)?... I have dedicated all lands to you in order to endow your offerings (*hrp=i n=k t3 nb dmd r sdf3 p3y=k htp-ntr*)...I have summoned you Amun, my father, while I am in the midst of many whom I do not know. All foreign countries united against me (*ḥ3swt nbt dmd=sn r=i*)...I found Amun coming as I called to him, He called back to me face to face: “Go forward. I am with you”. I found my heart stout and my heart rejoiced...Their hearts became weak in their bodies through fear of me (*ḥ3ty=w bdš m hwt=sn n snd=i*), their arms weak, unable to shoot...I felled them into the water as crocodiles descent (*diw=i ḥ3=sn ḥr mw mi ḥ3 nshw*)...I killed them according to my liken (*iw=i hr hdb im=sn r mr.n=i*)...The wretched chief of Hatti stood amongst his army and chariotry...shrinking and being afraid (*tnbh snd*). Then he caused many chiefs to come...I caused them to taste my hand in the passing of a moment (*diw=i dpt=sn drt=i m kmt 3t*). I slaughtered amongst them (*iw=i hr w^cw^c246 im=sn*), being slain where they were (*sm3 m st=sn*)...Now his Majesty was at their backs like a griffin (*ist ḥm=f m-s3=sn mi ḥh*). I killed amongst them (*iw=i hr hdb im=sn*) and I did not let up...Now when Menna, my shieldbearer, saw that a great number of chariots had surrounded me he became faint and great fear entered his body... Then his Majesty said to his shieldbearer: “Be firm...I shall enter amongst them like the swoop of a falcon, killing and slaughtering and throwing them to the ground (*iw=i hr hdb ḥr w^cw^c ḥr ḥ3^c r iwtn*)...”They found (Ramesses II army) all the foreign countries into which I had entered lying prostrate in their blood (*sdr m ḥdbyt ḥr snf=sn*), with all the good warriors of Hatti (*m ḥ3wty nb nfr n p3 ht*) with the children and the brothers of their chief. I made the field of the land of Kadesh white (with corpses) (*diw=i ḥd t3 sht n t3 kdš*) so that none knew were to walk because of their number (*bw rḥ.tw r st dgs m-di ḥ3w=sn*)...Then my army came to praise me:

²⁴⁶ *W^cw^c* (Wb I: 280, annihilate enemies; DLE I: 107, to kill, to slaughter, to massacre, butcher, to mow down). Finite verb, attributed the action of slaughtering, killing etc. to the king himself (Hasel 1998: 29). *W^cw^c* occurred twice in the inscriptions of Ramesses II which were relative with the battle took place at Kadesh during his 21st year of reign (KRI II: 52, 9; KRI II: 69, 15) and once in his reliefs at Karnak (KRI II: 135, 8). Furthermore, it was employed six times during the reign of Ramesses III (KRI V: 33, 6; KRI V: 43, 10-15 etc.) as several times in other texts dated during the New Kingdom Period (Hasel 1998: 29).

“You have destroyed the land of Hatti with your brave strong arm (*fh=k p3 t3 n ht hr hpš=k kny*)...One who protects Egypt and subdues foreign countries (*mk kmt wcf h3swt*), you have brake the back of Hatti forever (*s3w=k i3t n ht n dt*)...Then the wretched chief and enemy of Hatti sent (*wn.in p3 wr hr hsy n ht hr h3b*), paying honour to my name as well as to Re saying (*hr sw3š rn=i mitt Rc hr dd*): “You are Sutekh, Baal himself. Your terror is like a flame in the land of Hatti (*t3y=k hryt m tk3 m p3 t3 n ht*)”. Then he had his messenger come, carrying a document in his hand (*hc.n rdi.n=f iwt wpwty=f hr šct m drt=f*)...” Your servant (*b3k*) speaks, and causes it to be known that you are the Son of Re...He has given you all lands altogether (*diw=f n=k t3w nb dmd m bw wcf*). As for the land of Egypt and Hatti, they are yours (*ir p3 t3 kmt p3 t3 n ht tiw st*), your servants are under your feet (*n3y=k b3kw st hr rdwy=k*), Pre, your noble father has given them to you...Your strength is heavy upon the land of Hatti (*phty=k dns.ti hr t3 n ht*). It is good that you killed your servants (*in iw nfr p3y=k hdb n3y=k b3kw*)...Do not make your utterances hard, o powerful King. Peace is more profitable than fighting, so give breath to us”.

Bulletin

Year 5, month of Shomu, day 9 under the Majesty of [titular] Ramesses II...Now his Majesty was in Syria on his 2nd victorious campaign...There came 2 Shasu ta say to his Majesty: ‘It is our brothers who are tribal chiefs with the fallen one of Hatti, who have sent us to his Majesty saying “*We shall become servants of Pharaoh, L.P.H. and we will separate ourselves from the ruler of Hatti*”...Now these Shasu said this things and lied to his Majesty. For it was the fallen one of Hatti who had sent them to figure out where his Majesty was...His Majesty travelled north, arriving at the North West of Qadesh...They said to his Majesty: “*see, the despicable ruler of Hatti has already come along with the foreign lands that accompany him, whom he has brought with him as allies...They are more numerous that the sands of the seashore...*”...But when his Majesty sat talking with the officers the despicable fallen one of Hatti came with troops and chariotry...Then he raged against them, like his father Montu...His Majesty was strong and his heart firm, none could stand before him. All his patch blazed with fire, he burned up every foreign land with his ht breath...He slew all the hostile ranks of the despicable fallen one of Hatti along with all of his great chiefs and his brothers...”

Reliefs: Text of the epigraphs

Episode IV: Presentation of spoils to the Gods

Presenting those brought from Northern countries that came to violate the boundaries of His Majesty, whom his Majesty has slain. Their dependants are brought as prisoners to fill the workshops of his father Amun...

Presentation of spoils to the Theban Triad (Karnak)

Presenting tribute to his father Amen Re...Chiefs of foreign lands whom his Majesty brought back by his victory in land of Syria (Retenu) to fill the workshops of his father Amun.

Doc. 32: Ramesses II Beth-Shan Stela Year 18

Bibliography: PM VII: 379; University Museum Pennsylvania no. 29.107.958; Rowe 1930, pl. 46; RITA II, 27-29; Cerny 1958.

“Year 18, 4th month of Peret, Day 1:...Long live the good God, likeness of Re, sovereign, who seizes all lands with his strong arm/sword...the strong who overthrows his opponents, who vanquishes the land...Asiatics and sandfarers crawl to the feet of his Majesty as his serfs for Nile Land while the fallen ones of Retenu (Syria) come in obeisance and submission. The terror for him hs overcome them...Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II Meriamun...who extends the boundaries as far as he has wished...who reduces them to non existence...He sets all lands beneath his feet...who plunders the defeated to the ends of the earth...There are none who have done what he has done in any foreign land...”

Doc. 33: Karnak, Great Hall (s. wall). West Side, Bottom Register

Bibliography: PM II: 57-58 (171), III; KRI II: 152-154.

King collects prisoners

“The Good God, great of victories...subduing the Nine Bows, who smites Hatti, who tramples down Qode, who makes great overthrow in Naharina, who slays (*hms*²⁴⁷=f) the rebellious flat lands and hill countries, left wallowing in their blood like water, with no existence. Their rulers are brought off as prisoners...enclosed in his grip as when a falcon has pounced on sparrows...”

²⁴⁷ Verb used together with *hmty*, a name usually attributed to god Seth (Wilson 1991, II: 1261). In several texts found at the temple of Edfu *hms* referred to the process of mutilation of Seth due to the comparison of the king with Horus. In occasions such as the aforementioned one, the verb attributed the nuance of “mutilate” instead that of “slaughter” (Wilson 1991, II: 1261). Furthermore, its association with phallus and phallic symbols made that parallelism quite clear (Wb III: 99). Faulkner (1962: 170) attributed to *hms* the nuance of the siege of a town (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏/𓂏𓂏𓂏), see Urk. IV. 3, 4; 184, 17.

King returns in triumph with prisoners

“The good God who returns in triumph with the rulers of all foreign lands. He has trampled down the rebellious foreign lands who dared to violated his frontier...It is Amun who made great his strength...”

King presents prisoners to Amun

“Presenting tribute to his father, Amen Re...The chiefs of Retenu (Syria) whom his Majesty carried off as prisoners to present tribute to his father Amen Re...They say: ”Mighty is your power O victorious King. How great is your strength. Grant to us the breath of your giving, see us under your sandals, we will serve you as all foreign lands. Amun has decreed for you all that there is...”.

Doc. 34: Karnak, Great Hall (S. Wall): E. Side, Bottom Register

Bibliography: Gaballa 1969: 85-88; KRI II: 158-159.

“He has trampled down the rebellious foreign lands which violated his boundaries...no foreign land can stand before him. Dread of him is in their hearts, all rebellious foreign lands become submissive. He causes them to cease while standing on battlefield...they spent the days in caves, hidden away like jackals, fear of you being in their hearts O king [titulary] Ramesses II...”.

Doc. 35: Karnak, Great Hall (S. Wall): W. Triumph scene and list

Bibliography: PM II: 58 (172); Gaballa 1969; KRI II: 160-161; RITA II: 35-37.

“Words spoken by Amen-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: “...You have brought all the foreign lands who had violated your boundary, you have seized every land upon its South and you have sealed it upon its North. Your effectual might it has encircled every land, the dread of you shattered the foreign lands, you being Horus...sun of the foreign bowmen. The chiefs faint when they see your victories, the foreign lands being under your sandals. Take to yourself the sword, O victorious King. Your mace has smashed the Nine Bows...”.

Doc. 36: Karnak, Formal Triumph Scene, Pylon II

Bibliography: PM II: 38 (141); Kitchen & Gaballa 1969: 23/27; KRI II: 168-169; RITA II: 42-43.

“Victorious King, might in strength, whose war-cry is like the son of Nut, every foreign country is on his grasp...Making slaughter of his foes, grasping flat lands and every foreign country, making his boundary wherever he wished...Words spoken by Amen Re, presiding over Karnak : “...I have brought for you all the foreign countries which had violated your boundaries...Take to yourself the sword, O victorious King.”.

Your mace has smashed the Nine Bows. **You cut off** (*hsk=f*)²⁴⁸ **the heads** of the disaffected, your foes falling each at his moment. I provide your might, I create awe of you...I put fear into every foreign country and dread of you into the hearts of their chiefs. I made your boundary wherever you wished and you are unopposed...”.

Doc. 37: Luxor, Forecourt, W. Wall: N. Side, Bottom Register

Bibliography: PM II: 333 (202); KRI II: 170-12; RITA II: 44-45.

“Words spoken by his Majesty to the hereditary prince...the King’s son who is beside him: “Make up the prisoners of my valiant arm into droves...set them before my father Amun, distribute them as slaves for his temple so that he may give food offerings to all the gods, from the tribute of the plunder of his arm...”.

Doc. 38: Wadi es Sebua Temple: Triumph Scenes on Stone Pylon

Bibliography: PM VII: 58 (30, 31); Gauthier 1912: 59-61, 64-65; KRI II: 200-203; RITA II: 63-64.

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt [titular] Ramesses II...Trampling down the chiefs of every foreign country...Speech of Re Horakhti: “...Receive the sword o Victorious King! May you slay the chiefs, the enemies...their lands...all that I decreed, treasures...your strength...every foreign country...I grant to you all valour...Speech of Amen Re. Words spoken by Amen Re...: ”Receive the sword... O victorious King! May you smite the chiefs...may you cut off the heads of...your...moment of power...o powerful son of his father Amun, there are assigned to you all valour and victory, O king Ramesses II...”.

Doc. 39: Ramesses II Bentresh Stela (Louvre C.284)

Bibliography: PM II: 254 (141); De Buck 1948: 106-109; RITA II: 113-116.

“The god God, son of Amun...King of Egypt, ruler of the deserts; Sovereign (*ity*)²⁴⁹ who seizes the Nine Bows...Now his Majesty was in Naharina...The rulers of every

²⁴⁸ *hsk* (Wb III: 163-168, to cut off, knock off; Faulkner 1962: 178, cut off head, cut out heart, behead; DLE II: 141; Wilson 1991, II: 1216; Wb III: 168 (14)-169 (2), to cut off). Finite verb which described an action solely attributed to the king himself and not to any of his officials (Hasel 1998: 39). Although the members of the king’s army could seize prisoners of war dead or alive, the action of decapitation belonged solely to the Pharaoh, see Hall 1986: Figs. 44, 50, 51, 57, 63; Epigraphic Survey 1986: Pl. 15a. Also Horus Bedhet in the temple of Edfu decapitates enemies, see Wilson 1991, II: 1216 for references and details. This was the case in several documents dated from New Kingdom onwards such as Thutmose III Gebel Barkal stela (Urk. IV. 1288ff), Seti I campaigns from Sile to Pa-Canaan (i.e KRI I: 9, 7), recorded at the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, at his triumph and topographical list at the Kanais temple (KRI I: 35, 9) as in Ramesses II texts from Pylon II at Karnak (KRI II: 168, 15) .

²⁴⁹ *ity* (Wb I: 143; Faulkner 1962: 32, sovereign). Despite the suggestion of Hassan (1920: 50) for perceiving the term as a derivation from *it* “father”, the standard English translation given is

foreign country came bowing down in submission...Their tribute [products] being on their backs, each one uprising his fellow. Then the ruler of Bakhtan sent his tribute and he had placed his eldest daughter at the head of it, extoling his Majesty, and begging for life from him...When his Majesty arrived in Egypt she (Neferure) carried out all the duties of a queen...An envoy of the ruler of Bakhtan has come..." I have come to you o Sovereign my Lord, concerning Bentresh, the younger sister of Queen Neferure, an illness has penetrated her body. May you dispatch a specialist to see her..."The specialist reached Bakhtan and found Bentresh in the state of possessed by spirits...Then the ruler of Bakhtan again sent a word to his Majesty saying: "O sovereign (*ity*), my Lord let his Majesty sent a God to the land of Bakhtan"...Then this good god went to were Bentresh was. Then he bestowed magical protection upon the daughter of the ruler of Bakhtan and she was well immediately...So the ruler of Bakhtan shouted for joy ecstatically with everyone who was in Bakhtan. Then he considered his mind saying to himself: "I will cause this god to remain here, in Bakhtan. I will not allow him to go back in Egypt". Then the God stayed on for 3 years and 9 months in Bakhtan. Then the ruler of Bakhtan slept on his bed and he saw in a dream that this god had come out of his shrine, being a gold falcon and flew to Egypt...Then He (the ruler of Bakhtan) allowed this god to proceed back to Egypt..."

Doc. 40: Rhetorical Stelae of Ramesses II (Abu Simbel C.20/C.22)

Bibliography: Kitchen 1999: 183-192; Ibid., 1999a: 189; Ibid., 1996: 155-160; PM, VII: 98(10); Ibid., 99(12).

"Long live (*ḥnh*): Horus, strong bull (*k3-nht*), beloved of Maat (*mry=M3ḥt*)...great in power like his father Seth in Ombos (*wr-phṯy mi it=f stḥ m Nbwt*); Nebty-King (*nbtj*), supporter (protector) of Egypt (*mk kmt*), subduing the foreign lands (*wḥf ḥ3swt*), Master of fear (*nb snd*), awe of whom is in all lands, reducing the land of Kush to non-existence (*it t3 n Kš m tm ḥwn*), compelling the Hatti land to end its mouth's bragging (*di kn t3 n ḥ tḥb r=f*); Golden Horus, rich in years, great in victories (*ḥ3 nḥtw*), overcoming the ends of the earth in seeking for a fight (*in drw phww t3 ḥr ḥhy ḥ3*), who has shut the wide mouths of rulers of foreign lands (*sh ns.n=f r wsh n wrw*)

"sovereign" (Lorton 1974: 7). The first appearance of the term occurred in Dynasty VI in purely Egyptian context, connecting the king with the divine office of kingship (Goedicke 1960: 49). As a standard term of the international relations, *Itj* made its appearance from the reign of Hatshepsut onwards (i.e Urk. IV 284, 4; Urk. IV 934, 13-14; Urk. IV 1512, 3; Urk. IV 1667, 6; Urk. IV 1669, 13-14; LD III 87a; Urk. IV 2128, 17 etc.). Its conjunction with *itw*, the perfect active participle of *iti*, "to take by force", connected it with *iti* in contexts of international relations (Lorton 1974: 7).

h3swt), King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Lord of both lands, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, trampling on the Hatti-land (*ptpt t3 n ht*), lord of crowns, Ramesses II, given life...Long live the Good god, valiant one that is vaunted a lord that is boasted-of; Protector of his army (*mk mš^c=f*), who sets his frontier on earth just as he wishes (*ir t3š=f tp t3 r mrr=f*)...King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses II, given life, the one who fetch the rebellious captive to the beloved land (Egypt) (*ini*²⁵⁰ *bštw m sgb t t3-mri*), while, their rulers bear tribute to his palace (*wrw hr inw=sn r h=f*). Fear of him has caused through their bodies (*phr(n).n snd=f m hwt=sn*), their limbs tremble at sheer dread of him (*h^cw=sn m sd3 r-tr n hryt=f*), King of Southern and Northern Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, who tramples on the Hatti-land (*ptpt t3 n ht*), reduced to heaps of corpses like Sejhmet raging during a plague...The rulers of every foreign country come forth from their lands (*wrw h3st nbt pr m t3=sn*), awakened, unable to sleep, their bodies weary (*rsw nn ^cw=sn bdš h^cw=sn*). Their tribute is a mixture of products of their lands (*inw=sn m šbnw m ht t3=sn*) with their forces and their children at the head of it, to ask for peace from his Majesty (*r db h htpw hr hm=f*)...Their rulers quake when they see him (*wrw=sn hr isdd m33=sn sw*), his strength and his power are like that of Montu (*wsr=f phty=f mity mntw*) when he spears their heads (*mt3=f=f*

²⁵⁰ *ini* (Wb I: 90; Wilson 1991, I: 147; DG 33, 7, to bring; DLE I: 36; Faulkner 1962: 22, bring, fetch, carry off, bring away; to bring, to bring back, to fetch, to carry, to return, to obtain). Finite verb, used commonly in military inscriptions dated during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Hasel 1998: 65). In the contextual setting of the return of the king from the several successful military exhibitions Egypt took abroad, the verb was used mainly to describe the action of “*carrying off*” of prisoners (*int.n=i skrw-^cnh* or *int.n=i skr ^cnh* in KRI I: 14, 10; KRI I: 14, 15; KRI I: 15, 12; KRI II: 161, 8; KRI II: 163, 11; KRI II: 177, 6; Urk. IV, 35: 16-17) and captives (*h3kw*) (i.e. KRI IV: 6, 10; KRI IV: 22, 1), brought sometimes alone as chiefs of the enemy (*wr*) (i.e. KRI I: 14, 15; KRI II: 146, 13; KRI II: 179, 5), or together with their siblings (*hmt*, *ms* and *sn*) (i.e. KRI IV: 6, 10; KRI IV: 9, 2; KRI IV: 8, 6; KRI IV: 22, 5). *ini* was also used under a more general way and it was connected with artifacts and property (weapons, cattle etc.) which were taken from the “*ones who disobeyed his boundaries*” (*th3 t3š=f* in KRI I: 30, 7; KRI II: 198, 8) (Hasel 1998: 67). The foreign lands and towns of those “*rebellious ones*” were often named specifically in several cases. Hence, toponyms such as those of Dapur and Ashkelon found their way to the historical record (i.e. KRI II: 170, 15; KRI II: 173, 1; KRI IV: 19, 5). Apart from the aforementioned uses, *ini* made its appearance in expressions such as *ini phw* and *ini drw*, “*to acquire the limits*” (Lorton 1974: 73). The understanding of such expressions as demonstratives of political control instead of territorial annexation became prominent from several examples taken from the Egyptian textual records. In examples such as the ones recorded in Urk. IV 555, 15-556, 2; Urk. IV 1684, 16-1685, 3 and Urk. IV 1697, 6-7 to name a few, it became prominent that *ini drw* referred to political control rather to new conquests. Despite the fact that the extension of control to territories newly acquired is evident in occasions such as these recorded in Urk. IV 85, 7-9 and Urk. VII, 14-17, it was the imperial policy followed in Levant by the Egyptian Pharaohs during the New Kingdom period which dictated that conquered territory was left in the hands of vassals and not integrated as provinces into the Egyptian administration system.

tpw=sn)...There come to me the chiefs of foreign lands ignorant of Egypt (*iw n=i wrw h3swt hmw r Kmt*), once rebellious against this land since the god's epoch (*wn bšt w r t3 ds rk ntr*), who make obeisance to my spirit (*sm3=sn r-hft-hr=i*)...I have found their hearts cast down with their bodies (*tm3.n=i h3wt=sn dhw m h w=sn*), awe of me has entered amidst their limbs (*kwk.n šfi=i hht w=sn*), my name, it has petrified them as would the Lord of Ombos (*rn=i sd.n=f st mi nb Nbwt*). The despised Hatti-Land are sorry for themselves (*t3 n ht hst hr nhw n=sn*), indeed they drew their encampments to the ground (*pth=sn i3w=sn is pw r t3*) and settlements went up in flame of themselves (*wh3wt hprw m tk3w n=sn*). I plundered the Hatti-land as had never before occurred (*h3k=i t3 n ht mi nty n hpr*), by myself, alone, no other was with me (*hr-tp=i w.kwi nn ky hn=i*)".

Doc. 41: Ramesses II rhetorical stela (Tanis V, face c: "Zigzag" text)

Bibliography: Petrie 1888, pl. III :81); Kitchen 1999: 193-94; Ibid., 1996, II: 125; Ibid., 1999a: 294.

"Horus, Strong Bull (*k3 nht*) beloved of Re, trampling every foreign country (*ptpt*²⁵¹ [*h3swt*] *nbt*) under his sandals (*hr tbwy=f*), King of Egypt, Usimare Setepenre (*wsr-m3t-Rc stp-n-Rc*), Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life. Valiant (*hkb kn*), vigilant ruler (*rs-tp*), great in victories (*3-nhtw*), seizing all lands in valor and victory (*iti t3w nbw m kn t nht*), great in power like Seth, with strong arm, King of Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life. Plundering every land by his strong arm (*h3k t3 nb m hpš=f*), brought back to Egypt (*inw r Kmt*), striking Southerners and Northerners (*hw rsyw mhtyw*), slaying their rulers (*sm3 wrw=sn*), reducing back rebel lands to

²⁵¹ *Ptpt* (Wb I: 563 (9-16); Wilson 1991, II: 687, Tread (roads, rivers, villages); Faulkner 1962: 96, trample (enemies); DLE I: 185, to trample, to crash, to tread, to smite). Finite verb used quite frequently in military inscriptions of the New Kingdom, especially during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (Hasel 1998: 31). The general nature of the term as its use by the Egyptian scribes in farraginous contexts (king treading roads/rivers/towns and trampling over enemies) created difficulties towards the understanding of its meaning. Ichnographically, the verb was usually accompanied by scenes depicting Pharaoh standing on an Asiatic soldier with his foot over his head, holding a drawn bow against a Syrian city. Indicative towards that direction are the war scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak (Wreszinski 1935: Taf. 54a). Apart from its use in inscriptions dated during the reign of Thutmose III (i.e. Armant stela), the term was employed extensively during the reign of Seti I (i.e. KRI I: 12, 4; KRI I: 13, 14; KRI I: 8, 5; KRI I: 20, 16; KRI I: 21, 12; KRI I: 24, 12), Ramesses II (i.e. KRI II: 154, 5; KRI II: 180, 13; KRI II: 195, 11; KRI II: 199, 14; KRI II: 210, 5; KRI II: 289, 5; KRI III: 306, 7) and Ramesses III (i.e. KRI V: 9, 15; KRI V: 33, 12; KRI V: 101, 15, see Hasel 1998: 31-32 with references). Furthermore, *ptpt* was used as an epithet of the king, implying direct action against his enemies and presenting him as the one who crushes "every country", tramples "the chiefs" (i.e. KRI I: 21, 12), "the foreign lands" (i.e. KRI I: 20, 16; KRI II: 157, 11) and "the Nine Bows" (i.e. KRI I: 21, 11; KRI II: 156, 2) under his feet (See Wb I: 563; Hasel 1998: 320).

non-existence (*ir h3swt bštwt m tm wnn*), great in might, potent in power, subduing the Asiatics (*dr sttyw*), King of Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life.”

Doc. 42: Ramesses II treaty with the Hittites

Bibliography: Davies 1997: 97-116; PM II: 49, 132; KRI II: 225-232; KRI VII: 432; RITA II: 79-85; Edel 1997; Breasted 1906, III: 163-174; Beckman 1999: 90-95.

“Year 21, 1st month of Peret, day 21, under the Majesty of: [Titulary] Usermare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses II, beloved of Amun...On this day his Majesty was in the city of Pi-Ramesse...Every land (*iw t3w nbw*) and all foreign countries (*h3swt nbwt*) being under his feet forever (*hdbw tbwty=fy dt*). The royal messenger and deputy (*iyt wpt-nsw idnw*) of the chariotry, and the royal messenger [...], the messenger of the land of Hatti (*wpt n t3 n ht*) Tili-tesub and the second messenger of Hatti Ramose, and the messenger of Carchemish (*wpt n krkmsš*) Yapusili came carrying the tablet of silver which the great chief of Hatti (*wr ʕ3 n ht*), Hattusilis III (*ht-sr*) had sent to Pharaoh in order to ask for peace (*r dbh htpw*) with the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses II... The treaty (*p3 nt-ʕ*) which the great chief of Hatti (*wr ʕ3 n ht*), Hattusil III, the heroic one (*p3 tnr*), son of Mursil II, the great chief of Hatti (*p3 wr ʕ3 n ht*), the heroic one (*tnr*), son of the son of Suppiluliuma I, the great chief of Hatti, the heroic one, made upon a tablet of silver for Usermare Setepenre, the great ruler of Egypt (*p3 hk3 ʕ3 n kmt*), the heroic one (*tnr*), son of Menmaatre, the great ruler of Egypt, the heroic one, son of the son of Menpahtyre, the great ruler of Egypt, the heroic one. The good treaty of peace and brotherhood (*n htp n sns n*) which causes good peace and good brotherhood to exist between us forever...Hattusil III, the great chief of Hatti (*p3 wr ʕ3 n ht*) has bound himself (*ptr iry sw*) in a treaty with Usermare Setepenre, the great ruler of Egypt (*p3 hk3 ʕ3 n kmt*), from this day on, in order to allow good peace and brotherhood to exist between us forever (*r dit hpr htp nfr sns n nfr r-iwd.n r-nhh*)...The land of Egypt and the land of Hatti are at peace and friendly like us forever (*htp sns n mi-kd.n r-nhh*). No hostilities shall exist between them forever (*iw bw hpr.n hryw r iwd=sn r-nhh*). The great chief of Hatti shall not transgress against the land of Egypt forever (*th p3 t3 n kmt r-nhh*), to take away anything from it (*r it3 nkt im=f*). Usermatre Setepenre, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not transgress against the land of Hatti and take away anything from in forever (*th r p3 t3 n ht r it3 nkt im=f r-*

nḥḥ)...[Mutual agreement for military assistance-alliance/deportation of fugitives/restoration of the king to his throne in cases of coup d'états/ restoration of siblings to the throne]...As for these terms (*ir n3y mdwt*), a thousand of gods, male and female ones from those belonging to the land of Hatti together with thousand gods, male and female ones from those belonging to the land of Egypt, they are with me as witnesses who heard these terms: [Names of the gods]...As for him who will not keep them (*ir p3 nty bn iw=f r s3w=sn*), a thousand gods of the land of Hatti and a thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall destroy his home, his land and his servants (*r ḥ p3y=f pr p3y=f t3 n3y=f b3kw*). Now as for him who shall keep these terms which are written upon this tablet of silver...A thousand of gods of the land of Hatti and a thousand of gods of the land of Egypt shall make him healthy and alive, together with his household, his land and his servants (*r dit snb=f r dit ḥn=f irm n3y=f pryt irm p3y=f t3 irm n3y=f b3kw*)...[Mutual agreement for deportation of fugitives]”.

Doc. 43: Ramesses II First Hittite Marriage

Bibliography: Davies 1997: 117-143; PM VII: 98(8), Kuentz 1925: 181-235; KRI II: 233-57; RITA II: 86-96.

Scenes

Hittite King: Words spoken by the great chief of Hatti: “I have come before you to adore your beauty by subduing the foreign countries (*iy.n=i ḥr=I r dw3 nfrw=k m wḥf ḥ3swt*), you are truly the son of Sutekh and he has decreed you the land of Hatti (*m m3ḥt wd=f n=k t3 n ḥt* and I am plundered of all my belongings. My eldest daughter is before them in order to present them to your face (*wi m ḥt nbt s3t=I wrt im-ḥḥt=sn r msy=w n ḥr=k*). Good is all that you have decreed for us whilst I am under your feet forever and ever and along with the entire land of Hatti (*tw=i ḥr rdwy=k r nḥḥ dt ḥnḥ t3 n ḥt r-dr=f*).

Main text

Year 34 under the Majesty of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses II...one who seizes all lands by his bravery and strength (*it t3w nbw m ḥn nḥt*)...fear of him is in every heart forever (*ḥryt=f m ib nbw r dt*)...Now his Majesty, I.p.h, is ruler of the Nine Bows (*m ḥk3 pdwt 9*) and the great lord of all lands (*m nb*²⁵² *ḥ3 n Bw nbw*)...He has ruled the South and North (*ḥ3k.n=f rsy mḥty*), the

²⁵² *Nb* (Wb II; 227-228; Wilson 1991, II: 896; Faulkner 1962: 218, lord). The transformation of the term from the German “*Besitzer*” (Wb II: 227-228) to a nuance having less material usage such as that of “*lord*”, represented a transportation of its meaning from the possession of objects to rights (legal,

West and the East being in submission (*imntt i3bt m w3h-tp*)... Then the chiefs and the great ones of every land paid honor to his might (*hr sw3š b3w=f*)... They were stripped of their own belongings (*h3k=sn m ht=w ds=w*), taxed in revenue every year (*htr hr b3k=sn n hr rnpt*)... Then every foreign country bowed their heads (*m w3h-tp*) at the feet of this good god (*hr rdwy n ntr nfr pn*) who had made his borders as he wish (*irw=f t3šw=f r mr.n=f*) without opposing him except for that yonder land of Hatti... His Majesty said: “They shall be overthrown under my feet forever (*hdb*²⁵³=*st hr rdwy=i nhh*)”... He cursed them (*iry=h shwr=st*), his power being inside them like a burning flame (*b3w=f im=sn mi tk3 hr nbyt*)... Then the great chef of Hatti (*wr ʕ3 n ht*) sent somebody to pacify his Majesty but he never listen to them.... Then the great chief of Hatti said to his army and noblemen as follows: “our land is devastated (*iw t3=n fh*), our lord Sutekh is angry with us... We must seize all our belongings with my eldest daughter at their head and we must carry the royal gifts to the good god (*f3.n*

divinely justified) over people (Lorton 1974: 17). Indicative towards than transformation in meaning was the nuance “*master*”, “*lord*” the term acquired during the New Kingdom Period as demonstrated in several texts of the period (Gardiner 1938: 159; Lorton 1974: 12). As a reference to the king, the term was attested already from the Old Kingdom Period with uses which paralleled these of *nswt*. It had continuous use through the course of Dynastic history of Egypt (Fischer 1963: 36; Blumenthal 1970, I: 125, 283) and it was used in phraseology met in several texts of the New Kingdom such as that of *nb t3wy* “*Lord of the two Lands*”, *nb n h3s(w)t nbt* “*Lord of every foreign country/countries*” (i.e Urk. IV 1228, 11; Urk. IV 1289, 9; Urk. IV 1310, 8; Urk. IV 1566, 5; Urk. IV 1612, 10-11; Urk. IV 2032, 11-15; Urk. IV 2034, 9; Urk. IV 2054, 8; Urk. IV 2054, 13-14; Urk. IV 2056, 8-9; Urk. IV 2135; 16 etc.), *nb n šnt n itm/ nb n šnt itm* “*Lord of what the Sun disk encircles*” (i.e Urk. IV 283, 15-17; Urk. IV 357, 14; Urk. IV 1572, 18-19 etc.) etc. Its semantic cognate with the Akkadian *Belu* “*master, ruler, owner of property*” (Seux 1967: 55; CAD II: 191-199)” as the use of the term through the Amarna Letters in letters exchanged between vassals and Pharaoh (Rainey 2015; Buccellati 1967: 47, 50) denoted some sort of personal relationship among them (Lorton 1974: 17). Despite the frequent qualification of *nb* under geographical terms (i.e. *nb t3wy; m nb ʕ3 n t3w nbw* etc.), the lack of such formulations in the Amarna Letters highlighted the personal relationship between vassals and Pharaoh as their lord and not as the “owner” of their territories (Lorton 1974: 17).

²⁵³ *hdb* (Faulkner 1962: 205; DG 398, 3: *htb-hdb*, to kill; DLE II: 214, *hdb*, to slay, to kill). Despite the fact that Wb uses separate entries for both alterations (Wb III: 402-203), Wilson sees a strong resemblance in the meaning of the verb due to the identical sound values of **t** and **d** (Wilson 1991, II: 1384). Another alteration noticed is the use of *h* instead of *h*. The nuance of “*overthrow*” or “*fallen*” was attributed to *hdb* in phrases containing the Nine Bows and their submission to Pharaoh. Furthermore, it was attributed to the verb in formulaic expressions on which the foreigners, synonymous in the Egyptian ideology with the enemies of Egypt and its king, fell under his feet/sandals etc. Stereotypically, the term was employed mainly in order to depict one of the most common actions of the king (slaying) against the enemies of Egypt (Hasel 1998: 53). Iconographically, *hdb* was usually accompanied by reliefs which depicted the enemy on a chaotic state of mind, full in confusion in the sight of the king, see Hasel 1998: 55 with references and examples. As such it was used in several texts as on these from the reign of Seti I (KRI I: 46, 9) as in several inscriptions of Ramesses II regarding Kadesh (i.e KRI II: 47, 7-10; KRI II: 69, 12-16; KRI II: 71, 6-10; KRI II: 121, 11-12) and at Beit el-Wali (i.e KRI II: 196, 14) to name a few, see Hasel 1998: 53.

brk n ntr nfr) in order to grand us peace and allow us to leave (di=f n=n htpw ċmh=n)...Then he had his eldest daughter brought with gifts before her...The daughter of the great chief of Hatti travelled to Egypt...All the people of the land of Hatti mixed with the people of Egypt (rm̄t nbt n t̄3 n ht m šbn hr n̄3 kmt). They ate and drank together and they were as one, like brothers (mi snw)...Her made was made so: The royal wife (h̄mt-nsw) Maat-Hor-Neferu-Re who lives, the daughter of the great chief of Hatti and the daughter of the great queen of Hatti.

Doc. 44: Ramesses II stela of second Hittite marriage (Koptos & Abydos)

Bibliography: Kitchen and Gaballa 1969: 14-18; Kitchen 1996: 282-83;Ibid 1999: 197-204; Ibid., 1999a: 163-165; Ibid., 1982: 92-94; Davies 1997: 117, 144-150.

Koptos

“Horus, Strong Bull, beloved of Maat, Lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatonen, King of Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life...His Majesty decreed that a great stela be made, as [a record?] of the great marvels (bī3wt ċ3wt) which were given by: Ptah-Tatonen...Atum...Amen-Re...Geb...to the King of Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, like Re...The Great ruler of Hatti caused to be brought (iw p̄3 wr ċ3 n ht hr dit in.tw): The rich and massive booty of Hatti (h̄3kwt knnwt 3s̄3wt n ht), the rich and massive booty of Gasga (Kškš), the rich and massive booty of Arzawa (irtw), the rich and massive booty of Qode (kd)...Likewise (m-mitt): Many droves of horses (3drw knw n ssmwt), many herds of cattle (iḥw), many flocks of goats (ċnhw), many herds of livestock (ī3wt), in front of his other daughter (r-h̄3t t̄3y=f kt šrit) whom he conveyed to the (rdin.n=f in.tw n) King of Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life, to Egypt on what was the second time (r Kmt m p̄3 nty sp 2). It was not bu the troops who had these brought (iw bn m mšċ iirr intw.w), it was not the chariotry who had these brought (iw bn nt-h̄trw iirr in.tw.w), but the might of gods of the land of Egypt (kn̄yw n̄3 ntrw n p̄3 t̄3 n Kmt) and of the god of every foreign land (n̄3 ntrw n h̄3st nbt)...”

Abydos

“They came of their own accord (iw.w ds.w, ds.w), there being no rulers that went to bring them (iw bn wr išm r int.w), there being no chariotry that went to fetch them (iw bn nt̄i-h̄trw išm r int.w)...But they came, the great rulers of every foreign land (iw iw ċn̄3 wrw ċ3yw n h̄3st nbt) to bring their tribute on their shoulders (r f̄t inw=sn hr r̄mnw.w ds=sn) to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (n nsw-bity) Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Ramesses II, given life like Re.”

The contextual usage of terms and phrases highlighted above demonstrated a violent relationship between foreigners and the Egyptians.²⁵⁴ Military activity acquired a crucial role and the king was placed at the center of it. Through divine justification, Pharaoh turned himself to the smitter (*ḥwi*) of the foreigners, an annihilator (*Wꜥwꜥ*) who defeated the enemies of Egypt, trampled upon (*titi=k*) their heads and bodies, chopped off their heads and brought terror (*ḥryt=k*) to Egypt's enemies. In the majority of the texts, he acquired the role of the slayer of the rebellious ones. He was the one who overthrew the evil away and provided tribute and prisoners to the service of the temples and the gods, the expander of Egypt's frontiers as the guarantor of universal harmony. In his efforts, king had on his side always the gods and especially god Amun. His powers as the authority to exercise military ventures abroad were derived mainly by Amun. Any spoils, tribute, captives, and prisoners of war were proudly presented and brought on behalf of the god.

For legitimation purposes, several terms were applied as epithets of the king and for ideological purposes, the military actions of the Egyptians were directed against people and nations who were viewed by the Egyptian ideology as vile (*ḥns*), wretched (*ḥsy*), wicked (*whm*) and evil-minded (*nbdw-ḳd*). Foreigners, in such context, were presented as prisoners, captives who either were destroyed by Pharaoh's fury or were under a complete submission to Pharaohs will, begging for "the breath of life" (*t3w n ꜥnh*), mercy or seeking from him "a peace accord" (*ḥr dbḥ ḥtpw m=f*). They were brought in Egypt in large numbers and obliged to deliver tribute and gifts annually to Egypt and its gods with their lands being subject of taxation and exploitation.

Turning the discussion to the way the international relationships shaped during the Late Bronze Age reflected in texts written for internal consumption, interesting notifications can be made. The crucial point towards the introduction of vital changes in terminology relative to international relationships proved the end of the Second Intermediate Period (Lorton 1974: 176). While phrases and expressions such as *ini drw*, *ini phw*, "acquire the limits", *ḥfty* "military opponent" etc. occurred already from the Middle Kingdom Period in reference to Nubia and Sinai, it was the

²⁵⁴ Such a picture was quite antithetical with the one reflected in letters exchanged among Pharaohs and their international peers during the Late Bronze Age (Amarna Letters), see chapters 4 and 5 below.

introduction of the terms *ḥkꜣ* “ruler” and *wr* “prince-chief” as its massive use during the New Kingdom Period which highlighted a strong antithesis among Pharaoh and a dependent king on a status of vassalage (Lorton 1974: 176).²⁵⁵

Another interesting point can be made towards the way parity relationships were recognized by the Egyptians. While Asiatics recognized such relationships as forms of partnership with mutual obligations (Freire 2015: 4-30, *Ibid.*, 2013: 130), the Egyptians of the Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasties perceived such relations as totally submissive on behalf of the foreigners. Such relationships were appositely given in texts meant for internal consumption as expressions of voluntary submission (even in cases such as the battle of Meggido), expressed through gift giving, international marriages as obedience and compliance to gods and Pharaoh’s will and the system of governance Egypt held. The king ruled as *nswt* (king) localities under the Egyptian administration, as *nb* (lord) the vassal princes, acquiring the role of their personal lord, and as *ḥkꜣ* (ruler) held a de facto political power in a concept of relations unknown to the Asiatic systems of governance (Lorton 1974: 177), demonstrating this way the adaptability and suitability of the model proposed in 2.3.

In the political arena, king was able to move in further axes regarding the forces opposed his interests. Such movements though were presented inwards in an internal audience under the veil of legitimization through Egyptian theology and ideology in order political actions of the king being justified and the power of the monarchy reinforced. Such imperialist ambitions, perfectly applicable under the model proposed on 2.3, made their appearance in several aspects of Egypt’s governmental policies and had their roots in ideology, theology, kingship as in aspects of central government such as the economy and central administration.

3.2] The ideological underpinnings of Egypt’s imperial policies

Ideology is a theoretical conception which comprises the characteristics and composition of the structure of the mind (Mannheim 1936: 55-56).²⁵⁶ It is applied in

²⁵⁵ The terms were probably an Egyptian equivalent of the Accadian *sarru rabu* “Great King” and *sarru* “king dependent king”, see Lorton 1974: 176. Despite the fact that *wr* was used by the Egyptians also for other independent kings, it was the term *ḥkꜣ* which was used for Pharaoh only in texts dated during the Eighteenth Dynasty with only several occasional references to foreign Kings made but in plural.

specific groups of people residing in specific geographical areas and bound together with same ideological, religious, ethical and cultural bonds during certain periods of time (Crouch 2009: 15; Mannheim 1936: 55-56). New Kingdom Egypt could not be proved an exception.

Aspects such as tolerance in forms of rulership, acceptance of the otherness, reception of forms of power connected with the palace, the temple and the elite as the acceptance of divine will as the motive power of actions having an impact at the realm of the living were connected indissolubly with ideological beliefs in New Kingdom's social stratum. In such perceptions, the concept of Ma'at²⁵⁷ as the need of the establishment of order over chaos in order political and social stability solidified played a crucial role.

Throughout their history, the Egyptians sought to establish order (*mꜣt*) out of chaos (*isft*). Their cultural mindset was characterized by the need to return to an era where the world was created in a perfect pristine state (Muhlestein 2011: 2). This state of perfection was placed after the moment of creation before gods separated themselves from earth²⁵⁸ and strife came out (Muhlestein 2011: 2).²⁵⁹ Rebellion interrupted such a state of perfection and overturned Ma'at. Gods left mankind and earth and the forces of chaos appeared and strove to erase Ma'at from creation (Muhlestein 2011: 2-3).

For the mindset of the ancient Egyptians, any form of rebellion against Egypt and its king echoed these earlier days of darkness. The very life of cosmos and Egypt itself were dependent on the efforts made by Pharaoh to return to the era of order (Assman 2002: 206; Muhlestein 2011: 3-4).²⁶⁰ Any form of rebellion had to be

²⁵⁶ The key element towards Mannheim's definition of ideology was the affection the historical and social background of an individual poses to the way he/she perceives the world and interacts with it, see Crouch 2009: 15.

²⁵⁷ Identified as the goddess of truth and justice but also as one of the philosophical principles of ancient Egyptian society. The concept of Maat has been subjected to numerous studies. Most recently see Muhlestein 2011. For the importance ancient Egyptian religious thought placed on the establishment of Ma'at as for the forms it took see Assman 1995; Hornung 1992: 131-146; Quirke 1994: 219-231; DuQuesne 1992: 79-89.

²⁵⁸ Pyr. 1208 makes reference to a time "when heaven was separated from earth, when the gods went to heaven" (*m wpt pr ir t3 m prt r=f ntrw ir pt*).

²⁵⁹ Pyr. 1040 makes reference of the time "before strife existed, before fear came about through the Horus eye" (*ni hpwt hnnw ni hpwt snd pw hr irt hrw*).

²⁶⁰ In several texts dated during the New Kingdom Period Pharaoh is the savior and protector of Egypt, see for example Doc.2 where Pharaoh intends to strike the Asiatics in order "to save Egypt", Doc. 15

eradicated decisively in order chaos replaced with order, *isft* with *mꜣt* (Assman 2002: 206).²⁶¹ Without the destruction of Isfet there can be no establishment of Ma'at (Smith 1994: 67-88). In such effort foreigners, one of the primary partners of Isfet, needed to be destroyed, subjugated or acculturated to an Egyptian way of life in order not to disrupt Egypt's remarkable longevity and continuity.²⁶²

Imperial policies as the ones followed in the Levant as several ideological aspects relative with the subjugation, acculturation, and tolerance of the foreigners were connected indissolubly through various ways and patterns. Ideological notions such as the aforementioned ones, characterized the course of the Egyptian empire during the New Kingdom and defined, at least internally, the way the relationship with the foreigners perceived and presented in sources meant for internal consumption (Schneider 2003, 2006, 2010: 154-9; Panagiotopoulos 2006; Cashman 2005).²⁶³ In such process aspects such as the knowledge towards the otherness, the demarcation of borders as aspects of perception towards anything foreign proved significant.

Egypt was for the Egyptians the dominant center of the world (Allen 2003c: 23; Gordon 2001: 544). This imagery of universalism was suggested already in the Old and Middle Kingdom textual sources (Baines 1996: 372-3; Kousoulis 2012: 258;

where Pharaoh is the one “*who rescues Egypt on the battlefield (nḥm kmt ḥr pgꜣ)*”, Doc. 17 where the king is presented, among other designations as “*a wall protecting Egypt*” or Doc. 40 where Ramesses II was “*Nebty-King (nbtj), supporter (protector) of Egypt (mk kmt)*”.

²⁶¹ See PT 265 on which the king “*puts Ma'at in the place of Isfet*” (*di.n n mꜣt im=f m st isft*), Pyr. 1774-76 where “*the king puts Ma'at in the place of Isfet*” (*dd.n n mꜣt m st isft*) and Urk IV. 2026 where Tutankhamun “*has driven Isfet out of both lands and fixed Ma'at in its place*” (*dr.n=f isft ḥt tꜣwy mꜣt mnti m st=s*).

²⁶² Despite the fact that New Kingdom references on which foreigners took an alternative role than that of the archetypal enemy do exist, the foreigners needed to act under the commands of gods such as Amun, Aten etc. and work in favor of Egypt in order to acquire such a role. Indicative towards that direction is Doc. 27, The great Hymn to Aten. While, in the aforementioned hymn, it is Aten who “*created all mankind (m rmt)*”, “*set each man in his place (di=k s nb m st=f)*” and “*provided for their needs (ir=k ḥrwt=s)*”, they needed to act supportively towards Egypt and obey the rules and commands set by Aten. Such role was not adopted though in the majority of the texts made for internal consumption as we saw in several paradigms cited above.

²⁶³ In art, the extended contacts between Egyptians and foreigners were expressed, among other ways, through the depiction of several tribute scenes inside funerary context (i.e. in several tombs dated during the Eighteenth Dynasty), the depiction in several contexts (in tomb pillars such as the tomb KV 34 of Tuthmose III or in colossal statues like these in the temple of Ramesses II in Tanis etc.) of foreign Princesses brought in Egypt in order to become wives of the Pharaoh's and the “*smiting of the enemy*” topos, probably the most frequently depicted theme in royal imagery and iconography. As for literature, texts made for internal consumption as the several commemorative marriage scarabs Amenhotep III used in order to announce his weddings with at least two foreign Princesses (Gilukheba, Tadukhepa) created a type of literary genre characterized by the “*submission*” of the foreigners to the supremacy of the Pharaoh. For details see PM IV: 13; Blackenberg-Van Delden 1969, Liverani 2001: 97-100, Moran 1992: 41, 86-99.

Muller 1961: 126-44) while it was reflected vividly in sources dated during the New Kingdom Period.²⁶⁴ The constant reproduction of an ideological topos which wanted the country surrounded and attacked by foreign enemies (Muhlestein 2011: 83; Belova 1998: 145) in the several texts and phrases mentioned on 3.1 as the role the Pharaoh acquired in such texts highlighted universalist notions on behalf of the Egyptians.

In the majority of the sources mentioned in 3.1, foreigners took the form of the instruments of Isfet, trying to impinge chaos over order. From the Egyptian perspective, all rebellious enemies were equated with mythological villains like Seth and Apophis (Muhlestein 2011: 96). They represented the forces of chaos which pertained in the world outside of creation, waiting for the right time to challenge and overturn order and legitimacy. As such, they had to be exterminated with the utmost severity. Such a notion was also applied as well to foreigners who have not yet rebelled or even been under Egyptian dominion.

In spells recorded on Pyramid texts (Pyr. 1593/Pyr/ 1588) the qualitative difference between Egypt and the others was highlighted. In such texts, Horus who represented Egypt challenged Seth who manifested foreign lands unpredictable in nature and set “*his destructive forces in order (prp=im)*” (Lesko 1991: 93; Muhlestein 2011: 84). In the execration texts, apotropaic lists containing the names of foreign lands and rulers inscribed on clay figurines²⁶⁵, cursing rituals were used in order to harm the people named on it (Osing 1976: 133-185; Ritner 1993: 136-142).²⁶⁶ In such kind of texts, foreigners were perceived as chaotic in nature, representing a “*rebellious*” (*sbiw*) group which needed to be expelled or kept away from Egypt (Muhlestein 2011: 84).

²⁶⁴ See for example Doc. 3 where foreigners “*overran Egypt, their mistress*”, Doc.2 where is unthinkable a foreigner “*own his own portion of Egypt (s nb hr fdk=f m Kmt), sharing the land with me(the king) (psš B hn^c=i)*” or Doc. 15 where the inhabitants of the foreign lands were captured for Egypt by its king (*h3k.n=i niwtiw iri r Kmt*).

²⁶⁵ Through their magical extensions the Egyptians secured the inferiority of the enemy as its lack of the ability to resist against them, see Liverani 2001: 86. The earliest examples of them found at Giza and Saqqara, dated during the Old Kingdom. Despite that the best examples of them were attested during the Middle Kingdom it seems that its use continued in later periods, see Helck 1962 : 44-63; Schott 1930: 35-42.

²⁶⁶ The Egyptians were not the only ones who used such kind of apotropaic texts. Execration texts were used under a similar way also by the Hittites: “*We made two figurines, one of cedar and one of clay. On the one of cedar we placed the name of the enemy of his Majesty, and on the one of clay we put the name of Hishmi-Sharruma*”, translation after Beal 2001: 67.

A similar designation on foreigners was presented also in instructions such as that of Merikare or the near contemporary Prophecy of Neferti (Simpson 2003: 152-165; 214-220). There foreigners were depicted as chaotic, having characteristics which came in opposition with the Egyptian ideal (Quack 1992; Muhlestein 2011: 84). The topographical lists on their turn consisted of the names of hundreds of foreign people and places organized topographically in distinct groups usually displayed in temples and stele. The earlier examples were dated to the Middle Kingdom but examples occurred also during the New Kingdom and the Ramesside Period (O' Connor and Quirke 2003: 6-7). Furthermore, various terms in the Middle Egyptian vocabulary such as *ʿ3mw* (Asiatics)²⁶⁷, *nḥsyw* (Nubians), *tḥnw* (Libyans)²⁶⁸, *ḥ3w-nbwt* (Greek/Aegean islanders)²⁶⁹ and *rtnw* (Syrians) were used by the Egyptian scribes in annals, biographies, chronicles and stele in order to define foreigners through geographical criteria.²⁷⁰ In addition, specific names with cultural extensions such as these of the *psdt pdwt* (The Nine Bows)²⁷¹, *ḥryw-š3* (Bedouins) and *ḥ3styw* (People of the Hills)²⁷² were used under the same fashion (Poo 2005: 43; Tait 2003: 155).²⁷³

A similar picture of foreigners was presented in textual sources of military-administrative nature. As members of national groups or non-aculturated individuals, foreigners were depicted as the enemy of the universal harmony which needed to be annihilated. They were brought to Egypt after expeditions as slaves and part of the loot or expelled from it due to the actions of its protector and representative of gods on earth, Pharaoh. Even in periods where political turmoil in Egypt allowed foreigners to escalate in the higher echelons of the Egyptian society, this was presented inwards as a complete inversion of political, social and natural norms.

The “*national distress*” theme²⁷⁴ turned into a frequent literary topos on which several propagandistic portrayals such as the need for a strong kingship in order Egypt

²⁶⁷ See Wb I: 168.

²⁶⁸ See Faulkner 1962: 307.

²⁶⁹ See Wb III: 11.

²⁷⁰ See the several designations made on Docs. 2-4, 7, 9-10, 13, 15-16, 18-20, 22, 26, 30, 41.

²⁷¹ See Faulkner 1962: 95.

²⁷² See Wb III: 234; Faulkner 1962: 185.

²⁷³ See the several designations made on Docs. 7-8, 13, 15, 17, 33, 36.

²⁷⁴ Quite common in the Egyptian literature due to the phenomenon of civil disorders which broke out periodically in Egypt. In texts such as the Prophecy of Neferty, the admonitions of Ipuwer, the teaching of King Amenemhat I for Senowsret or the two stelae of Kamose and the Carnarvon tablet

being in a condition similar with that of the kingdom of the gods, the need for a strong ruler in order the forces of chaos (foreigners) being expelled from Egypt as the submission of Asiatics on Egypt, its king, and its gods were repeated and eulogized (Lichtheim 1975: 139). It was in such sources were a substantial amount of foreigners of Asiatic origin in Egypt was recorded. While the “*smiting of the enemy*” topos, one of the most frequently depicted themes in royal imagery and iconography of ancient Egypt (Hall 1986), worked propagandistically in favor of Egypt by depicting foreigners being annihilated by the might of the Pharaoh and the supremacy of Egypt, this was not the only fate that awaited them.

Despite the ethnocentric perception of Egypt described above, the attitude the Egyptians had towards foreigners was not solely that of a superior race. Indicative towards that direction were hymns dated during the New Kingdom (Doc. 27). The only preconditions in order foreigners continue to be considered as valuable objects by the gods was the necessity to function under the orders of Maat as the need to be harmonized to the hierarchy the Sun god Ra established for all beings in the world. Such hierarchy positioned the foreigners between human (Egyptians) and non-human (nature) creations (O’Connor and Quirke 2003: 11; Assmann 1995; Kousoulis 2012: 261-2). Under that perception, foreigners were expected to act supportively towards Egypt.

Foreigners presented as individuals with Egyptian characteristics and names could be fully integrated into Egyptian society (Baines 1996; Kousoulis 2012: 259; Schneider 2010: 144-6; Schneider 2003). Through their acculturation in the Egyptian way of life, they could be fully assimilated in the Egyptian society no matter their social status.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, the adoption of the Egyptian language seemed to be a qualifying item of culture, a necessity in order foreigners being part of the Egyptian society (Liverani 2001: 19). The exploitation of the acculturated foreign manpower

(doc. 2, 3) to name a few, the poor turned into rich, the Nile runs dry, the foreigners flooded the Delta and turned themselves into Egyptians, the land was split and the illegitimate ones ascended to the Egyptian throne, see Lichtheim 1996: 249.

²⁷⁵ Indicative is the case recorded on a statuette from the Louvre museum (E11673) dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The king’s hairdresser Sabastet appeared to seal a deed of manumission of one of his slaves in front of the court. In order for the slave to gain his freedom and marry an Egyptian woman he needed to take an Egyptian name and adopt the Egyptian customs and lifestyle, see Pestman 1961: 7.

was another option which proved a basic cog-wheel for the Egyptian economy of the New Kingdom.

In several biographical inscriptions inscribed in the walls of the private tombs, the existence of a vast civil service which had Pharaoh on its apex and his elite dignitaries under his commands revealed (Redford 1992: 53; Baer 1960; Kanawati 1980; Strudwick 1985).²⁷⁶ Through the creation of a system of foreign influence, Egypt expected to receive from the foreign lands not only raw materials but also human personnel ready to offer their services in Egypt and its Pharaoh (Redford 1992: 53-55). Despite the fact that the Egyptian sources recorded a flow of foreigners as prisoners of war since Old Kingdom onwards, it was during the New Kingdom, the epoch of the creation of the Egyptian empire, when the flow of the Asiatics in Egypt increased due to the wars of foreign conquest Egypt conducted in the Levant region.

The rise of the Egyptian imperialism after the expulsion of the Hyksos, the geopolitical interests of Egypt in Syropalestine region as the transformation of the Egyptian economy²⁷⁷ changed the Egyptian attitude towards Near East and oriented Egypt to its permanent occupation instead of the creation of a temporary sphere of influence which could be overturned quite easily. As a result, the cheap foreign manpower which came in Egypt with increasing regularity from New kingdom onwards became a basic cog-wheel in the Egyptian economy with the principal beneficiaries being, at first, the temples (Redford 1984:27).

In the several monumental inscriptions which were adorned in the walls of the temples and the tombs or in stele erected by the kings as memorabilia of their warlike exploits in foreign lands, a picture of an everlasting migration of the Asiatics to the interior of Egypt by force due to their exploitation by the Pharaoh and its gods makes its appearance.²⁷⁸ In several sources such as the annals, the autobiographies, the daybooks, the war relieves and the triumph stelae numerous Asiatics were brought back in Egypt as part of the loot (Docs. 3, 15, 19, 21, 23, 28, 29, 31, 37, 43-44).

²⁷⁶ See for example documents 23, 24 and 25 cited in chapter 3.1.

²⁷⁷ During the New Kingdom the Egyptian economy changed from a rural one to a more sophisticated urban economy on which agriculture and pastoralism were not the only means for wealth.

²⁷⁸ Of special interest is the argument presented by Hayes and Hornung according to which the ever-growing number of Asiatic slaves in Egypt cannot be explained only from the number of the Egyptian military undertakings. As a result, Hornung and Hayes suggested the existence of a "*brisk trade in Asiatic slaves carried on by the Asiatics themselves with Egypt*", see Hayes 1955: 99; Hornung 1999a:61. Contra Bakir 1952; Loprieno 1997: 185-220.

Although numbers rarely survive, thousands of slaves were offered to temples such as that of Amun and other gods as in the Theban mortuary temples of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaohs (Docs. 4, 8, 9, 11, 23, 29, 31, 33, 37) (Redford 1984: 27).

While the violent relationship among the Egyptians and the Asiatics seems to monopolize the interest through its frequent, ritualized repetition to the walls of the temples and the tombs, war was not the only means the Egyptians used in order to resolve the quarrels generated among them and the foreigners. A more peaceful solution, that of the diplomatic agreement through a diplomatic marriage (Schulman 1979: 177-193) or via the conduction of a treaty/oath was selected in several cases as it was demonstrated on several sources such as the Amarna Letters (Moran 1992; Rainey 2015).

In several cases of diplomatic marriages recorded in the Amarna Letters, the princesses which came in Egypt brought together their retinue of followers, comprised by female maids, servants, artists, etc.²⁷⁹ In other cases, when the conduction of an oath was required in order for the vassal to acknowledge his obligations towards his suzerain, a different kind of procedure was followed. In that kind of agreements the toll the vassal had to pay in Egypt was quite onerous: a program of acculturation of the offspring of the chiefs of the vassal states, supervised directly from the palace, demanded the children of the Canaanite chiefs to be sent as “*hostages*” in Egypt in order to be engrafted with the Egyptian way of life (Redford 1992: 224). As a result, several princes from the vassal states of the Near East arrived in Egypt and trained together with the successor of the Egyptian throne, the future Pharaoh and the descendants of the Egyptian elite.

Despite the essence of reciprocity and equality reflected in sources such as the Amarna Letters, the narration of the same events in the Egyptian sources added a level of submission of the foreigners to Egypt and its gods. In texts such as the two marriages of Ramesses II (Docs. 43, 44) or the marriages of Amenhotep II (Doc. 21) the fiancée was presented as a part of the tribute. Under that consideration it becomes clear that although the Egyptian ideology was an extremely significant factor in order the Egyptian monarchy and the Pharaoh continue to accentuate their formative role

²⁷⁹ See for example EA 1-5, EA 11, 14, 19, 27, 29, 31.

towards the perpetuation of the political and cosmic order inwards, several mechanisms of external policy invented in order Egypt bypass its restrictions and become a member of what Liverani very apposite characterized as “*the Great powers club*” (Liverani 2000, 15) as we will see in chapter 4. Despite such change in attitudes though, internally ideology played a significant part and inner and outer space turned into an arena of justification of political acts through the model proposed in 2.3.

The notion of a homogeneous space free from differences and disparities, although perfectly applicable in particular fields of analysis it cannot be applied in aspects of political thought, neither modern nor ancient (Liverani 2001: 17).²⁸⁰ Contrariwise, a centralized worldview separating the inner space (us) from the outer space (the others), developed in New Kingdom Egypt as several sources and phrases cited in 3.1 indicate.²⁸¹ In the inner country, a personal level of relationships maintained among people with the same culture, language, customs and beliefs (Brunner 1957: 612-620; Liverani 2001: 18). In the outer country the “*others*”, inferior people inhabiting lands which are subject of easy conquest and exploitation by Egypt (Doc. 7, 9, 11, 14-16, 24-26, 39), gather in immense numbers and seem capable of challenging the established order in its interior, an order which was dictated by gods and guaranteed by Pharaoh, their physical representative on earth (Liverani 2001:79).²⁸² Foreigners split the land (Docs. 2, 3) and Egypt needed to be saved by its Pharaoh (Docs. 2, 3, 15, 17, 31, 40), gathered in large numbers against him, rebel and stand as one in order to fight against him (Docs. 4; 15; 17; 18; 19; 22; 28; 29; 31; 33), fall into anarchy (Docs. 16; 30) and turned themselves ignorant to Egypt, its king and its gods (Doc. 40). Due to these reasons, the existence of a demarking line separating Egyptians and foreigners as the knowledge of where that

²⁸⁰ Because of the tendency of humanity to display “Euclidean” sense in almost every field except the one define territory and borders, see Janni 1973: 445-500; Janni 1975: 145-78.

²⁸¹ The same notion was developed also in the Near East. Indicative are the differences appeared in terminology. In Sumnerian the word used in order to express the inner country is “*kalam*” while the one for expressing the surrounding lands is “*kur.kur*”, see Steiner 1978: 33-64. In Middle Egyptian the word for the Nile valley is *t^c*, for the surrounding mountains *h^cswt*, for the outer steppe *dšrt* and for the agricultural land *kmt*, literary meaning the black land, see Hornung 1959: 122-3; Eberhard 1975: 76-8.

²⁸² That kind of perception is prominent also in the Near Eastern perception towards the “others”: “*The foreign lands of one accord have surrounded your city, Ashur with a noose of evil, all of them have assembled to hate the shepherd you named, who administers your peoples...The foreign lands crave night and day for the destruction of your wondrous sights, everywhere they seek to overthrow your cities*”, translation after Foster 1993, I: 231-2.

line started and what encircled was a vital element of the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners.

The ideological notion of Egypt as the center of the universe contradicted the apparent concept of agreed territory among Egypt and its neighbor states under terms of vassalage, reciprocity, and equality demonstrated in treaties and in corpora such as the Amarna Letters. Henceforward, such a contradiction dictated a definition of boundaries free from the preponderant cosmological norms of the ancient Egyptian thought. Although in a “*universal*” state its political (static) borders often coincide with the borders of the world (Liverani 2001: 29), the need for the existence of a border politically defined (dynamic) in order Egypt being able to maintain diplomatic relationships with its peers in the real world proved vital.²⁸³ That distinction was first noticed in the terms the Egyptians used in order to define borders: *t3š* for the political, flexible border and *drw* for the mythical border, the one of the universal empire (Hornung 1980: 393-427).

In the Egyptian ideology, the mythical border (*drw*) lies fixed in its optimal position, untouched by politics and historical incidents. Its basic function was to designate Egypt, the place where the Pharaoh acts as a representative of the cosmic order (*mꜣ3t*), from the outer space²⁸⁴, the territory in which the forces of chaos (*iwsft*) plot against order and legitimacy (Liverani 2001: 29). The limits of these imaginary borders²⁸⁵ spread all over the horizon, containing what “*the sun encircles*”²⁸⁶, set as far as “*the limits of the twelfth hour of the night*”, to where the “*great circle*”²⁸⁷ is, until the “*four pillars of heaven*”, to “*the crest of the world*” and to “*the horns of the earth*” (Docs. 2, 7, 8, 10-13, 15, 18, 26, 28-30, 33-36, etc.). Beyond that point a fluid element made its appearance and the endless darkness begins, taking the form of an endless night as it was exactly before the ordering action of the creator god took place (Grapow 1924: 44; Grapow 1931: 34-38; Hornung 1956: 28-32; Liverani 2001: 31). Hence, a demarcating line between the chaos and order, peace and turbulence, justice

²⁸³ Although even the politically defined border had ideological implications as we will see later.

²⁸⁴ Usually defined as the seat of death if it is a desert, the seat of darkness if it is a woodland and as an impenetrable territory if it is a highland, for details see Haldar 1950; Liverani 2001 : 19.

²⁸⁵ “*Linked to cosmic rather than topographical features*” as Liverani very apposite remarked, see Liverani 2001: 29.

²⁸⁶ An expression frequently used as the definition of the pharaonic domains, for details see Tawfik 1973: 7981. Cf. Lorton 1974: 13, 16, 18, 30, 32-3, 127.

²⁸⁷ The “*great circle*” (*šnt wr*) symbolise the ocean, a symbol representing the edge of the world under a way quite similar with the “*four pillars of heaven*”.

and violence needed. This was the exact function of the “*political*” border (*t3š*) had in the Egyptian ideology.

Through the movement of the border by the Pharaoh only and always forward in the same limits with *drw*, the territory which was subject to his power was enlarged (Liverani 2001: 32). As a result the outer space, previously inhabited by the forces of chaos and destruction, abandoned its pre-creation condition and became part of Egypt where justice and order rules.²⁸⁸ Under that perception, it becomes clear that although the possibility of the existence of a “*political*” border free from the bonds of Egyptian ideology seems tempting, it is proved quite unrealistic. Outside Egypt, the way the diplomatic contacts conducted fell in the sphere of political realism, analyzed in chapter 4, and maintained under terms of reciprocity and equality.²⁸⁹ Inside Egypt, for reasons of political propaganda²⁹⁰, a more centralized view of Egypt presented to the internal audience of Egypt.

Ideological notions such as demarcative lines, supremacy over the others, subjugation, conquest, and exploitation created an ideological frame inside which foreigners and their lands acquired their place to the created world. Their rebellious nature as the cosmological norms developed thorough the course of the Dynastic history of Egypt placed them in the role of the archenemy of the created world and order. Such enemy needed to be expelled and subjugated in order Egypt continued to exist and conquest, one of the primary duties of the Pharaoh, became the indicated solution. Hence, the several imperialist policies applied northwards and southwards were justified through the use of specific ideology which found place on the model we proposed on 2.3. In such effort, religion played its part and justification of the acts of the monarch through it was vital in order monarchy being reinforced.

²⁸⁸ Indicative towards that direction is the phrase Ahmose, son of Abana used: “in order to cast out violence in the highlands”, *r dr bs n c h3swt*, translation after Breasted 1906, II: 39-80.

²⁸⁹ Indicative is the Egyptian treaty with the Hittites during the reign of Ramesses II, see doc. 42. Although Ramesses presented in the treaty context as the one “*who establishes his boundary as far as he wants in any land*” (KRIT II, 64), he “forced” to accept territorial and border negotiations with Hatti: “*The great prince of Hatti (Hattushili) will not transgress against the land of Egypt in order to take anything from it. And Ramesses, the great King of Egypt, will not transgress against the land of Hatti in order to take anything from it, forever*”, translation after Spalinger 1981: 319-20, KRI II, 64.

²⁹⁰ Or according to Kemp “*for reasons of religious symbolism and endless repetition of victory as a part of a constant restatement of theological formulae particularized for each Pharaoh*”, see Kemp 1978: 8.

The practical problems of a large bureaucratic state such as Egypt were rooted in political reality through a very important function: their justification in terms of religion (Kemp 1978: 7). State in ancient Egypt was indissoluble connected with religion and Pharaoh was the central linchpin of that connection (Hornung 1980; Leclant 1980; O'Connor and Silverman 1995). It was such connection which highlighted further the need for the use of a model such as the one we proposed on 2.3: while in the real world political flexibility is required in order a state as New Kingdom Egypt being able to present some sort of flexibility over its peers, the ideological/theological consumptions of such actions fell under the veil of a specific ideology which was needed in order political actions being justified and monarchy reinforced.

3.3] The theological underpinnings of Egypt's imperial policies

The evidence derived from the textual sources cited on 3.1 made obvious that Pharaonic government was displayed, apart from ideological, under religious terms. Religion formed an expression of political organization, forging this way a theopolitical unity (Assmann 1989: 56). Despite any sense of unity though, tension or even conflict does not excluded at all in the Egyptian mindset (Assmann 1989: 56).

The primary source for any conflict was the different interpretations the Egyptians provided towards such a unity (Assmann 1989: 56). Three different interpretations during the course of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, the "*classical*" conception, the "*Amarna*" conception and what followed next through the return to "*orthodoxy*" led to and characterized the Amarna "*revolution*" (Assmann 1989: 56; Ibid., 2004: 179). It was the "*classical*" conception that fully derived with the model proposed on 2.3 and used inwards in order to justify the political actions of the monarch under the veil of theology and ideology. Its evolution through time, its mutation to what is called as *the "Amarna"* conception as the political needs of the era led to differences in attitude towards foreigners as in the adaptation of a different model oriented in the international relations field through political realism, analyzed in detail in chapter 4.

The “classical” conception

According to the “classical” conception, the political actions of the Pharaoh were indissolubly connected with religion and the gods (Assmann 1989: 59). King’s actions were perceived as an endless effort in order for the Egyptian state being maintained eternally. This happened in a way similar to the birth of cosmos found expression in the understanding of creation as an indefinitely repeated action of cosmogony (Assmann 1989: 59). In such a perception, the concept of the solar cycle acquired excessive importance (Assmann 1996: 207).

In such connection, god caused a set of actions while the king caused a set of states (Assmann 1989: 59). King’s training in exercising the rituals as his knowledge of mystic meanings was considered a prerequisite in order being installed in his office and fulfilled his roles (Assmann 1996: 209-210). Nevertheless, it was the Sun god himself and the filial relationship the king had with Re which allowed such an installation (Assmann 1984: 87-114).²⁹¹ As a result, the king’s actions were subordinate to these of god’s and it was that subordinacy which implied repetition and duration through time. Through his installation as due to the inheritance of his duties and the granting of power and dominion over the foreigners by Re and his manifestations, Pharaoh became able to fulfill his role as guarantor of Ma’at. In addition, he gained the ability to satisfy gods, expel the forces of Isfet and assure the existence of Egypt in a way similar with that of the celestial realm eternally (Assmann 1984: 87-114).

Despite the fact that the god acted in a supernal realm and the king acted on the realm of the living²⁹², the duration of the king’s actions was eternal and permanent. This occurred through the concept of the liturgical repetition and ritual, a set of actions which could re-enacted procedures such as the re-ignition of the “*first moment*” of the creation of the world and the rejuvenation of the sun daily (Assmann

²⁹¹ Although the king causes a set of states such as the annihilation of Isfet (*hr shtm isfi*), the maintenance of Maat (*hr shpr m3t*) and the satisfaction of the gods and the dead through the offerings (*htpwt*), it is Re which causes a set of actions such as the installation of the king (*iw rdi.n r^c niswt*).

²⁹² According to the Eighteenth Dynasty view of cosmos a ruling Dyad, the King who was the earthly representative of God on earth and the Sun, the high God who ruled in heaven constituted the two highest authorities, see Redford 1995: 164. There were “*the unique one in heaven and the ‘second’ upon earth*” (Urk. IV. 15). Contra Westendorf 1984.

1989: 59).²⁹³ As a result, the basic idea behind the political actions of the king and the liturgical repetition of them was that of the eternal maintenance of the social order and might of Egypt against the forces of Isfet in a way similar with that of the repetition of the solar cycle (Assmann 1989: 59).²⁹⁴ Under that perception, the political actions of the king were connected with the divine and analyzed in four basic pillars (Assman 1989: 59):

- The judgment of humanity (*wḏꜥ rmtw*).
- The satisfaction of the gods (*šḥtp ntrw*).
- The realization of Ma'at .
- The annihilation of the forces of Isfet (*ḥr šḥtm isft*).

All the aforementioned concepts of the political actions of the king needed to be rooted in the political reality of the New Kingdom. That became possible through the use of an ideological scheme rendered on the theme of conquest/subjection of foreigners, the development of the theology of conquest as the use of the theme of the already accomplished universal rule (Kemp 1978:8), all evident in the textual sources apposed in 3.1. Through the aforementioned schemes, the imperialism applied by the Egyptians in the Levant was transformed into a religious formula in order to expel the “*external menace*”. Furthermore, it was impregnated with theological/ideological elements in order being legitimized inwards through the use of the model proposed in 2.3, a combination of theological and ideological connotations.

In documentation meant for internal consumption, the *theme of conquest and subjugation* of foreigners gained central significance (Kemp 1978: 8). As part of what John Baines defined as *decorum* (Baines 2007: 37), the “*smiting of the enemy*” topos, one of the most frequently depicted themes in royal imagery and iconography of ancient Egypt worked in favor of Egypt by depicting foreigners being annihilated by the might of the Pharaoh and the supremacy of Egypt and its gods (Hall 1986).

²⁹³ According to the Egyptian hermeneutics the sun traversed heaven and the underworld in two barks. His movement was perceived as a journey by boat which, after several phases of cultic drama, it was characterized by the returning of the sun to the initial cosmogonic ignition, the so-called “first moment” of creation. Hence, the Egyptian perception of the functioning process of cosmos was not that of a Christian seventh day process but it was repeated perpetually with the solar cycle being of primary importance.

²⁹⁴ The solar cycle, a cosmic process, cannot be repeated on itself as social order cannot be maintained without a strong government. Hence the solar cycle gained a political meaning, that of the exertion of government, see Assman 1989: 63.

Despite the fact that the propagandistic use of such texts was challenged by Kemp (1978: 8), a coherent view of Egypt's dominant position in the world as the duties Pharaoh was inherited in order to maintain Ma'at and destroy Isfet is revealed (Allen 2003b: 23; Cornelius 2010: 324; Gordon 2001: 544; Muhlestein 2003; Assman 1995; Hall 1986).

In texts and phrases as such mentioned in 3.1 foreigners presented as a bunch of chaotic hordes (Muhlestein 2011: 84). They came against Egypt and its king countless in numbers, plot against legitimacy and work as instruments of Isfet in order to overturn order and present chaos. Pharaoh, through the assistance of gods and their legitimization of his acts against the foreigners, reacts fiercely against them by destroying, burning, trampling and annihilating them with multiple ways (Muhlestein 2011: 84). Apart from destruction, subjugation was also an option: the king led hundreds of thousands of foreigners as captives in Egypt and presented them in the service of gods and their temples (Redford 1992: 34). Such actions though needed further religious/ideological justification inwards. To such purpose, the schemes of the *theology of conquest* as that of the *theme of the already accomplished universal rule* worked favorably.

The significance Re acquired in the “*classical*” conception was not limited only in his role on the solar cycle. The theologians of the New Kingdom gave him also the role of the creator and the sustainer of all life. Such attribute was reflected in the several hymns created during the New Kingdom (Kemp 1978: 9; Pritchard 1969: 365; Lichtheim 1976, II: 86; Assmann 2004: 184; Redford 1997).²⁹⁵ As the creator of the world and its primordial king, Re, apart from the possession of all lands had the absolute right to arrange Kingship and succession to the throne of Egypt according to his will (Redford 1995: 170; *Ibid.*, 1997).²⁹⁶ Hence, a connection among Re and the king should be invented in order to be proved as a strong claim of legitimacy.

²⁹⁵ In that kind of hymns the imperial God Amun or Amun Re, one of his manifestations, was presented as the “*chief of all gods*”, “*the one who made mankind and created all the beasts*”, “*the goodly beloved youth to whom the Gods give praise*”, etc.

²⁹⁶ Indicative towards that direction was the inscription set up by Thutmose III at Karnak regarding his benefactions on behalf of Amun Re. Thutmose III describes how, while he was a priest in Amun Re's temple, was searched by the god's image and identified by it publicly as the chosen one for the throne of Egypt, for details see O'Connor 2009: 23-24. That implication of selection of the King from Amun or Amun Re had its roots back to the Middle Kingdom tradition and it was used by the Eighteenth

The solution came through the prominence which was given during the New Kingdom in the conception and birth of the king due to the union among the queen, his mother, and Amun Re (Brunner 1964; Kemp 1978: 10). As a result, Pharaoh obtained a celestial reference.²⁹⁷ His association with Re as his son as his selection from Re as the chosen one for the throne of Egypt²⁹⁸ made him his earthly surrogate (Blumenthal 1970: 100). The king became the “*Sun of Egypt*”, the “*Sun of the foreign rulers*” and the “*Sun of the plebes*” (Brack 1977: 39; Meeks 1982: 167) and turned himself into “*a dazzling sun appearing in the war-crown and at the head of his army*” (Habachi 1954, pl. 26; Redford 1976: 49), ready to inherit all the possessions of Re and administers it on his behalf (Kemp 1978:10). A strong claim of legitimacy as towards the inheritance, on king’s behalf, of everything foreign had been created. It was the turn of the schemes of the *theology of conquest* as that of *the theme of the already accomplished universal rule* to support such legitimacy.

All the foreign lands, according to Egyptian theology, were subjects of exploitation from Egypt and its gods. Of great interest to gods were lands such as Punt, Lebanon, Wadi Hamamat and Sinai where products such as cedar wood, incense, turquoise and greywacke produced and transported to Egypt in order being used in its temples (Kemp 1978: 9). Since the Pharaoh was fathered by the god, chosen to be the one who will ascent to the throne of Egypt and inherit “*that which the sun disc encircles*”²⁹⁹, a claim to a universal rule abroad was made. Amen Re handed over to the Pharaoh “*the Princes of the Southlands, the Southerners and the Northerners as well, their silver, their gold, their cattle, all the precious stones of their lands in millions*” and Pharaoh, in turn, had to “*act for him*” by administering all the above for the behalf of the one who made him the “*Re of the Nine bows*”, an exchange evident in the sources mentioned in 3.1. That sort of exchange was presented sometimes as a mutual agreement between the gods and the king. Gods provided the king with universal power, wealth and good fortune and the king on its

Dynasty rulers in order to broaden the prestige of the Dynasty, see Redford 1995: 163; Lacau and Chevrier 1969: pl. 12, 14 and 15.

²⁹⁷ It was through his connection with Re where the king became “*content with victory and speedy like the sun disc*” (Urk. IV. 1723) and “*a runner like the sun when he moves, a star of electrum when he shines in his chariot*” (Urk. IV. 1684).

²⁹⁸ Despite the fact that the God had fathered the King, the process of selection was given significant prominence for reasons of legitimacy. In several texts the King was “*chosen by Re*” or Amun Re (Urk. IV. 553, 1359, 1722) and he was “*elevated among millions*” (Urk. IV. 1722).

²⁹⁹ Urk. IV. 82:13. For the inheritance myth see Urk. IV. 368:13-15; 1276:13-20; 2118: 18-19; 2123: 3-4.

turn erected temples and ensured that a plentiful supply of offerings will flow on Egypt (Kemp 1978: 10; Redford 1984: 27-28). It was the last part of the aforementioned agreement among gods and the Pharaoh which brought some sort of difficulties though.

The flow of plentiful supply of offerings from abroad implied the exploitation of the foreign lands by Egypt as their obedience to the Pharaoh, a condition which was not always easily accepted by the foreign chiefs of the lands beyond the borders of Egypt. Hence, the brutal force³⁰⁰ became a necessary condition in order Pharaoh's claims being understood and military campaigns, veiled under the theme of reducing chaos to order, acquired a religious justification: they appeared to be part of the duties the gods inherited to Pharaoh.³⁰¹ The causes for that kind of hostility towards the foreigners were: their hostile intentions and their initial actions against Pharaoh and Egypt, springing due to their wicked and pervert nature and the ability granted by gods to the Pharaoh to "*give vent to his desires throughout the foreign lands*"³⁰² and "*enlarge the boundaries of Egypt*". It was these two perceptions which created a topos which cannot be explained solely under real political terms due to its expansion in the sphere of mythology (Hornung 1980: 404-405, 413-415; Kemp 1978: 8-15; Liverani 1990: 44-65). The power and the authority granted to the Pharaoh by the gods reached, through schemes such as that of the "*theology of conquest*" and *the already accomplished universal rule*, "*as far as the primeval darkness*", there were "*no boundaries set for him towards all countries*".³⁰³ It was such the idealization of such themes and their transportation to imaginative realms were, according to the boast made by Hatshepsut, not only "*heaven and all the foreign lands whom God has created serve her (Hatshepsut) in totality*"³⁰⁴ but also "*commands are sent to an unknown land, and they do everything that she (Hatshepsut) commanded*".³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ Illustrated under a characteristic and powerful iconography consisted of scenes depicting the Pharaoh smiting his enemies with a mace or as a sphinx trampling over his enemies, employed in the decoration of temple walls, palaces, state barks, jewelry and scarabs. For the iconography of the theology of conquest see Kemp 1978: 13 with references; Wildung 1973: 108-116.

³⁰¹ Indicative towards that direction are scenes which illustrate gods such as Amen, Thoth, Ptah, Atum and Seth symbolically handing a sword to the King, see KRI V 10: 9-10; Urk. IV. 1545:14; 1546:3.

³⁰² Urk. IV. 9: 8-9.

³⁰³ See Breasted 1906, II: 311.

³⁰⁴ Urk. IV. 341: 15.

³⁰⁵ Urk. IV. 370: 9-10.

All the above declarations, although quite explanative regarding the legitimization of conquest by ideology and religion, can be perceived more as an assertion of the cosmological power of the king in order to explain inwards the policy of imperialism followed by Egypt during the Late Bronze Age in the Levant. Differences in the conception of the theopolitical unity such as the one presented in the Amarna theology though created difficulties and presented explanations towards the changes adopted in Egypt's foreign policies in the Levant during the Amarna period.

The “Amarna” conception

The theological revolution Akhenaten ignited in Egypt contradicted the “classical” theopolitical conception of the New Kingdom in many central points. Despite the fact that there was not an explicit refutation of the previous situation, aspects such as implicit theological opposition as practical prosecution brought significant changes in the way the theological thought of the Amarna Period developed (Assman 2004: 180).

In the aforementioned “classical” conception life was dependent primarily on order. Order was the prerequisite element in order life continues and Egypt's existence being reassured eternally. In such perception, order was imposed from outside due to its inability to be generated and persisted by itself alone and the king was its prime defender (Assman 1989: 65). In order the forces of Isfet being expelled though, authoritative government needed. Such authority could not be developed by forces acted solely in the earthly realm. It had to be imposed by the gods. In such perception, solar cycle gained a very important political meaning: its inability to acquire a *perpetuum mobile* by itself connected it with social order with the central linchpin of such connection being the exertion of government (Assman 1989: 63). Hence, the state perceived as a replica of the cosmic government on earth. In order cosmic order reflected in the earthly realm though, a single ruler which acted as the representative of Sun god on earth needed. Such perceptions were challenged by the revolution Akhenaten brought in Egypt.

In the ideology of the Amarna religion, the solar cycle abrogated its political meaning. While the daily motion of Aten was confronted by enemies such as Apep in the classical conception, in the Amarna religion a positive cosmology appeared: no

enemy confronted Aten. As a result, the world does not need to be ruled in order Ma'at triumph against Isfet (Assman 1989: 66). Royal government lost its significance while concepts such as “*order*” fade and replaced by concepts such as “*life*” (Assman 1989: 67). Due to the disappearance of the antagonistic forces opposed against order the world does not need to be maintained due to the disappearance of the differences between primordial and continuous causation (Assman 1989: 66). Mankind became the partner of divine action and anthropocentrism replaced anthropomorphism while the solar cycle was performed for the sake of men. In such conceptions, Ma'at lost its classical meaning and it was transformed from its classical sense of “*justice*” to theoretical meanings which implied “*truth*” in the sense of a correct interpretation of the “revealed” knowledge (Assman 1989: 67). Under such a perception, the way foreigners perceived inwards by the Egyptians changed during the Amarna Period.

As demonstrated in chapter 1, the Egyptian imperialism applied in the Levant met several phases. In reigns such as these of Ahmose, Kamose, Thutmose I, Thutmose III, Seti I and Ramesses II the classical conception of the aforementioned theopolitical unity dictated conquest of foreign lands as the annihilation of foreigners and worked favorably towards of the application of the model adopted in 2.3. As partners of Isfet foreigners opposed in the imposition of order and as such needed to be destroyed by the king and the gods of Egypt. The military campaigns made by Thutmose I and III consolidated Egypt as one of the major forces of the Late Bronze Age and created several spheres of influences. Changes in theopolitical unity though affected the way Egypt expanded northwards. The first nuggets of change regarding theology as the elevation of the sun in the theological system of the Egyptians occurred during the reign of Amenhotep III. It was during his reign where the Egyptian empire gained a more cosmopolitan character and adopted changes towards the way Egypt confronted foreigners, changes which will be analyzed in detail on chapters 4 and 5. Instead of constant military operations northwards Egypt maintained its position as a major force and adopted patterns of diplomacy in order to communicate with its Near Eastern peers. Diplomatic means such as the exchange of artisans and personnel, diplomatic marriages between Pharaohs and brides brought from the courts of the Near East, exchange of royal gifts, etc. revealed a differentiation. Akhenaten's theological revolution hit Egypt hard and had as a

consequence the loss of territories northwards while the return to “*orthodoxy*” ignited a new series of conquests directed northwards having Ramesses II as the central maintainer of such policies.

3.4] The economic underpinnings of Egypt’s imperial policies

As demonstrated on 3.2 and 3.3, New Kingdom Egypt had as its key element the development of a political system where complex religious ideologies and legitimizing mechanisms of royal power and political authority were bound together indistinguishably. Supplementary to such mechanisms, a system of impersonalized-institutionalized modes of surplus extraction developed in order to generate and maintain the conditions which could be proved fruitful towards the creation of an empire. Such a system was perfectly demonstrated under the model proposed on 2.3.

While ideological/theological consumptions, relative with the justification of the actions of the monarch abroad, needed in order the power of the monarchy being reinforced and legitimized and social order maintained, aspects such as economy and administration gained a crucial role in the political thought of Egypt in order the financial maintenance of the empire proved possible. Such aspects affected the imperialist policies the empire chose to demonstrate at the Levant during the Late Bronze Age to a great extent.

Despite the tendency which prevailed religious ideologues over the modes of surplus extraction in the scholarly published literature, it was Weber’s concept regarding state formation which created affections on it. According to Weber, the focus around sacred monarchical and priestly authority, although significant for the maintenance of the functional structure of the empire and its fictional equation with the kingdom of the gods, is seen as a stimulus towards the shaping of an empire which would be dependent on administrative-bureaucratic institutions, not as a prime concern (Weber 1972; *ibid.* 1988).³⁰⁶ As a result, supplementary factors of state maintenance such as economy, accounting, and logistics claimed their own share of importance in the construction and preservation process of the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom.

³⁰⁶ For a criticism on Weber’s approach see Warburton 2015: 41.

Weber's perception was reflected in the scholarly published literature quite late. It was not until the late 20th century A.C. where the role of the economy as an important factor of the policies the ancient state formations exercised gained its own share of importance. Despite the fact that the Late Bronze Age economies of Egypt and the Near East were better documented than others, a tendency of neglecting their significance in mainstream discussions of archaeological theory was observed (Warburton 2015: 38; *ibid.* 2009; *ibid.* 2011). Hence, in a growing number of publications relative with accounting and economics the perception of ancient economies, markets and accounting practices as major factors of ancient state formation and politics was perceived as a totally fruitful task (e.g. Stevelinck 1973; Finley 1985; Renger 2007). Nevertheless, such a tendency seemed to be reversed in recent studies relative with behavioral, social, accounting and economic topics of research (e.g. Ezzamel 1997; Mattessich 2000; Schmandt-Besserat 1977; *ibid.* 1992; Nissen, Damerow and Englund 1993).

Turning the discussion to Egyptology, despite the fact that I am aware of no recent monograph which provides a full treatment of the Egyptian economy, a significant number of publications influenced by the several theoretical and ideological perspectives of individual authors emerged. Hence, economy as a major factor of state development and policy decisions acquired its importance. The work of Kemp (1989) can be perceived as the primary modern account regarding ancient Egyptian economy while the fullest general survey was made by Helck (1975a; *ibid.*, 1975b). Warburton (2015; *ibid.*, 2011; *idib.*, 2011b, *ibid.*, 2009) has to be treated with cautiousness due to the polemical and theoretical nature of his arguments.³⁰⁷ Janssen (1975) with his classical work offered a huge boost towards the understanding of the market and its functionality. Manning (2003) can be proved of some usefulness despite the specialization of his work in Ptolemaic Egypt and Manning and Morris (2005) can be used for wider ancient comparisons. Apart from the examination of ancient Egyptian economy on its whole, individual issues are also approached through a series of recent conference publications (e.g. Allam 1994; Bowman and Rogan 1999; Eyre 2015: 707-726).

³⁰⁷ Cf. Eyre 2010: 307.

The Egyptian economic network of the Late Bronze Age

Any sort of economical exchange Egypt had with its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age can be characterized as a two-dimensional arrangement between center and periphery (Liverani 2000: 20).³⁰⁸ Although the existence of economical transactions among territorial states was not something rare, it was the peripheral vassal states which played a crucial role in the way these were conducted (Liverani 2000: 20).³⁰⁹

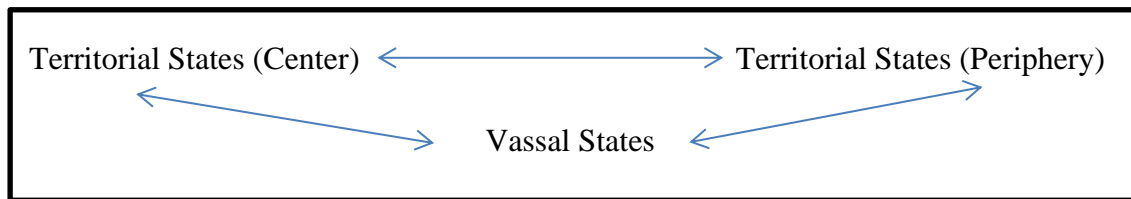


Diagram g: The Egyptian economic network of the Late Bronze Age as proposed by Liverani (2000).

Such transactions were primarily conducted with reference to the relationships the participants had in the past. As a result, time turned into a basic feature of any sort of economic-diplomatic arrangements. The behavior of the two participants was placed inside a theoretical scheme of conduct according to which the negative incidents which happened among them were set during the intermediate phase of the past (Zaccagnini 1973: 100-108). According to the same scheme, the proposed better present and future relationships will be conducted in the future.³¹⁰ Such a perception though was not free of bonds. In order a fruitful relationship among the participants achieved, several rules must be followed with the most fundamental one being that of reciprocity among the participants (Zaccagnini 1973: 100-108; Liverani 1973: 267-297).

³⁰⁸ Reflected in several aspects such as in the several procedures which regulated the lawsuits among the states participated in the economic and diplomatic exchanges and in the limited "Great Powers Club", see Liverani 1990: 87-105; *ibid.*, 2000: 20.

³⁰⁹ The rebellion of vassal states, to take a case in point, had as a consequence the closing of the trade routes, the blockage of messengers and the extraction of communication among the Great Kings of the territorial states.

³¹⁰ Indicative towards that direction were the EA 19:9-14, 68-69. Cf. the analysis made by Zaccagnini 1973: 139-147.

The central doctrine which characterized the international relationships (economic and diplomatic) which were shaped among territorial and vassal states during the Late Bronze Age was that of the “*enlarged village*” (Cohen 1996: 11-28). Nevertheless, a model of interpersonal relations obtained at the level of face to face communities during the Late Bronze Age (Liverani 1990: 21, 197-202, 211-17; *Ibid.*, 2000: 18-19; Cohen 1996: 11-28). In such a machination, it was the element of reciprocity which acquired the role of the motive power for the conduction of that kind of relations (Avruch 2000; Liverani 2000). Furthermore, several practices such as gift giving and marital agreements proved as essential in order good relationships among the participants of the economical-political exchange shaped during the Late Bronze Age conducted (Janssen 1982:253-258; Zaccagnini 2000: 147; Meier 2000; Pintore 1978; Schulman 1979: 177-193). Nevertheless, despite any reliance on reciprocity, any economic activity maintained was dependent on three basic moving factors: power, markets, and diffusion (Warburton 2011b: 120). And there were these three supplementary factors that led Egypt to apply abroad the model of imperialism analyzed in 2.3.

At the apex of the economic system shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age were territorial state formations which were politically dominant and economically prevalent over their immediate neighbors (Warburton 2011b: 120). Despite any dependency on ideologies indistinguishably connected with religion in order to legitimize the political authority of the king and to secure that the peasants will remain submissive to a divine accredited system of exploitation of their industrial power, territorial states maintained economies primarily based on the agricultural production. That kind of economy was dispersed through several political (power and diplomacy) and financial (trade and exchange) channels (Warburton 2011b: 121).

In economies such as that of the New Kingdom Egypt’s, coinage was not yet invented (Menu 2001; Muller-Wollermann 2007; Testart 2001). Hence, any sort of economical exchange relied mainly on products such as grain and barley and their distribution as in raw materials (Eyre 2010: 297).³¹¹ Despite the central role of the

³¹¹ Indicative towards the acquisition of wealth through the grain and barley distribution were the workers of Deir el-Medina. Due to the compensation of their labor in grain at least three times more

aforementioned core states in that kind of economic network, a significant role was also played by the states which were located on the periphery: due to their ideological and political dependency on states which consisted as the apex of the economy shaped during the Late Bronze Age as to their ability to produce raw materials such as gold, silver, copper, lapis lazuli, etc., the peripheral states acted as channels of diffusion of trade and economic enterprise. As a result, commercial states such as Byblos, Wadi Hamamat, Mari, Alalakh, Sippar and Ugarit gained significant importance during the Late Bronze Age and their annexation in one of the several spheres of influence created by the so-called “*Great Powers*” of the Near Eastern system of diplomacy of the Late Bronze Age was perceived as a matter of major significance (Morris 2006: 179-196). Power and its demonstration with every means proved as a significant factor towards that direction and Egypt did not exclude itself of such demonstratives.

In Late Bronze Age terms, military force and economic power consisted a unity which was inseparably connected (Warburton 2011b: 122). From Thucydides to Clausewitz what stands as the most decisive attribute of the powerful states against the weaker ones is the military power and the threat of the possible use of brutal force in cases of indiscipline (Clausewitz 2003; Warburton 2011b: 122). This was also the case for the members of the “*Great Powers*” club. Despite the fact that war might be proved costly (Spalinger 2005: 140-160), it is conquest itself or even the threat of military invasion which brings wealth and submission and creates spheres of economic influence. Hence, the connection between economic and military force became apparent.

War can produce wealth and conquest is the most decisive mean of its application over states which were rich in raw materials and agricultural production but weak in military force (Warburton 2011b: 122). As a result, war, permanent occupation through conquest or military invasions in the form of razzias can lead to the inflow of booty, tribute and foreign human personnel as prisoners of war as demonstrated in several texts cited on 3.1.³¹² A level of differentiation though can be noticed not in the proposed distinction of power in military and economic one but in its way of application inwards and outwards respectively: while power was expressed

than the amount they could be expected to ate, the workers of Deir el-Medina acquired a significant purchase power, see Eyre 2010: 297; Janssen 1975a.

³¹² Significant aspects of wealth in the non-coinage economic system of the Late Bronze Age.

externally through military means, internally it was transformed into a juridical law system which regulated taxation, land property and the redistribution of wealth from the lower (peasants) to the upper (elites) echelons of the society of the Late Bronze Age through channels occurred due to the model presented in 2.3. (i.e Doc. 4-5, 16, 18, 24, 26, 40). At that kind of economic system markets played a significant role and had a prominent place.

It has become commonplace that, since the publication of *the capital* in 1867 by Karl Marx, the market economies were perceived by the majority of the secular Western thought as a specific form of economic organization, cognominal with “*economics*” and discrete from their ancient forms. According to that perception, the market economies in their ancient form were perceived as nothing more than social structures on which markets played a peripheral role rather than the role of economics on its modern essence (Warburton 2011b: 124). That sort of interpretation though presented some serious weaknesses.

On the one hand, the insecurity the application of the neoclassical synthesis³¹³ and the several Keynesian models offered in the analysis of subjects relative with economics (modern and ancient) highlighted the need for a complete rethinking of economics on its core (Warburton 2011b: 124). On the other hand, it was the aforementioned neglect of the importance of the markets of antiquity from mainstream discussions which suggested a possible misplace of their significance (Warburton 2009; *ibid.*, 2011; *ibid.*, 2011b: 124).

On several paradigms such as the ones of the core states of South Mesopotamia and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age, markets defined the prices of goods and services through their valuation in weights of metal (silver, copper, etc.) (Warburton 2009; *ibid.*, 2011; *ibid.*, 2011b: 124). In addition, markets determined the several investment patterns (i.e. taxation system) which applied in those states during the Late Bronze Age. Henceforth, their significance in the way the ancient economies of Egypt and the Near East functioned during the Late Bronze Age became obvious and markets were recognized as a major factor of the economy of the Late Bronze Age (Warburton 2009; *ibid.*, 2011; *ibid.*, 2011b: 124).

³¹³ A postwar academic movement which attempted to combine the work of John Mynard Keynes in macroeconomics with the neoclassical economic theories, see Clarc 1998; Samuelson 1955; Blanchard 2008; Hicks 1937: 147-159.

Despite the fact that several concepts of the modern archaeological thought seemed to be chained in approaches which tend to neglect the evidence in favor of theories which remained unshakable³¹⁴, it was the evidence itself which attributed to the ancient markets characteristics of a modern financial institution. It was that kind of perception which created a huge impact in the scholarly published literature emerged during the second half of the 20th century and placed ancient markets in the cynosure: gradually, the prices which were shaped in the markets of the Near East and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age were considered as prices with their modern meaning (Powell et al 2003-2005). Furthermore, the concept of market in antiquity was perceived by the scholars as something equivalent of the modern market, a scheme which was functioned in some cases under the patronage of capitalism (Wilcke 2007; Sanmartin 1995: 149).

Turning the discussion to Egyptology, several considerable efforts regarding the evaluation of market in ancient Egypt into a significant factor of the economy emerged. The several contributions made by Allam (1994; *ibid.*, 1997: 1-17; *ibid.*, 2004: 123-155) and Menu (2001; *ibid.*, 1998; *ibid.*, 1982) shed some light in the legal aspects of the economic activity directly or inside the concept of the market. Romer (2007: 66-81, 83-106; *ibid.*, 1998: 119-142) approached several questions of economic nature under a more analytical point of view. In addition, the analysis made so far by Eyre added a historical tone and consisted a remarkable effort to develop an approach which had as its main goal a synthesis among the feudal and market systems. According to Eyre (1997: 367-390), land and access to it by the peasants was a matter of legal and social constraints while, in the same time, any sort of individual commercial investment was subjected to the several constraints the differentiation of the society of ancient Egypt in upper and lower echelons placed to individuals. Furthermore, an approach which gave merit to the social aspect of the economy instead of its legal aspect was adopted (Eyre 2004: 109-120). Hence, the significance of market in the way the economic exchange made in the Near East and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age was recognized and ancient markets acquired a prominent position as a constituent element of the economic system shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age.

³¹⁴ See for example the approach made by Renfrew (2004) according to which the value originates in the commodity or the one made by Preucel and Hodder (1996) where any approach except prices was used.

Most of the peasants in Egypt and the Near East lived in rural villages (Eyre 1997: *ibid.*, 1999; Liverani 2014: 278-289) and their main occupation was agriculture and crafts, enterprises which both could lead the individual to a certain degree of self-sufficiency (Eyre 2010: 293; Warburton 2011b: 122). Although the ordinary peasant could not visit the market on a daily basis due to several restrictions such as the difficulty on transport and communications, the prices on the markets had an impact on the exchange value of the goods produced by him and his household and as a result, regulated his buying power (Eyre 2010: 293). In addition, economic measures such as taxes and field rents, extremely important for the peasants due to the valuation of their income and expenditure, were calculated during the Late Bronze Age in weights of metal which were given monetary value inside the system of the market (Janssen 1975a; Eyre 2010: 295; Warburton 2015: 58; 85). It was the market itself which exercised a significant influence in the way trading, valuation of goods and economy were shaped during the Late Bronze Age.

Having the third millennium B.C. as a reference point, the concept of the market was used by the core states as a measure against the several economically meaningful practices emerged in the agricultural-based economies of the Late Bronze Age (Warburton 2011b: 122). Aspects such as overproduction and production of the same type of goods (grain, barley etc.) could lead to the gradual weakness of trade due to the self-sufficiency of the peasants on products of the same type, falling prices and underemployment with falling wages, a situation which could be proved dangerous for the prosperity of any state and the maintenance of social order inwards (Powell et al 2003-2005: 609-616). A system inside which the accumulation of surpluses as the several systems of measures used could be transformed into wealth seemed as the prominent solution and market proved as the ideal mean in order the states of the Late Bronze Age being able to disengage from that kind of limitations. Indicative towards that direction was the adoption, by the core states of the Near East, of a taxation system which could exchange grain and barley, the primary products of the Bronze Age, with silver and other precious metals (Van Koppen 2007).

Although silver was virtually unknown before the Bronze Age (Prag 1978), it was the market demands on silver of the core states which created the ideal situations for its production in Anatolia and the Aegean well before the end of the third millennium B.C. (Reiter 1997). Furthermore, it was the market demands which

allowed the redistribution of wealth as the functioning of the economy in a mode which could be characterized by financial stability and cohesion (Warburton 2011b: 122). Indicative towards that direction was the example of the several states located in South Mesopotamia.

The allowance, by their taxation system, of the transformation of grain revenues in returns of wool and textiles respectively and the mass production of the later and their export to the periphery in order silver being obtained, highlighted the significance of the market in the economic systems shaped in Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age (Waetzoldt 1972; Westenholz 1999; Veenhof 2008). As a result, it became obvious that the market forces affected the Near Eastern economies of the Late Bronze Age in a way which was similar to the one the modern economies function (Warburton 2011b: 122). In the elevated role of market in the economic system which was shaped during the Late Bronze Age in Egypt and the Near East diffusion played a significant role.

The influence the theory of diffusion exercised became evident in the work of several German ethnologists such as Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1901) and Franz Boas (1858-1943). British ethnology could not remain unaffected from such notions. Through the work of W.H. Rivers (1914) diffusion became the prevalent tendency in the British ethnology and replaced any evolutionary approach³¹⁵ so far (Trigger 1989:152) while G. E. Smith (1871-1873) applied the theory of diffusion in the British anthropology. It was Smith's ideas which suggested the application of the theory of diffusion in ancient Egypt for the first time and it was the process of mummification in ancient Egypt which became the spark towards his efforts to propose that Egypt was the cradle of any early cultural development (Trigger 1989: 152; Smith 1923; *ibid.*, 1933).

According to Smith, it was through diffusion where the Egyptian innovations such as agricultural production, etc. were implanted to the other parts of the world through trading and economic transactions (Smith 1923, *ibid.*, 1933). Smith's hyper-diffusionist ideas found a counterpart in the work of W.J. Perry. In two of his works, Perry (1923, 1924) adopted the theories first presented by Smith and applied

³¹⁵ For the rejection, by Rivers, of any evolutionary approach in the distribution of cultural traits in Oceanic societies and the application of diffusionism see Slobodin 1978.

ethnographical data while other scholars such as Raglan defended the several hyper-diffusionist theories made by Smith and Perry but considered Mesopotamia and not Egypt as the cradle of civilization (Raglan 1939). Despite the impact the hyper-diffusionist theories of Smith had on several European archaeologists such as Childe (1939: 301-302; *ibid.*, 1954: 69), it was the archaeological record itself which made archaeologists to reject them as a persuasive explanation of world's prehistory. On the contrary, diffusionism and migration was perceived by several archaeologists as the channel through which all the cultural changes which were visible on the archaeological record occurred. The last fashion was exemplified on Petrie's work for Prehistoric Egypt (Petrie 1939). According to Petrie, all the cultural changes which took place on Prehistoric Egypt were due to the massive migrations or the arrival of small groups of people which blended culturally and biologically with the native inhabitants (Petrie 1939).

Diffusion became the channel through which the ideas towards prices, several construction techniques of artifacts as the dominant ideologies of the core states of the Late Bronze Age transported from the core to periphery and affected the way the economies of the Late Bronze Age Egypt and Near East functioned (Warburton 2011b: 125). Through the increasing need for products (demand) by the people of Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age, the production was increased and several imitations, based on cheaper prices than the real thing, made its appearance in the markets. Furthermore, the scarcity of some products as their ideological connection with kingship and religion³¹⁶ defined their value inside markets. It was through diffusion where the knowledge towards the valuation of products as the spread of ideology towards precious metals and raw materials from the core to periphery became possible and as a result diffusion became one of the motivating factors of the economic system shaped during the Late Bronze Age in Egypt and the Near East.

All of these aspects mentioned above played a very important role in the development of the Egyptian imperialism in the Levant shown during the Late Bronze Age. But without an internal system of administration eager to turn all these factors to

³¹⁶ Such as the connection of lapis lazuli or gold with kings and gods.

a motivating power towards expansion, any imperialistic tendencies might have been remained an unfulfilled dream for the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom.

3.5] The administrative underpinnings of Egypt's imperial policies

The Theban reaction against the Hyksos and the unification of Egypt under the scepter of Ahmose (1550-1525 B.C.) underlined the primal goals of the early 18th Dynasty: the destruction of the remaining Hyksos strongholds in Syro-palestine³¹⁷ and the gaining of control over the area (Morris 2005: 29). That occurred through the adaptation of a program of external policy directed mainly in one-shot affairs of collecting booty in the southern and central parts of the area (Wenstein 1981: 7).³¹⁸

The massive destruction of sites located in southern and central Palestine as their level of abandonment underlined the absence, from the political thought of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, of an external policy-oriented in the sustaining of an empire through commercial exchanges and trade (Spalinger 2005: 83; Wenstein 1981: 7). In addition, the limited levels of destruction as the absence of Egyptian officials in sites such as Tacanach (Wenstein 1981: 7-8), Megiddo (Kassis 1973: 7-8), Beth-Shan, Acco and Hazor (Yadin 1972: 31-32, 45, 124-25; Kenyon 1973: 535-36, 556) suggested the absence of a system of permanent military and political authority over Palestine during the period prior to Thutmose III's campaigns (Spalinger 2005: 83). It was with Thutmose III and especially after his campaign against the coalition of forces gathered against him in Megiddo that an effort for establishing a system of long-term control applied for the first time in Western Asia (Spalinger 2005: 83).

Despite the absence of a program of long-term control over the Levantine territory and of an external policy-oriented in the maintenance of a trade network among the Palestine cities and Egypt, the conditions prior the accession of Thutmose III were propitious for Egypt inwards and outwards. As a result changes in the administrative system of conquered areas as the development of an institutionalized bureaucracy emerged. It was during the early New Kingdom when an efficient,

³¹⁷ Several scarabs found on nearly all the second millennium Levantine sites, containing the names of the rulers of the Hyksos, suggested that the cities which were located in Palestine region worked as Hyksos strongholds, see Petrie 1930: pl. 7:11; Williams 1977: fig. 15:7; Wenstein 1981: 8-10.

³¹⁸ For a different interpretation of the evidence see Bartlett 1982: 94; Bienkowski 1986: 128; Bunimovitz 1990; Dever 1990: 77; Filkenstein 1988: 342-343; Hoffmeier 1991: 122; Na'aman 1994: 175-187.

centralized bureaucracy under the scepter of the monarch created. In addition, differentiations in the organization of the army³¹⁹, maintained this time on a national level, occurred (Spalinger 2013:393-487). Such bureaucracy and organization level made their appearance in order to secure the political stability of the country (Spalinger 2013:393-487; Gnirs 2013: 639).³²⁰ The transformation of the Egyptian system of government from a heterogeneous economic system which was controlled by local governors to a centralized bureaucracy which had at its apex the king himself and his elites, led into major changes in almost every aspect of state administration (Gnirs 2013: 639; Katary 2013 719-783).

The centralization of power, one of the major achievements of the New Kingdom, was indissolubly connected with the sanctioned use of brute force³²¹ and the control of the army (Gnirs 2013: 639). Hence, the military men were placed under the direct control of the central government and evolved from regional soldiers to a military cast. Such a military cast was made up of elite members³²² of a war machine which turned Egypt into one of the superpowers of the Near East during the Second Millennium B.C (Gnirs 2013: 639-641).

Prior to the New Kingdom, the army consisted of dependent units (regional soldiers) which belonged to a system of a regional administration. Such a system of

³¹⁹ For a complete study towards the organization of the army from the Old to New Kingdom period see Spalinger 2013: 393-478. On the military in New Kingdom Egypt see Helck 1939; Schulman 1964; Spalinger 1984.

³²⁰ The connection of the organization of the army with the king, apparent in many expressions of the official display where the King (or his eldest son) leads his army as Commander in chief, guaranteed that through his military qualifications the order in Egypt could never be disrupted again and the desire for hegemonial control over Near East will be fulfilled. In addition, it was his military qualifications that could provide the heir with a reasonable claim to the throne. Indicative towards that direction is a passage from the tombos inscription of Thutmose I: "*Second year of his initiation (bsw.t=f), of his appearance as Chief of the Two Lands (hrj-tp ti.wj), to dominate what Aten encircles, who established himself on the throne of Geb (sngm=f) . . .*" (Urk. IV. 82: 12-16), see Klug 2002: 71-78, 504-506; Beylage 2002: 209-219. For further analysis see Gnirs 2013: 642.

³²¹ A notion which was adopted for the first time by the Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom and justified through the recourse to the topos of Horus's championing of his father, see P. Berlin 3029. For the use of sanctioned brute force during the Middle Kingdom see Blumenthal 1970: 189-198; Redford 1995: 165. For P. Berlin 3020 see Goedicke 1974.

³²² On several sources such as the inscriptions on the south and west walls in the court of Ramesses II at Luxor (KRI II 608.6-14) or the "Textbook of Hierarchy" in the Onomasticon of Amenemope, to take some cases in point, a list of the hierarchy of the key bureaucratic officials of the Egyptian society of the New Kingdom was presented. Among viziers, treasurers of palace, superintendants of the two houses of gold and silver, controllers, overseers of the southern and northern desert etc. were generals, generals of the infantry, troop commanders etc. For the texts of Ramesses II in Luxor temple see Kitchen 1996: 402-403; *Ibid.*, 1999: 408-409; Abd El-Razik 1975: 129. For key passages from the Onomasticon of Amenemope see Gardiner 1947: 20-35; Spalinger 2013: 395-396.

administration had at its apex the local city administrators or the regional governors (Snape 1994: 311-313).³²³ During the Middle Kingdom they took titles such as “armed inhabitants of a town” or “soldiers of a town regiment” (ꜥnh.w w.n nw.t)³²⁴ and they were sent for state service to the several Egyptian fortresses which were scattered in Nubia (Gnirs 2013: 639). According to the Semnah Despatches (Smither 1945: 3-10), administrative documents from the fort of Semna found in a Middle Kingdom tomb under the Ramesseum in 1896 A.C., these soldiers were under the commands of the guardsmen and the local city administrators (šmsw.w) (Gnirs 2013: 640). In addition, several combat soldiers whose name was connected with their Egyptian hometown occupied these forts.³²⁵

The successful campaigns against the Hyksos and the unification of Egypt under the scepter of Ahmose ceased the need for the maintenance of local armies. Furthermore, it elevated the nationalistic sentiment of the Egyptian elite which was gathered in Thebes and in the immediate zones southwards and northwards (Spalinger 2005: 47). In addition, the nationalistic exaltation worked as an outlet for the military cast which was made up of military men who had their origins back in the 13th Dynasty³²⁶ and bore the “king’s son” title (sꜥ-nswt) (Ryholt 1997; Redford 1984:14; Schmitz 1976: 255ff).³²⁷ These men were now professional full-time soldiers who constituted an expeditionary force of almost 5000 soldiers who “followed the good god, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt in every foreign land he marched through”³²⁸ (Redford 1984: 22). That sort of devotion could not remain unrewarded by the Pharaoh.

³²³ Indicative towards that direction is the evidence found the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-Kab. According the autobiography found on the tomb, the governors and town commanders of Upper Egyptian localities of the Second Intermediate Period used local armed forces in order to defend their territories, see Davies 2003c:52-54; Ibid., 2003d: 3-6; Snape 1994: 311-313.

³²⁴ A designation which was still in use during the Second Intermediate Period, see Snape 1994: 312.

³²⁵ See for example P. BM EA 10752 +10771 where names such as “Warrior from Hierakonpolis” (ꜥhꜥ.wti ni Nhn) were in use, see Smither 1945: 3-10, Pls. I-VII. In addition titles such as the “Commander of the crew of the ruler” (ꜥtw ni t.t hꜥꜥ), “Head commander of the town regiment” (ꜥtw ꜥꜥ n nw.t) and “retainer of the ruler” (šmsw n hꜥꜥ) were used in order to distinguish them, see Berlev 1971: 23-48; Quirke 1986: 122f.; Stefanovic 2006: 95-170, 178-181; Chevereau 1991: 71.

³²⁶ See for example Edfu and its history of long-serving line of military men.

³²⁷ The “King’s son” title didn’t indicate direct blood relationship with the living ruler. According to Spalinger, it was used metaphorically in order to demonstrate the dependency of the chief soldiers to the Pharaoh for their well-being, see Spalinger 2005: 47.

³²⁸ Urk. IV. 1441.

As several texts cited on 3.1 demonstrated, these soldiers expected benefits from Pharaoh in exchange for the years of military service by his side. These benefits had the form of plots of land, economic rewards and human personnel (slaves, etc.). Taking all of these into consideration, military expansion to Nubia and Western Asia proved as a one-way road for Ahmose and his successors. Northwards, the river of Euphrates used as a frontier between Egypt and its Asiatic opponents (Mitanni) for the first time in Egyptian history.³²⁹ In addition, southern Palestine was attached in the Egyptian sphere of influence³³⁰ and the Egyptian conquests in Nubia reached as far as the fourth cataract³³¹, setting the stage for the ignition of a program of gradual Egyptianization of the indigenous population (Kemp 1978: 34-43).³³² It was during the same time when Egypt experienced a remarkable political consolidation considering the role of the king as the elites.

At the dawn of the New Kingdom a strongly centralized government, highly personalized through the ceremonial events which highlighted the roles of the king, the viziers and the senior officials of the state, made its appearance (O'Connor 2009: 14). An Egyptian population which numbered probably no more than three million people (Butzer 1976: 83; Hassan 1993) was distributed in the Nile Valley, living in villages, cities, and towns (Hassan 1993: 558-569; O'Connor 1993: 576-582). The majority of them were agriculturalists³³³ whose production was depended on the

³²⁹ The "Victory stele" of Thutmose I (Urk. IV. 85: 14) is indicative, see Naville 1898: pl. 80; Urk. IV. 697: 5; Redford 1992: 154; Spalinger 1978: 35ff., for translation see Prichard 1969. Despite the fact that Thutmose I's campaigns in Syria didn't have the character of a concerted policy of territorial domination, they turned Egypt into a major player in the international affairs, see Bryce 2003: 21; Redford 1992: 143-154. For the nature of the Egyptian empire in Asia see Kemp 1978: 43-57; Frandsen 1979: 174-190.

³³⁰ A situation which lasted until the end of the Bronze Age in Levant, see Bietak 1991: 27-72; *Ibid.*, 1996.

³³¹ Indicative towards the Egyptian penetration southwards is the Kurguz inscription of Thutmose I, dated to year I of his reign, see Vandersleyen 1995: 255-56. For a recent epigraphic work of the inscription see Davies 2001; *Ibid.*, 2003 a: 55-57; *Ibid.*, 2003 b: 23-37.

³³² Fully complied with the doctrines of the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners according to which the acculturation of the foreigners in the Egyptian society was one of the most vital factors in order to work in favor of Egypt and not as the disordered forces of the chaotic, unorganized world that threatened the creation and the Egyptian world system, see Schneider 2010: 143-163; *Ibid.*, 201-216.

³³³ Their status was varied from estate-owing elites and ex-military people who granted land by the Pharaoh to middle level landholders, the so called *nemehe*, dependent to Pharaoh and assigned landholdings. In addition there were also laborers and slaves who worked in the fields, see Katary 1989.

inundation levels of the Nile³³⁴ while animal herders, although secondary in economical terms, were too a substantial unit of the production (O'Connor 2009: 14). Most of the cultivated lands belonged to the Pharaoh or the members of the royal family while government institutions, most notably temples, held a significant portion. That quite diverse Egyptian society of the Second Millennium B.C. had on its apex the Pharaoh and his officials, a ruling class of elites (generals, scribes, priests, viziers etc.) whose duties originated by the close personal relationship (in governmental terms) they had with the king (O'Connor 2009:15).

The government in the New Kingdom Egypt was exercised under a "*patrimonial*" way, quite similar with the model of government followed in almost every political entity of the Near East during the Second Millennium B.C. as we will see later in chapter 4 (O'Connor 2009: 15; Schloen 2001). Governmental administration could be effected by the level of personal relationships among the officials and the apex of the hierarchy, the king (Schloen 2001: 51). In addition, notions such as social order, effective government etc. were closely associated with the ruler's household and subsequently, through the relationship the king had with the gods, with god's household (Schloen 2001: 51; O'Connor 2009: 15). As a result, the closer someone was to the king, the better chances he had to gain wealth and power.

Despite the fact that it is not certain whether the system of the centralized government was a creation of the early Eighteenth Dynasty or functioned after the co-regency among Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the centralization of the government during the New Kingdom was something quite undeniable (O'Connor 2009:14-15). Indicative towards that direction is one of the most important administration texts ever found in Egypt, that of "*the duties of the Vizier*". Although the text found was inscribed in the chapel of four elite tombs which were dated inside a time span which was ranged from the reign of Thutmose III to the Nineteenth Dynasty, the composition itself was considered as a creation of the early New Kingdom (O'Connor 2009: 14).³³⁵

³³⁴ That dependency on the Nile inundation could be proved disastrous for agriculturalists due to the recurrent nature of the phenomenon of low Nile inundations over an extended period, see Hassan 1993: 554-555.

³³⁵ Contra Spalinger (1992) according to whom its origin could be dated during the Middle Kingdom.

The text itself outlines a government structure which was made up by different departments (O'Connor 1983: 208; 204-218), functioned both at a national and subnational level and scattered in Upper and Lower Egypt (O'Connor 2009: 14). Despite their autonomy in carrying out their duties, the officials who were in charge couldn't discipline their subordinates or took decisions on their own. They had to report to one of the two Viziers, one for Upper and the other for Lower Egypt (Van den Boorn 1988:18-22; 208-15), through a protocol which placed the assembled officials one in front of the other and allowed to the higher ranked one to speak first (Van den Boorn 1988: 13; 14-41).

The Viziers by their turn, after a formal consultation with the overseer of the treasury, reported daily to the king himself (Van den Boorn 1988: 55f). The level of centralization of the Egyptian government as its obedience to a "patrimonial" model which had at its top the king served limited aims such as the collection of revenue and the maintenance of social order, the marshaling of services (military, artisanal, labor) and the enhancement of the wealth and power of the elite (O'Connor 1995: 15). Rational ends were served through the imperial expansion, the power and the wealth of the elite were enhanced and the productivity of the population was maintained. In such conceptions, kingship acquired a significant role and evolved.

While persuasive answers towards how pervasive the institution was through the several facets the Egyptian society presented are difficult to be provided, its importance in the process of shaping of the Egyptian empire during the New Kingdom Period cannot be neglected (Baines 1995a: 94-156). During Egypt's Dynastic history kingship endured many vicissitudes. From a considerable loss of its authority, prestige and wealth during the three Intermediate Periods to an extreme wealth and power of the institution during periods such as these of the Twelfth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Redford 1995: 157-184; Murnane 1995: 185-220), kingship was of great importance to the Egyptians (Baines 1995a: 94-156). This mainly occurred under two ways: it was fundamental in order a sense of community being created as it was indissolubly connected in the mindset of the ancient Egyptians with the survival of cosmos (Morris 2010: 201-217).

Pharaoh maintained an essential link between the earthly and celestial realms as the chief mediator of the gods, their main provider and the prime ritualist (Morris

2010: 207; Wilkinson 2000; Altenmuller and Mussa 1991). Nevertheless, he was always dependent on them (O'Connor and Silverman 1995: xix; Baines 1995b: 9-10). Inwards, he was responsible to brought order in the Egyptian society through governance, wealth and it was one of his main duties the annihilation of the forces of chaos and anything foreign which threatened Egypt and the order on its interior (Hornung 1982a: 172-185; Strudwick 2005: 85). His roles as the sustainer of cosmos were intertwined with these of the sun-god (Silverman 1995: 61-62; Morris 2010: 201-217). In addition, on the earthly realm, he was perceived as the ultimate warlord and the supreme political leader (O'Connor and Silverman 1995: xix). Moreover, outside Egypt, the king was perceived as a guarantor of country's dominance, an individual who was responsible for the wellbeing of his countrymen and a universal ruler who participated as equal in a cast of kings of the same rank. Hence, it became prominent that the changes in the institution as the different course individual rulers followed affected the imperial policies Egypt applied in the Levant and elsewhere.

While kings such as Thutmose I and III, Seti I and Ramesses II expanded the power and consolidated the institution on safe grounds, others displayed extreme political weakness (i.e Thutmose II, Tutankhamun, Ramesses IX) and participated in immoral liaisons (Pepi II). For others, religious revolution proved of greater importance than the consolidation of the empire abroad (Akhenaten) while for some the crossing of gender lines proved of great importance due to personal motives and ambitions (Hatshepsut). Imperialist ambitions and the institution of kingship were indissolubly connected during the period of the New Kingdom and the imperialism Egypt demonstrated in the Levant affected by the changes in the institution as by the private course the rulers of the period followed.

The above-mentioned estimation included the basic ideas that influenced the study of the institution of kingship in the first half of the 20th century. The focus of these early, fundamental studies was concentrated particularly on the divine aspects of the ruler³³⁶, creating a divine image for the Pharaoh who was perceived as a god on earth and the chief ritualist (*nbt ir-ht*) (Frankfort 1948a; O'Connor and Silverman

³³⁶ Possibly influenced by the frequent appearance in texts and representations of the two royal epithets (*nfr ntr*, "the good god" and *ntr ʿ3* "the great god") that accompanied Pharaoh from the Old Kingdom onwards. Furthermore, identification of the king with the Sun god Re in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom led to that direction, see Assmann 1984; Bard 2005: 494-498; Hornung 1982; O'Connor and Silverman 1995.

1995: xxiii). While in these early attempts Pharaoh's human aspects and nature were recognized³³⁷, they were not explored in depth. That happened due to their perception by the scholars as superficialities which could cause disorientation from the seemingly most important feature of kingship, its divine nature. It was Henry Frankfort (1948b) with his classical work *Kingship and the Gods* who, apart from presenting a comparative study of rulership in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, first introduced the idea of the distinction of the political and cosmic role of kingship in order to avoid such misunderstandings.³³⁸

The chief question about king's divinity and its definitions had been the main focus of Egyptologists since 1902 when Alexandre Moret presented his *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (Moret 1902). The very first such approach though went deep down to the roots of fields such as anthropology and religious studies in one of the most influential works on the study of kingship in general and divine kingship in particular, James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (Frazer 1894). According to Frazer, kings originally embodied the powers of nature. Due to that "peculiarity" of theirs, kings must be sacrificed before the fertility of the world around them got affected by their physical decline (Frazer 1894; Hill, Jones, Morales 2013: 4). Frazer, with regard to the Egyptian evidence, interpreted prominent festivals such as the Heb-sed (Uphill 1965: 365-83) in a way which could support his basic principle while, in the same time, he utilized the figure of Osiris, the archetypal "dying and rising god" (Otto 1968: 24; Griffiths 1980) in order to support his proposed scapegoat function of the divine kings.³³⁹

Despite the strong criticism Frazer's work received within the circles of anthropological and religious studies³⁴⁰, a group of scholars consisted the so-called *Myth and ritual school* tried to apply a version of Frazer's ideas towards cosmic

³³⁷ The deification of the Pharaoh during the celebration of festivals as the use of titles such as the *s^c R^c* inside a context which stressed his mortality were indicative, see Bard 2005: 497. Contra Hornung 1982 who suggested that the title *s^c R^c* was used in order to define the king's relationship with the gods.

³³⁸ From that point of view, Frankfort's distinction of the role of kingship can be considered as the forerunner of the recent debate created according the character of the international system of diplomacy maintained among Egypt, Babylon, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria during the LBA, see for example Liverani 2000: 15-27; Westbrook 2000: 28-41; Ragioneri 2000: 42-53; David 2000: 54-67.

³³⁹ It was the proposed scapegoat function of the divine king which caused heated debates among Africanists, see Schubla 2005: 39-62; de Heusch 2005a: 63-66.

³⁴⁰ See especially the critique made by Lincon 2008; Smith 1978: 208-39; Ackerman 1987; Lanwerd 1993; Stocking 1995: 124-51.

kingship to both Mesopotamian and Egyptian rulers (Fairman 1955: 74-104; Gadd 1933; Hooke 1933).³⁴¹ It was Henry Frankfort who underlined the existence of fundamental differences between the divine character of ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian kingship and the universal “*dying god*” concept of Frazer (Brisch 2008: 2; Frankfort 1948b: 287). Relied heavily on Jacobsen’s reconstruction of kingship³⁴² in ancient Mesopotamia (Jacobsen 1943: 159-172), Frankfort opposed to the *Myth and ritual school* theories by judging Egyptian kingship as a more cosmic one in comparison with its Mesopotamian equivalent (Wengrow 1999: 597-613; Hill, Jones, Morales 2013: 5).³⁴³ It was the cosmic, sacred character of the Egyptian kingship which, according to Frankfort, could cause serious confusions towards our modern attempts to understand and interpret the ancient evidence relative with kingship (Hill, Jones, Morales 2013: 3). In order to avoid such misunderstandings, Frankfort introduced the idea of the distinction of the political and cosmic role of kingship whereas he favored the later.

That de facto endorsement of the cosmic view of Egyptian kingship by Frankfort caused a fierce reaction, mainly expressed by Posener (1956; 1960) who presented a deliberate skepticism towards the divinity of the king. Posener started to investigate the human aspects of the Pharaoh by focusing primarily on the changing image of the king in the literature of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. According to him, the previous studies towards kingship developed inside an ideological and historical framework. Hence, they revealed a variation on themes regarding the divinity and humanity of the Pharaoh (O’Connor and Silverman 1995: xxiv). Subsequently, Posener extended his line of thinking in aspects relative to the divine nature of the king (Posener 1960). After a penetrating analysis of religious, historical and literary texts, he gave emphasis on how different the king was presented from gods.

³⁴¹ More recently, Frazer’s theories on kingship experienced a revival also in anthropological and Africanist literature, see Schubla 2005; de Heusch 2005b.

³⁴² Nowadays rejected by the majority of the scholars due to its lack of evidence. In addition the development of new notions towards power during the very early periods of state formation in Egypt and Near East worked deterently towards the rejection of Jacobsen’s theory, see for example Yoffee 2004.

³⁴³ Frankfort views towards kingship correspondent with the ones Assyriologists adopted during the early, middle and late 20th century. The cosmic aspects of kingship have been treated by Assyriologists as a mode of legitimization, a simple hyperbole or were contrasted with non-cosmic kingship, see Postgate 1995: 395-411, Kraus 1974: 235-62 and Labat 1939 respectively.

The dilemma created influenced the development of literature which treated the cosmic and political aspects of kingship as separate facets of the same institution, without attempting to privilege one over the other (Lorton 1979: 460-65; Ibid. 1986: 53-62; Charpin 2004). Fundamental in this regard was the work of Kantorowitz, *The king's two bodies* (Kantorowitz 1957). In his work, Kantorowitz perceived kingship as a mixture of mortal and divine elements, the king and his office consecutively. While he was focused more on how political and cosmic aspects of kingship could co-exist, he also attempted to explore the ways in which the king maintained and changed his relationships with the divine realm.³⁴⁴

From the examination of the ability of the king to respond to social, religious and political concerns with both physical and transcendental powers (Beattie 1968; Feeley-Harnik: 1985) to the inspection of the nature of his office (Mann 1986; Morris 2010), the studies towards the institution of kingship offered a remarkable flexibility. Aspects such as the king's mission (Young 1966; Morris 2010), his royal divinity in general (Quigley 2005; Feeley-Harnik 1985), his royal divinity in Egypt (O'Connor and Silverman 1995) and Mesopotamia (Brisch 2008) as his role as a mediator among human beings and gods (Geertz 1980) have been studied comprehensively.

The agenda seems endless if we add in the several contributions mentioned above those towards the king's historical role (Hornung 1957), his legitimization (Otto 1969), his divinity as presented in the iconographic evidence (Wildung 1973; Habachi 1969; Radwan 1985), his position (Goedicke 1960) or the cult of his Ba (Bell 1985; Ibid. 1986). In addition, various aspects of kingship and queenship³⁴⁵ have also been studied, that is, among others, the general characterization of kingship and its origins (O'Connor & Silverman 1995; Baines 1995a; Ibid., 1995b; Silverman 1995), the connection of cosmos and ideology with the institution in Egypt and the Near East (Hill, Jones & Morales 2013), the definition of kingship through the king himself (Silverman 1995), the concept of kingship (Windus-Staginsky 2006; Gundlach 1998; Redford 1995; Barta 1975; Goedicke 1960), its nature (Silverman 1991; Goedicke 1986; Barta 1978), the royal titular of the Pharaoh (Leprohon 2013; Leprohon 2010), and the institution and character of queenship (Troy 1986). All of these studies created a solid base towards how kingship shaped in Egypt and the Near East as the

³⁴⁴ Such studies have been attempted also for the Ancient Near East, see Jones 2005; Machinist 2006.

³⁴⁵ An aspect which is still lacking of a comprehensive analysis.

way the development of the institution affected the imperial policies Egypt followed in the Levant during the New Kingdom period and the period of Amarna.

The conditions shaped due to external factors prior to the ascension of the Eighteenth Dynasty dictated its rulers to regard an ancestral house of the past much more favored for reasons of legitimation and consolidation of the monarchy (Redford 1995: 157). The preceding Second Intermediate Period challenged two of the most fundamental concepts of kingship, the concept of “*sonship*” and the purity of the mythological descent of the god-king (Redford 1995: 157-158).

King lists such as that of the Turin (Papyrus Turin 19874 verso) recorded several kings whose reign was ephemeral (Ryholt 2004: 135-155; Redford 1986: 165-202). Furthermore, their recorded status was different than that of the offspring, highlighting this way the degradation of “*sonship*” from an elementary aspect of kingship³⁴⁶ to a hierarchical term which simply deferred to the highest authority on earth (Von Beckerath 1956; Redford 1995: 158). In addition, the occupation of the Egyptian throne by foreigners who rarely made any attempt to acculturate themselves in the Egyptian customs and way of life desecrated kingship on its core (Redford 1995: 157-158).

It was the mythological descent of the god-king who lawfully inherited Egypt and dominion over foreign lands, not a foreign ruler whose right to accession was based on his relationship with his human ancestors (Redford 1986: 199-201; *Ibid.*, 1970). Such an unorthodox concept of kingship could never be accepted by the rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty due to reasons of ideology and theological justification of the institution (Redford 1995: 159; *Ibid.*, 1986: 199-201; *Ibid.*, 1970). As a result, another ancestral house was regarded with much more favor, that of the Twelfth Dynasty. As a result, Middle Kingdom concepts were copied by the Pharaohs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (Redford 1995: 159).³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ According to the Egyptian ideology towards kingship, the Pharaoh was considered as the incarnation of Horus and his predecessor, the dead king, was associated with Osiris, the main deity of the afterlife. Each King was considered as the son of his predecessor and as a result the line of Kings was considered unbroken since the beginning of time, see Bard 1999: 495. Any anomaly in the line of succession could be disastrous for Egypt and bring chaos on its interior.

³⁴⁷ Amenhotep I's mimesis of Middle Kingdom models in sculpture motifs and inscriptions is indicative, see Redford 1967: 78, *Ibid.*, 1995: 159-160.

The Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs gave great significance on aspects of kingship strongly related to god Amun (Redford 1995: 163).³⁴⁸ Due to religious and kingship dogmas which perceived Amun as the king of the gods and Pharaoh as the Horus of the living, the king was fathered by the god and kingship on earth constituted a symbolic representation of kingship in heaven (Kemp 1989: 197-200). This affiliation was demonstrated through the process of the selection of the king by Amun or Re as his representative on earth (Redford 1995:163).³⁴⁹ Hence, the basic concept of kingship and cosmos consisted of a ruling dyad which it's unequal members, the Pharaoh on earth, and the sun, the high god in heaven, ruled the cosmos.³⁵⁰

The placement of the king into an earthly realm as the role he had to fulfill towards the creation of the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom were strengthened his position and increased his power during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Redford 1984: 16; Ibid., 1986). So far, the Nubian, Asian and Libyan neighbors of Egypt constituted only a sphere of Egyptian influence. It was made up by inferior people whose lands were subject of easy conquest and exploitation by Egypt. It became Pharaoh's duty to assure that "*the fear of Horus be placed in the foreign lands*" and foreigners duty to act supportively towards Egypt by obeying the orders of Maat and stay "*in the water of the Pharaoh*" (Redford 1984: 16; Ibid., 1986).

Considerations as such though were not an invention of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The events which led to the collapse of the Old Kingdom favored the exercise of force by the Pharaoh. Furthermore, they cloaked any effort for dominion under a dogma which perceived any attempt of expansion as the ability of the Pharaoh to expand his homeland and his frontiers always forward and through the merit which was inherited to him by the gods (Blumenthal 1970: 187-189; Redford 1995: 165).

³⁴⁸ For the rising power of Amun during the New Kingdom see Haring 2013: 607-638; Troy 2009: 123-182.

³⁴⁹ Indicative towards the process of selection are several texts on which "*Amun-Re had chosen the King*" (Urk. IV, 553, 1359, 1722) and "*elevated him among millions*" (Urk. IV, 1722) because "*He (Amun) loved him more than any other King*" (Urk. IV, 162, 553, 554, 1359, 1552, 1686). In addition, Amun selected the King in order to "*guard Egypt*" (Urk. IV, 361), "*to perform what his Ka desires*" (Urk. IV, 1324), "*to direct the common people*" (Urk. IV, 1722) and "*to rule what the sun-disk encircles*" (Urk. IV, 1667, 1702).

³⁵⁰ Indicative towards that direction are the several texts on which "*the unique one is in heaven and the second upon earth*" (Urk. IV, 15) and the ones according to which "*the sun-god art in heaven, illuminating the earth while he (Amenhotep III) is upon earth, exercising the kingship*" (Urk. IV, 1676).

Such a change in attitude justified the punishment of the “*wrongdoer*” foreigners by the Pharaoh during the Middle Kingdom and turned him into the “*one (ponentrate) who acts*” (*sh̄m-ir.f*), (Blumenthal 1970: 189-198; Redford 1995: 165). In addition, it found solid ground in Egyptian mythology. The actions of the king were justified through the recourse to the topos of Horus’s championing of his father (Redford 1995: 166). Under that perception, the violent behavior of the king towards foreigners found an equivalent to the archetypal actions of god, his father (Redford 1995: 166). Hence, Eighteenth Dynasty rulers found an ideological canvas ready to impress their warlike exploits as their Universalist ambitions abroad. It was the expulsion of the Hyksos which created all the circumstances for the explosion of such imperialist ideas (Redford 1995: 166).

The Theban reaction against the Hyksos and the events followed the termination of the Second Intermediate Period gave to the Pharaohs of the Late Seventeenth and the Early Eighteenth Dynasty a similar role with the one their predecessors had during the Middle Kingdom. During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, the king was presented as the rescuer of Egypt, a mighty warlord whose strength was unsurpassed and the fear and awe for him expanded to the crest of the world (Redford 1967: 37; Ibid. 1995: 166). The foreigners were planning to destroy Egypt, gathered rebellious in countless numbers and they acted as the instruments of chaos. The only thing that Pharaoh had to do was to attack in order to “*save Egypt in the breach*”³⁵¹ and to march forward “*in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt*”³⁵², a phrase which becomes the banner of the Egyptian imperialism of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Redford 1984: 16).

Despite the fact that the actions of the Pharaoh were justified by the gods and carried divine sanction, there were examples on which god’s help towards the Egyptian dominion over foreigners seldom alluded. In the two of the Kamose’s stelae mentioned on 3.1 the help of the gods was mentioned only in the stereotyped description of the start of the campaign (Stele I, line 2; 10) while he (Kamose) was the one “*who punishes crimes*” (Stela II, line 24), “*the hot breath*” which terrifies the enemies (Stela II, line 26) and the one who “*seizes the land by force*” (Stela I, line

³⁵¹ Urk. IV. 1230.

³⁵² Urk. IV, 647-756.

35).³⁵³ Respectively, Thutmose I was the one who took the decision to “*wipe out civil strife throughout the lands and to stem the influx from foreign parts*”³⁵⁴, that who undertake his campaign in Syria in order to “*slake his heart’s thirst throughout the foreign lands*”³⁵⁵ and he who “*has captured the limits of the land in its entirety, he has trodden its ends in might and victory, seeking a fight, but he found no one who could stand up to him*”.³⁵⁶ That proposed image of a warrior Pharaoh, constructed by the mighty deeds of the early Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs against the enemies of Egypt and enhanced by the feeling of independency which emanated from their boasts, introduced the element of the “*performing athlete*” in the Egyptian kingship of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Decker 1971; Ibid., 1984; Edel 1979; Redford 1995: 167).

By broadcasting the mighty deeds of the warrior king throughout Egypt and the empire, the Pharaohs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty consolidated their dominion and strengthen their position. In addition, an ideological mechanism which perceived punishment and admonishment of the foreigners as the profound solution in order chaos being expelled from Egypt and Maat triumph was adopted and justified by the gods. Hence, Pharaoh’s position was strengthened, the institution of kingship stood on solid ground and expansion over foreign lands became one of the primary duties of the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In such effort though, the political needs of the era as the theological changes adopted by Akhenaten created new dimensions.

The consolidation of the Egyptian empire during the New Kingdom as the elevation of the figure of the Pharaoh to an imperial symbol during the early and the middle Eighteenth Dynasty created several associations of his role with the sun disc itself. That occurred through the connections the sun had with the king: Sun-god fathered him, chose him and installed him. In addition, he was the one who gave the right for Universalist claims on behalf of the king, claims that represented vividly in the imperial phraseology used in the texts of the period as in the iconography of the period. Any association of the figure of the king with that of an empire builder though did not meant to last until the end of the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

³⁵³ Translation after Habachi 1972.

³⁵⁴ Urk. IV. 8.

³⁵⁵ Urk. IV. 9.

³⁵⁶ Urk. IV. 85.

Despite the fact that the campaigns of Ahmose and Kamose created high hopes for Egypt's ability to expand northwards, these were not set the norms of kingly behavior. Hatshepsut's and Thutmose II's foreign policies kept the trade routes open and the victories of Thutmose I and III expanded the frontiers to unassuming limits, they created also new stresses never maintained before. Frontiers could not expand further as the experience of Kadesh demonstrated. In addition, the political needs of the era dictated the adoption of means foreign to Egyptian ideology.

Such adaptation proved vital in order for the country being able to communicate with its Near Eastern peers. Furthermore, it introduced internal changes such as the development of a bureaucratic elite compromised by priests and military men functioning more independently than their predecessors and created a situation which challenged the king's role and power. While concepts such as these of juridical oracle, restoration of temples and reaffirmation of the position of the king in the cult occurred as efforts on behalf of the institution against the weakening of aspects such as its divinity, something radical in order the position of the king reaffirmed needed. Akhenaten thought to have the proper answers in order to create a shock which led to a reaffirmation of kingship but a return to previous dogmas of royal ideology and expansion highlighted the problems occurred in general as in kingship in particular during the period of his reign.

During the reign of Akhenaten Egypt faced in its interior a situation which had no precedent. Its polytheistic system was overturned and the Atenist dogma was introduced (Assmann 2004: 179-191; Grimal 2005: 228; Murnane 1994: 1; Reeves 2001; Redford 1984). For almost two decades a new religious belief dominated the traditional Egyptian religious thought. In order to be established and to suppress a tradition which was dominant in Egypt for almost 1000 years, Akhenaten ignited a religious change which marked the whole era (Bard 1999: 57; Reeves 2001).

The heretic Pharaoh decided to cut off all the bonds that connected him with Thebes and Amun and built a new city which was dedicated to Aten's cult (Kemp 2002: 266; Redford 1984: 142; Shaw 2003: 269), probably in order to focus all the attention on himself and his father Amun (Redford 1995: 175). It was inside such a theological change where the image of the king transformed radically. The king became solely a selection of the sun god (Assman 1989: 66). He was pious, he never

failed to make his plans a reality such as the kings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty did and as a universal ruler he dealt with its international peers who were of equal rank with him (Assman 1989: 66). Such a change though was not free of bonds.

The previous image of the Pharaoh was that of the son of Horus, a mighty king who led his army and stepped into the role of the “strong-man”. That image never adopted by Akhenaten (Assman 1989: 66-67). In addition, in contrast to preceding reigns, the link with god was significantly strengthened by the priestly and didactic functions of the monarch which adopted. Such an image won a reputation for desisting military activity, a significant failure in bringing success in Asia and needed to be overturned. The rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty and especially Ramesses II made that happen quite emphatically.

Despite the fact that the Ramesside period was considered as a period of prosperity, it was founded on politically shaky ground (Murnane 1995: 185-220; Brand 2005: 23). While the propagandistic efforts of the rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty succeeded on creating an impression of reigns characterized by strong and unquestioned authority (O’Connor and Silvermann 1995; Gardiner 1961: 246; Wilson 1956: 239-240), it seems that changes in royal ideology occurred in order to meet the historical and political circumstances analyzed in chapter 1. The situation created after the succession of Akhenaten by Tutankhamun as the premature death of the young ruler created tension inwards and outwards. The country ended with no male heir to succeed the diseased king and the chaos created made Egypt an easy pray of the other competing powers of the area. A solution needed to be found quickly and the ascension of Horemheb on Egypt’s throne proved a *deus ex machina* (Leprohon 1985: 93-104).

While such a succession gave to monarchy its effectiveness though, it created serious breaches in the royal ideology which wanted a constant succession line passed from father to son (Murnane 1995: 186; Brand 2005: 25-26). Hence, changes in order that line of kings being legitimized needed and differentiations on royal ideology seemed the most profound solution in order monarchy being consolidated and legitimized once more (Murnane 1995: 186; Brand 2005: 25-26). Ramesside age proved pioneering in such concepts with royal piety and divinization of the image of the king being of primary concern (Price 2011: 403-412).

Royal ideology of the early Ramesside age gave emphasis on certain aspects with king's personal piety being one of them (Price 2011: 403-412; Brand 2005: 25).³⁵⁷ In order the king being able to legitimize its position and bypass problems which occurred by the fact that he was not a member of the previous lineage, an emphasis was given towards his piety (Price 2011: 403-412). This was expressed through:

- Vast building programs with temples dedicated to the gods.
- Vivid representation of the king in texts and reliefs as the one who performs benefactions and held a *do ut des* relationship with the gods (Price 2011: 403-412; Brand 2005: 25; *ibid.*, 1999: 23-22).
- The deliberate humiliation of the king in front of the gods, evident in several reliefs shown the king kneeling or bowing to the gods (Brand 2005: 25; *Ibid.*, 2000: 8-19).
- Through the role festivals such as the Opet held. Apart from royal piety, also a revival of the cult of divine kingship occurred (Brand 2000: 384-393).

That became evident especially on Seti I's monuments on which the king dedicated the monuments partly to the royal cult as in these of Ramesses II where the king was deified, reviving this way a style of kingship last seen under Amenhotep III (Brand 2005: 26; Johnson 1990: 34-42).

After Seti's death, Ramesses II was left to continue such a contradicting policy among royal piety and divinity of the image of the king. Although death worked as a "bridge" for the dead king in order to exceed the boundaries of the earthly ruler and become a deity (Price 2011: 404), images of Ramesses were worshipped during his own lifetime in several occasions. Such adoration was primarily expressed in the form of colossal statues which took several specific names which separated these "cult colossi" from the other types of royal statuary (Price 2011: 406).³⁵⁸ The colossi were addressed not only to the Egyptian elite or solely to the gods but also to a more general audience. To that direction leads us the lack of connection between their cult and the worship of the divine entities within the temple, a place which only the esteemed members of the Egyptian society had access (Baines 1994: 85; Price 2011:

³⁵⁷ The period on the threshold of Ramesside age was often characterized as the age of personal piety, see Assman 1984a, *Ibid.*, 1984b; *Ibid.*, 1989; Brunner 1982.

³⁵⁸ Through the power the process of naming had to create individual identities, see Allen 1988: 36.

407). Hence, the colossi operated independently of the sacral domain without having any interference from the state in the way their cult was worshiped. Their purpose was the creation of a distinct divinized royal image of the king (Price 2011: 403-4). Through colossi, the divinized image of the king was mobilized and represented as something separate from the name and the iconography of the living king, worthy of legitimate adoration even by the king himself (Price 2011: 405). In addition, that divinized counterpart of him was worshipped also by other individuals.

Apart from the statue cults of Ramesses II, other forms of adoration depicting him in the form of a god were used for the deified king. The evidence from the temple of Abu Simbel is indicative. Although the temple is described as dedicated to Ra-Harakhti (Habachi 1969: 2; PM VII: 95) it seems that it was dedicated to Amun-of-Ramesses, one of the representations of the deified king (Habachi 1969: 2). On the walls of the temple, Amen-Re and Ramesses II were associated in a variety of scenes³⁵⁹ with Ramesses being assimilated to the gods and holding the main position in the temple (Habachi 1969: 2). Scenes depicting Ramesses making offerings to his deified self, especially those showing the king officiating before the sacred barks suggested the adoration of Ramesses II as a god during his lifetime.

Apart from the motif of “auto-adoration” of Ramesses II as a god during his lifetime also many prominent members of his family were associated with his divinized counterpart. That association took place through their depiction on his colossi. The evidence derived from the four colossal statues of Ramesses II in the Great temple of Abu Simbel is indicative. Prominent members of the king’s family such as his wives Nefertari and Isitnofret, his mother Tuya and many of his sons and daughters together are sculpted between the lower legs of the colossi or flanked them (PM VII: 100-101; Xekalaki & El Khodary 2011: 566). Through their depiction on his colossi, the wives and the daughters of the king were associated with his divinized counterpart and obtained an elevated status. That status was reflected in the titles of both the native Egyptian and the foreign wives of the Pharaoh had. It was such changes in the status of the king which affected the policies Egypt applied northwards in the Levant as we will see in chapters 4 and 5.

³⁵⁹ At four places of the façade and in the doorway of the tomb.

4] Theoretical background in the Egyptian notion of abandonment

The constant changes in the political situation shaped around the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age created an impact in the way Egypt interacted with its Near Eastern peers. A genuine international culture emerged under the successful campaigns of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I and III in the Levant, stretching the borders of the Egyptian empire northwards (Khurt 1998: 339; Aissaoui 2011: 5). Such campaigns created opportunities for contacts between New Kingdom Egypt and its Asiatic peers, contacts which were placed inwards under the veil of theological/ideological norms indissolubly connected with imperialist ambitions on behalf of Egypt as with several plans of financial sustaining of the empire.³⁶⁰

Despite any controversy towards the actual presence of the Egyptians in Western Asia (Bryan 2000a: 71-72; *Ibid.*, 2002: 223-225; Redford 1992: 153-154), Egypt created an empire with significant interests in the area (Muller 2011: 236-251; Hoffmeier 2004: 121-122). Such interests were mainly dictated by security and economic reasons (Muller 2011: 236-251): the Levant acted as a buffer zone among Egypt and the other territorial forces developed in the Near East during the Late Bronze Age. In addition, keeping the trade routes open created economic benefits and a solid base towards the consolidation of monarchy and the prevention of upheavals in the social web of New Kingdom Egypt (Muller 2011: 236-251). Such needs forged the ways Egypt imposed control over the area as the ways the country interacted with its Near Eastern peers.

As demonstrated in the previous chapters, Egypt became able to create a pattern of interaction among separate political entities. That pattern was based on imperialist ambitions. It was justified inwards through the use of a model (see 2.3) which allowed the development of a network of political and economic interactions between territorial states and vassals different in power, means, and attitude towards Egypt. At the same time, the same model placed any imperialistic ambitions Egypt had under the veil of ideological/theological implications which favored Egypt over the other participants in order to justify such policies inwards and reinforce monarchy. The needs created through the course of the Late Bronze Age though dictated changes in the ways Egypt interacted with its Near Eastern peers.

³⁶⁰ See the model presented on 2.3.

The rise of cosmopolitanism during the reign of Pharaohs such as Amenhotep III, the political needs created under problematic reigns such as these of Akhenaten's and Tutankhamun's, the everchanging geopolitical factors in the area, the changes in theological perspectives during the Amarna Period³⁶¹ as the creation of a system of diplomacy maintained under the rules of equality and reciprocity made Egypt to reconsider its grand strategy in the area. Such reconsideration was vital in order to become part of a system which could maximize the profit without having enormous costs in sources and manpower. In order Egypt being accepted as a latecomer in a system with rules forged hundreds of years ago, it needed to adopt differences in attitude as in ways of communication.

In this chapter, we present the change in the ways Egypt interacted with its Near Eastern peers as the reasons which led to the adoption of policies more reciprocal than ever before. Through the adoption of theories taken from the field of International Relations as through the examination of the political system of the Near East and its infiltration in New Kingdom Egypt, we explain why policies different than the model proposed on 2.3 were chosen by the Pharaohs of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty in order Egypt being able to dialect with its international peers. In addition, through such adaptations, we explain the effort made by Egypt to be accepted in the system of international diplomacy shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. In such a task, our main source will be a corpus of letters discovered in modern Tell el-Amarna during the 19th century A.C., the so-called Amarna Letters.

³⁶¹ From the so called "classical" conceptions to the "Amarna" conception, see the analysis made in chapter 3.4.

4.1] The Amarna Letters

The clay tablets discovered on modern Tell el-Amarna constituted part of the diplomatic correspondence developed among Egypt and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age (Bryce 2003; Moran 1992; Rainey 2015; Mynarova 2007). Written in Peripheral Akkadian on their majority (Myranova 2007: 42-52), the letters revealed the existence of a system of “*Oriental Diplomacy*”³⁶² which was maintained through intensive and sophisticated relations based on customary procedures (Rainey 2015: 1-2; Moran 1992: xiii-xxxix; Liverani 2000: 15).

Although until the end of the nineteenth century A.C. nothing similar was known for other periods of history of the ancient Near East, the discovery of analogous corpora of texts found in sites such as Boghazkoi (Winckler 1907: 1-59; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989), Ugarit (Nougayrol 1956; Beckman 1999) and Alalakh (Wiseman 1953) favored their differentiation under labels which demonstrated their chronological limits as their origin. In addition, the discovery of archives consisted of cuneiform tablets which were dated around the Eighteenth century B.C. (Mari archive)³⁶³ and earlier, during the twenty-fourth century B.C. (Ebla archive)³⁶⁴, suggested the existence of a formalized system of diplomacy not only during the Late Bronze Age but also throughout the entire course of the Bronze Age Period (Munn-Rankin 1956; Liverani 2000: 15). Nevertheless, it was with the discovery of the Amarna Letters that the truly existence of such a network revealed in full detail.

The 387 tablets were dated inside a time frame which started with the reign of Amenhotep III (1390-1352 B.C.) and probably ended with the death of Tutankhamun (1336-1327 B.C.) (Cohen and Westbrook 2000: 6; Moran 1992, 6; *Ibid.*, 2001: 66). Written in Peripheral Akkadian in their majority³⁶⁵ (Cohen and Westbrook 2000, 9; Moran 1992: xviii; *Ibid.*, 2001: 65; Myranova 2007: 42-52; Rainey 2015: 13), the letters presented an autotype form.

³⁶² This was the first title under which the corpus of the Amarna Letters presented in the English-speaking world, see Bezold 1893. During its first publication emphasis was given to the similarities presented between ancient and modern procedures of diplomacy.

³⁶³ On the international relations of the period see Munn-Rankin 1956: 68-110; Zaccagnini 1983: 189-253.

³⁶⁴ For the famous treaty between Ebla and Abarsal see Sollberger 1980: 129-155; cf. Edzard 1992: 187-217

³⁶⁵ Apart from EA 15, EA 24 and EA 31-32 which were written in Assyrian, Hurrian and Hittite respectively.

At the beginning of every letter an address is placed and is directed to the scribe which is going to read the letter to his king (Moran 1992: xxii; Mynarova 2007: 53-66)³⁶⁶:

*(1-3) Speak to Kadashman Enlin, King of the land of Karaduniash, my brother! Thus Nibmu'are'a, the great king, king of the land of Egypt, your brother...*³⁶⁷

Afterwards, a salutation consisted of two parts is placed. In the first part the writer of the letter mentioned about his situation:

(3) With me all it's well; may be well with you...

That part seems to be optional because of its omission in some letters (Moran 1992: xxii).³⁶⁸ The second part was never omitted and it was used to express wishes from the sender to the addressee (Moran 1992: xxiii; Mynarova 2007: 53-66):

*(4-6) With your house, with your wives, with your sons, with your senior officials, with your horses and your chariotry, and in the midst of your territories may all be exedingly well...*³⁶⁹

The main body of the letter was not stereotyped regarding its form as its sender/addressee (Moran 1992: xxiii; Mynarova 2007: 53-66).

Due to its context, the diplomatic correspondence from Amarna can be classified into several categories (Moran 1992: xv-xvi).

CONTEXT

Myths and Epics

CLASSIFICATION

EA 340, 356-59, 375

³⁶⁶ That part consisted of two forms: on its first variation the scheme followed was that of "say to Pn. Thus Pn2." On that occasion there was no implication of superiority of the status of the sender in comparison to that of the addressee. On its second variation the form followed was that of "Thus PN. Say to Pn2". That short of address was present in three of the 382 letters found in Tell el-Amarna, two from Egypt (EA 5, EA 31) and one from Boghazkoi (EA 41) and implied that the sender had a status if not superior, equal with that of the addressee. The limitation of the use of the second form in three letters, two from Egypt and one from Boghazkoi, a Hittite possession, suggests that Egypt used every way possible in order to reflect its superiority towards its Near Eastern peers. The presence of a concealed version of the second form of address in EA 14 (Egypt) and EA 32 (Alasiya) is probably due to the nature of the letters (gift inventories and trading reports) and the inexperience in the way the diplomatic procedure maintained shown by some of the members (Assyria, Alasiya) of the international society shaped during the Late Bronze Age.

³⁶⁷ EA 1 Amarna Letter, Translation after Rainey 2015: 59.

³⁶⁸ See the Assyrian Letters EA 15-16.

³⁶⁹ EA 1 Amarna Letter, Translation after Rainey 2015: 59.

Syllabaries	EA 348, 350, 379
Lexical Texts	EA 351-54, 373,368
God Lists	EA 374
Tales	EA 341
Amulet	EA 355
Undetermined Content	EA 342-47, 349, 360-61, 372, 376-77, 380-81

Table a: Amarna Letters categorized by context, after Moran 1992: xii.

From the 387 tablets, the 350 create a corpus of letters and inventories between Egypt and its neighbors (Moran 1992: xv; Rainey 2015: 16-32), a diplomatic correspondence which can be dissociated into two separate categories.³⁷⁰

In the letters of the first category, Egypt’s neighbors were addressed more or less under terms of equality through letters exchanged between “great kings” and “brothers”. In the letters of the second category, Egypt’s neighbors were addressed as vassals. It was in the first category of letters where several breaches of protocol, aspects of abandonment as the presence of reciprocal and equivocal relations on behalf of both parties made their appearance as we will see in 4.2 as in detail in chapter 5.

<u>STATE</u>	<u>LETTER No.</u>
Babylonia	EA 1-14
Assyria	EA 15-16
Mitanni	EA 17, 19-30
Arzawa	EA 31-32
Alasia	EA 33-40
Hatti	EA 41-44

Table b: Amarna Letters among Pharaoh and other Great Kings

³⁷⁰ That distinction was made first by J.A. Knudtzon, see Knudtzon 1915; Moran 1992: xvi. Contra Cohen and Westbrook 2000: 6 which categorized differently.

4.2] Letters among “Great kings”

EA 1

BME 29784

Bibliography: Bezold-Budge 1892; Knudtzon 1915: 60-67; Moran 1992: 1-5; Hess 1993: 95, 117-118; Zewi 1995: 667; Liverani 1999: 344-347; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 58-65; II: 1323-1326; Cochavi-Rainey 1993: 75-84.

EA 1 constituted part of the royal correspondence among Amenhotep III and Kadasman-Enlil, his Babylonian counterpart (Hess 1993:95, 117-118; Mynarova 2007: 103, 129). While the sub corpus of the “*royal*” letters of Egyptian origin survived within the Amarna archive is extremely limited, EA 1 is one of the three letters where the Egyptian king addressed his “*equivalent*” royal partner (lines 1-6) (Mynarova 2007: 103).³⁷¹

The letter consists of the Egyptian reply to Kadasman-Enlil’s request of learning about his sister’s welfare in Egypt as to his complaint regarding the lack of royal diplomatic gifts from Egypt. Although any textual evidence containing the diplomatic correspondence between Amenhotep III and Kadasman-Enlil prior to EA 1 is completely missing from the Amarna archive, the implications for such in the former are quite obvious. Apart from the complaints on behalf of Babylonia and the answers given on behalf of Egypt, it became obvious that Amenhotep III took Kadasman-Enlil’s sister in marriage while he requested also a daughter from him, highlighting the custom of the renewal of the diplomatic alliance using a diplomatic marriage every time the head of one of the two states involved in the diplomatic procedure changed (lines 10-17) (Schulman 1979). Furthermore, in EA 1 we attest saving-face efforts from both parts involved.

While Moran saw the use of different titles at the salutation³⁷² part of EA 1 as not a demonstrative of the superiority of Amenhotep III over Kadasman-Enlil (Moran 1992: 3, note 2), it is true that the exact legal and political implications of the use of

³⁷¹The others are these of EA 5, EA 14, see Moran 1992: 10-11. The letters to and from Arzawa (EA 31-32) were considered in this study as letters among Egypt and an independent state and not as communication among equivalent royal partners, see Mynarova 2006: 119-120.

³⁷²*LUGAL KUR* (king of) for Kadasman Enlil and *LUGAL GAL* (Great King)/*LUGAL KUR* (king of) for Amenhotep III, see Mynarova 2007: 186; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 58.

the “*Great King*” title are not clear.³⁷³ As a result, the use of such a title by Amenhotep III could offer a margin for a different interpretation: the scarcity of the letters of Egyptian origin as the fundamental differences in the notion of kingship among the parties involved might probably hide an effort from behalf of Egypt, for a demonstration of superiority over Babylonia well hidden inside an opening passage which reflected aspects of reciprocity and equality among the participants.

Apart from Egypt, it was also Babylonia which tried to highlight its elevated status towards the other participants of the diplomatic procedure shaped in the southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age, namely the vassal states. The concern of Kadasman-Enlil about the identity of the women his messengers saw next to the king, probably “*the daughter of some poor man, or of some Kaskean, or the daughter of some Hanigalbatean, or perhaps someone from Ugarit*”³⁷⁴, all vassal states with status subordinate than that of the Great Kings of the “*Great Powers club*”, highlighted the demonstration of an elevated status different than a vassal. Implications for the acceptance of a bride price as for the participation of Egypt in foreign customs as such of the pouring of oil at the head of the bride on behalf of Egypt were also attested on EA 1 (Rainey 2015: 60-65).

EA 2

VAT 148 + VAT 2706

Bibliography: Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: nos 2. and 5; Knudtzon 1915: 66-69; Moran 1992: 2; Hess 1993: 95, 117-118; Liverani 1999: 347; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 66-67; II: 1326.

EA 2 is another letter of the royal correspondence exchanged between Amenhotep III and Kadasman-Enlil (Hess 1993:95, 117-118; Mynarova 2007: 128). The ascension of Kadasman-Enlil to the throne of Babylon, implied in the context of EA 1, dictated the renewal of any previous diplomatic agreement between Egypt and Babylonia with a diplomatic marriage and the purpose of EA 2 was exactly that: the

³⁷³Its use in the Old Babylonian period implied significant status while its fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C. use might be a Hittite innovation, see Starke 1977: 288; Moran 1992: 3, note 2 with references.

³⁷⁴Translation after Moran 1992: 1.

acceptance, on behalf of Kadasman-Enlil, of the marriage proposal made in the communication prior to EA 1 and EA 2 by Amenhotep III for a Babylonian princess.

Despite the fact that the general outlines the Babylonian king sets towards the completion of a diplomatic marriage seemed much simpler than the ones Egypt sets in EA 4, analyzed below and connected indissolubly with aspects of the Egyptian ideology, an effort for keeping an elevated status is visible. The daughters of Kadasman-Enlil were available but obviously, they were not given to anyone: “*Their husbands must be a king or of royal blood*”.³⁷⁵ It is through that attestation where Kadasman-Enlil probably wanted to stress the high standards of his dynastic customs (Moran 1992: 6, note 3), paving the way for what was meant to follow next in the letter: a proposal for a diplomatic marriage between him and an Egyptian princess, an act which the Egyptian ideology perceived as abomination (Schulman 1979: 180).

EA 3

CG 4743

Bibliography: Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: no. 1; Knudtzon 1915: 68-71; Moran 1992: 7-8; Hess 1993: 95, 117-118; Liverani 1999: 347-348; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 68-71; II: 1326-1327.

EA 3 consists of the Babylonian response to a previous request of Amenhotep III for a diplomatic marriage. Despite the fact that the letter confirmed a diplomatic marriage among the royal houses of Amenhotep III and Kadasman-Enlil and revealed some of the aspects followed towards its completion by the parties involved³⁷⁶, it is important also for another reason: it reveals a possible crack towards the acceptance of the diplomatic system of Amarna as a genuine sophisticated and completely effective one.

Diplomacy, on its modern sense, consists of three fundamental aspects: a) immunity of the envoy, b) continuation of communication among the parties involved and c) well-qualified professional personnel (Berridge 2000: 212-213). Despite the fact that the use of high qualified personnel in the Amarna Letters is quite

³⁷⁵Translation after Moran 1992: 6.

³⁷⁶Such as the constitution of a delegation which would travel to the country of the princess involved in the diplomatic marriage in order to fetch her, see Moran 1992: 7, lines 4-12.

undisputed³⁷⁷, one cannot say the same for the other two and EA 3 stands as an excellent example.

A reading knowledge of Akkadian was required in order the message being understood in such a way as to convey its authentic meaning.³⁷⁸ Such knowledge, on behalf of the kings, was not guaranteed at all. Hence, the only way these Great Kings had in order to communicate with each other was the messenger/interpreter himself or a delegation of messengers, agents who were authorized to represent their principals.³⁷⁹ Under this light, the complaint Kadasman-Enlil raised on EA 3 unveiled a possible flaw regarding our perception of the system of diplomacy maintained during the Late Bronze Age as identical with the one used nowadays.

“*When I sent a messenger to you, you have detained him for six years*”³⁸⁰, Kadasman-Enlil complained to Amenhotep III. It was that declaration on behalf of the Babylonians which revealed several breaches of the protocol over fundamental aspects of modern diplomacy, namely the immunity of the envoy from local jurisdiction and the continuity of contacts.

Immunity from local jurisdiction is one of the most fundamental aspects of modern diplomacy and this was not the case during the Late Bronze Age. Despite the illustrative way the dangers of the profit of the messenger described in “*the satire on the trades*”³⁸¹, these were not restricted only in the “*uncivilized*” Asiatics and the jeopardies of the journey. Local jurisdiction was also proved as an insuperable obstacle and messengers “*diplomatic passport*” couldn’t protect them from attacks from brigands, robbers and violent acts on behalf of local kinglets, city-state entities

³⁷⁷ See for example the praise by Tushratta on the Egyptian messengers on EA 20, EA 21 and EA 24.

³⁷⁸ Of course the meaning of a message could be interpreted wrongly by a messenger as it happened in EA 1.

³⁷⁹ Indicative towards that direction was the discussion among Aziru, the King of Amurru, with messengers from Hatti and Egypt regarding a future alliance, see Pritchard 1969: 251; Liverani 2001: 72. Apart from Aziru, an Assyrian letter describing the negotiation with the Hittites consisted one of the clearest cases where a messenger was given a complete *carte blanche*. In this letter the Hittite messenger holds in his purse a “*letter of peace*” and a “*letter of war*”, fully authorized to act on his will after he examines the intentions of the Assyrian king, see Lackenbacher 1982: 141-149.

³⁸⁰ Translation after Moran 1992: 7.

³⁸¹ “*The courier goes out to a foreign country, after he has made over his property to his children, being afraid of lions and Asiatics*”, translation after Simpson 2003: 431-437.

whose leaders acted as a third party of the diplomatic procedure maintained among the “*Great Powers club*” during the Late Bronze Age (Liverani 2001: 73).³⁸²

Turning the discussion to the Great Kings of the Late Bronze Age, while it is true that the rules of hospitality was generally followed on a messenger’s arrival at a court of a Great King no matter the content of his message³⁸³, problems of local jurisdiction occurred at his departure (Westbrook 2000: 30-32). Detains in the departure of the messengers was a frequent phenomenon in the Amarna Letters and as a result the continuation of contacts, another fundamental aspect of modern diplomacy, was frequently breached. Messengers who stayed static in a foreign court weren’t considered as permanent embassies and the only way to return home was either by their dismissal from their host himself or after the arrival of a new messenger, bearing a new message on his purse which probably contained complaints and a new proposal for a renewed alliance (Westbrook 2000: 30-32).

While the aforementioned difficulties in the communication among Great Kings seemed to our eye as a breach of protocol in fundamental aspects of diplomacy, we must always have in mind the peculiarities of such a system. It is true that if we judge the Amarna system of diplomacy using our modern standards it seemed crude to our eye. However, we must not overcome the fact that the rules of the game of diplomacy maintained during the Late Bronze Age among Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria, Babylon and the other local kinglets of the Near East were set a long time ago (Lafont 2001: 40).³⁸⁴ Detains in the departure of the messengers was part of the rules of the diplomatic game even since the age of Mari³⁸⁵ and the newcomers had to comply with the rules. While the Assyrian newcomers, motivated rather by commercial than political interests, found the detain of a messenger useless and costly in time and money³⁸⁶, their Egyptian counterpart detained the Babylonian messenger

³⁸²See for example lines 73-82 on EA 7 or EA 8, lines 8-21 on Moran 1992: 14, 16.

³⁸³See for example EA 3 where Kadasman Enlil informed Amenhotep III that his messengers “*have seen the house and the...and are pleased*”, translation after Moran 1992: 7 and EA 20 where Tuiserrata declared to Amenhotep III that he honored Mane and the troops who accompanied him, treated them with great distinction, see Moran 1992: 48.

³⁸⁴ Cf. for example the texts La 5.3 and La 3.1 inscribed in the famous “*stela of the vultures*” kept in Louvre, see Cooper 1986.

³⁸⁵The act of detaining the departure of the messenger during the Late Bronze Age could probably reflected an older practice recorded in the letters from Mari period. There the envoys were not permitted to leave without host’s permission, see Munn-Rankin 1956: 101; Berrigle 2000: 214.

³⁸⁶See EA 16, Moran 1992: 38-40.

for six years, using an accredited and generally accepted way for exploiting the psychological leverage that accompanied such an action. As a result, the complaint Kadasman-Enlil raised on EA 3 regarding his messengers can be perceived as the reflection of a trick of diplomacy the Egyptian side used in order to gain more from its Babylonian counterpart and not as a deviation from the accepted means of diplomacy (Jonsson 2000: 203-204). In the same spirit was Kadasman-Enlil's complaint towards the value of the diplomatic gifts he received from Egypt. By underlining his elevated status through the demonstration of his new palace and the invitation of Pharaoh himself to the grand openings, Kadasman-Enlil probably wanted to gain as much possible from Egypt, using in his turn psychology in reverse.³⁸⁷

EA 4

VAT 1657

Bibliography: Moran 1992: 8-7; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 72-75; II: 1327-1328.

The very fragmented nature of the salutation part of EA 4 caused serious problems in the exchange of conclusions towards the identities of the sender and the addressee of the letter. From its general context it seems that EA 4 was part of the diplomatic correspondence among kings of equal rank regarding the marriage of a foreign princess to Pharaoh³⁸⁸, probably Kadasmal-Enlil and Amenhotep III, and not between a Great King and a vassal (Moran 1992: 9; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, II: 1328). The significance of EA 4 lies in the fact that it constituted an unambiguous statement of Pharaoh's refusal to give one of his daughters as a bride to a foreign ruler, an effort for saving face with no great success.³⁸⁹

EA 4 was the capstone of an effort, on behalf of the Babylonians, for an Egyptian bride started since the moment EA 2 was sent in the Egyptian court. While in the latter Kadasman-Enlil simply paved the way for a proposal towards a diplomatic marriage between him and an Egyptian princess, in EA 4 we have a straight forward offer for a diplomatic marriage and complaints towards a previous

³⁸⁷For a social-psychological analysis of Amarna diplomacy as the strategic choices made on EA 1 and EA 3 from Amenhotep III and Kadasman-Enlil see Druckman and Guner 2000: 174-188.

³⁸⁸Contra Kuhne 1973: 56.

³⁸⁹Or with success inwards if we want to be accurate enough.

refusal, on behalf of the Pharaoh, for an Egyptian bride to the Babylonians. Since *“from time immemorial no daughter of the King of Egypt is given to anyone”*³⁹⁰, Kadasman-Enlil needed to find a way in order to surpass any obstacle the Egyptian ideology posed to such a union. And he proved himself quite creative: a solution to the problem could be a marital union between him and a woman from Egypt, even a commoner. *“Someone’s grown daughters, beautiful women, must be available. Send me a beautiful woman as if she were your daughter”*.³⁹¹ Still, the answer on behalf of Egypt was the same: a strict negation.

The refusal of the Pharaoh to give a woman of Egyptian origin to Kadasman-Enlil was bounded by tradition. The reason for that diplomatic snub lies in the ideology the Egyptians had towards foreigners, in other words, lie in reasons of internal state policy (Schulman 1979: 180). The Egyptian ideology related to foreigners proposed some sort of double standard in the interpretation of diplomatic marriage procedure: while Pharaoh was allowed to form diplomatic relationships using the ties of marriage, he was forbidden to give a woman of Egyptian origin to any foreigner as his wife in order to cement a diplomatic alliance (Schulman 1979: 180). That refusal on behalf of the Pharaoh was usually interpreted as a possible claim the Egyptian side raised regarding its stature as the leading power of the diplomatic system shaped among the members of the *“Great powers club”* during the Late Bronze Age. *“If the daughter of an Egyptian king were to be given in a marriage to a foreign ruler”* claimed Schulman, *“this would not only imply a loss of face and prestige for Egypt, but it would also, though intangibly, elevate such a foreign ruler to the level of Pharaoh”*.³⁹²

Among other important aspects such as the use of a foreign language (Peripheral Akkadian) by Pharaoh in order to communicate with his international peers, the participation of Egypt in foreign customs as the verbiage of Kinship, Schulman overlooked the fact that an act of diplomacy doesn’t mean the same for all the players involved neither nowadays nor during the Late Bronze Age (Meier 2000: 170). In a global cosmopolitan environment where the meaning of the words stripped their cultural moorings and the tools of diplomacy acquired a universal feature in

³⁹⁰Translation after Moran 1992: 8.

³⁹¹Translation after Moran 1992: 9.

³⁹²Cf. Schulman 1979: 191.

order to transcend specific cultures and attain a more generic utility, differentiation of interpretation from the parties involved is always the case.

While the acceptance, on behalf of the Pharaoh, of a marriage between a native Egyptian princess and a foreign Great King perceived by the Egyptian intelligentsia as a sign of submission, from the opposite perspective, that of the Great Kings of the Near East, giving a princess in a diplomatic marriage with the Pharaoh could easily be perceived as an expression of sovereignty. Marital bonds with an empire such as the Egyptian could be only beneficial and what best for the reinforcement of a diplomatic alliance with blood ties? At the end of the day, demands and negotiations were both parts of the game of diplomacy between kings of equal rank (Pintore 1978; Zaccagnini 1973; Meier 2010: 170) and the public denial of Pharaoh to give a daughter to the Babylonians could easily serve a double purpose: a) acting as a saving face effort inwards, fully complied with the restrictions the Egyptian ideology set even to the king himself and b) creating better conditions for the bargaining of a deal from position of strength outwards.

The other very important aspect of diplomacy that derived from EA 4 is the connection of the bride with gold, especially in lines 36-50. Kadasman-Enlil requested a prompt payment of a specific amount of gold in order to give his daughter in marriage to the Pharaoh. It seems that Kadasman-Enlil treated his daughter as means to gain as much gold as possible from Egypt. It is not strange to assume that she was treated as a “*gift*” in the practice of diplomatic marriage, as part of a further diplomatic procedure between “*equal*” kings.

EA 5

BME 29787 + CG 4744 [SR 4/12195/0]

Bibliography: Bezold-Budge 1892: no 4; Knudtzon 1915: 74-77; Moran 1992: 10-11; Hess 1993: 95, 117-118; Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: no. 17; Liverani 1999: 350-351; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 76-79; II: 1329-1330.

EA 5 is the second letter of Egyptian origin addressed by Amenhotep III to Kadasman-Enlil (Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, II: 1329). The letter consists of the Egyptian reply on the Babylonian request for gold and greeting gifts made on

EA 4 and attests the confirmation of a diplomatic marriage among the royal courts of Egypt and Babylonia. Once more, peculiarities regarding the use of titles made their appearance in a message addressed by the Egyptian king to his royal Babylonian counterpart: despite the fact that the use of the greeting formula and the verbiage of kinship implied equality and reciprocity among the sender and the addressee, the difference in the titles used by the Pharaoh as in the way the Babylonian king was addressed³⁹³ might declare an effort for a differentiation on status of behalf of Egypt same with that on EA 1.

EA 6

VAT 149

Bibliography: Moran 1992: 10-11; Liverani 1999: 350-351; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 80-81; II: 1330-1331; Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: no. 4; Knudtzon 1915: 78-79; Mynarova 2007: 177-178.

EA 6 is an excellent example of the practice of the renewal of diplomatic relations inside the system of Amarna each time the “*head*” of any of the members comprised the “*Great Powers club*” changed.³⁹⁴

After using the necessary salutations in order to comply with the rules of communication set in the international system shaped during the Late Bronze Age Burraburiash, the New Babylonian king, used some of the most fundamental patterns of diplomacy presented in the Amarna Letters in order to continue his contacts with Egypt, namely previous relations among the two courts in the course of time and reciprocity (Liverani 2000: 19). Through a recursion of the relations held in the past among Amenhotep III and Kadasman Enlil, the new Babylonian king stresses the need for the continuation of such in present and future. In addition, through his declaration that he will send and receive what was desired from ones to another

³⁹³ Instead the use of address used by Pharaoh in EA 1, this time Amenhotep chose to address his name first, probably in a sign of supposed superiority over his Babylonian counterpart, see Moran 1992: xxii-xxiii.

³⁹⁴ A practice which revealed the connection of the diplomatic procedure followed in the Amarna Letters not with the state but with its King himself, following a pattern of partimonialism developed in the Near East for thousands of years, see Schloen 2011. For other examples see EA 8: 11-12 where the any agreement was renewed between Burna Buriash and the newly enthroned Akhenaten, EA 26 between Tushratta to Tiye, EA 33 among the King of Alashiya to a new Pharaoh, probably Akhenaten, EA 41 etc.

country, the Babylonian king highlights a content of relationships which will continue to be forged under bonds of reciprocity and equality, fully complied with the exchange of women, gifts and messages, fundamental parts in the Amarna correspondence procedure.

EA 7

VAT 150

Bibliography: Moran 1992: 12-15; Liverani 1999: 352-3541; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 80-81; II: 1331-1333.

EA 7 consisted one of the longest letters sent from Babylonian court to Egypt during the reign of Akhenaten. In the first part of the letter, the Babylonian king complained about the Egyptian unconcern shown towards his condition as to the lack of greeting gifts and messages on behalf of the Egyptian court. After receiving the necessary explanations and the reassurance that it was the distance which kept Pharaoh away from learning immediate news about his brother's well-being and send gifts and greetings, the Babylonian protests were drawn down and a statement towards self-sufficiency and subsistence in luxury and goods for both powers had been made. Despite such a statement though, the Babylonian king declared that he will send gifts, although limited due to the distance and the difficulties of the trip, and asked for gold. Furthermore, he complained towards the robbery Babylonian caravans faced in the Egyptian territory by important officials and asked for a compensation of losses. It is between these two extremes that an intense network of interactions developed on EA 7 (Zaccagnini 2000: 143).

On the one hand distance between the members of the "*Great Powers club*" proved a formidable reality (Zaccagnini 2000: 142-143). In a strictly geographical sense, the Egyptian Pharaoh was something like a remote partner of powers such as Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria and Babylon and space and time took their own toll in the way the diplomatic contacts maintained inside the system of Amarna. In such relations, it was the several Syro-Palestinian buffer states as their behavior towards one power or the other (robberies, hostilities, etc.) which regulated in some sort of manner the way

these relationships conducted as the produce of quarrels, solutions, etc.³⁹⁵ That situation was quite different though in the inner-Asiatic relations developed simultaneously (Zaccagnini 2000: 143).

There, despite the constant quarrels among bordering countries such as Hatti and Mitanni (EA 17) and Assyria and Babylonia (EA 9), the conflicts presented never regulated/disrupted the relations the aforementioned powers had with Egypt. On the other hand, the exchange of gifts, an undisputed expression of positive interactions among brothers from distant countries, illustrated brotherhood, friendship, love, etc. on a practical level this time despite distances and difficulties. In several letters from Amarna such as EA 7, EA 9, EA 11, EA 20 or EA 27 to name a few, the connection between any flow of luxury goods and good diplomatic entente turned into a true leitmotif as we will analyze later in chapter 5. What the declaration of Burraburias towards the sufficiency of goods served was only an effort to save face in front of his Egyptian peer, a well-used dynamic of ceremonial bargaining in order on the one hand to gain as much as possible from Egypt and on the other to minimize the cost of contacts as any embarrassment due to constant requests.

EA 11

VAT 151 + VAT 1878

Bibliography: Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: nos. 6, 218, 225 ; Knudtzon 1915: 94-99; Moran 1992: 21-23; Hess 1993: 63-64, 115-116; Liverani 1999: 358-359; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 100-105; II: 1338-1340.

EA 11 is another example of the diplomatic correspondence exchanged among equal kings in the Amarna archive. In a letter which Burnaburiyas, the king of Babylonia, addressed to Akhenaten (Mynarova 2007: 128) a declaration of a previous diplomatic marriage between Egypt and Babylonia as a proposal for a future marital union among the two royal courts addressed.

A plaque which caused the death of one of the foreign wives of Babylonian origin of Amenhotep III created an opportunity for a new diplomatic marriage among Akhenaten and one of Burnaburiyas's daughters, a proposal which was accepted on

³⁹⁵ See for example cases such as that recorded on EA 8.

behalf of the Egyptians. EA 11 proved also an excellent chance for the Babylonian king to highlight his elevated status as a Great King. Despite the fact that Egypt was submitting to foreign ways by pouring oil to the head of the future Babylonian bride of Akhenaten, the size of the delegation which was meant to fetch the princess to Egypt was not a representative of the daughter of a Great King: “*With Haya there are 5 chariots. Are they going to take her to you in 5 chariots?....My neighboring kings would say ‘they have transported the daughter of a Great King to Egypt in 5 chariots’ ...Send here many chariots and soldiers so that Haya be the one to take the princess to you*”.³⁹⁶

By using the well-known method of demands, an acknowledged mean of the diplomatic game played between kings of equal rank during the Late Bronze Age (Pintore 1978; Zaccagnini 1973; Meier 2010: 170), Burnaburiyas stretched his status as a Great King and tried to claim his position among kings of equal rank. Furthermore, the diplomatic trick of delay, used this time by the Babylonians, was used by Burnaburiyas in order to exploit the psychological leverage that accompanied such an action: “*The princess on whose head oil has been poured should not delay here by me. Send them (the appropriate delegation) so they can take her immediately*”.³⁹⁷ A greeting gift was also sent to Akhenaten as to his wife, “*the mistress of the house*”, a title which was probably highlighted the elevated status of the primary Egyptian wife of Akhenaten, Nefertity.³⁹⁸

EA 16

C 4746

Bibliography: Grayson 1972: 48-49; Moran 1992: 38-40; Liverani 1999: 363-364; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 130-133; II: 1348-1349.

EA 16, the second message exchanged between Assur Ubalit, the king of Assur, and Amenhotep IV, was the only letter inside the Amarna corpus written on

³⁹⁶Translation after Moran 1992: 21-22.

³⁹⁷Translation after Moran 1992: 22.

³⁹⁸For a different analysis see Moran 1992: 23, note 2 where Moran proposes the identification of Mayatu with another person than that of the “mistress of the house” mentioned on EA 11. Although Moran’s analysis had some merit, the title itself if combined with the titles the native Egyptian Queens acquired show as the most possible candidate Nefertity, Akhenaten’s chief wife.

the pure Assyrian dialect (Mynarova 2007:35). EA 15 was the very first attempt for communication between Assyria and Egypt. Nevertheless, the means Assur Uballit uses in EA 16 in order to communicate with its Egyptian peer follow the well-known patterns of diplomatic communication followed in the Amarna Letters. Greeting gifts were exchanged and demand and supply gained their importance.

Despite his happiness for having his messengers accepted in Egypt though, the Assyrian king expressed concerns due to the way his messengers were accepted in Egypt, “*made to stay constantly out in the sun*”.³⁹⁹ Apart from ignorance, on behalf of Assyria, of the approved mean of detaining the messengers in order to multiply the profit, it seems that the Assyrian delegation was received by the Egyptians hesitantly due to the neutrality the Assyrians shown on the conflicts among Egypt and Babylonia (Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, II: 1348).⁴⁰⁰

EA 17

BME 29792

Bezold-Budge 1892: no. 9; Knudtzon 1915: 130-135; Moran 1992: 41-42; Hess 1993: 99, 117-118, 161-162; Liverani 1999: 366-367; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 134-137; II: 1349-1350.

EA 17 was primarily an account of the political situation in the interior of Mitanni after the accession of Tuiserrata on their throne. In the letter exchanged amongst Tuiserrata and Amenhotep III necessary explanations regarding a previous interruption to the Egyptian-Mitannian relationships were given.

After the death of Shuttarna Artashumara, his eldest son, succeeded him. Ud-hi, a high officer of the state, rebelled against Artashumara, Tuisettata’s brother, and killed him. Tuiserrata, being a juvenile during this time, installed in the throne of Mitanni and was permitted further relations with the Egyptians. After his acquisition of kingship over Mitanni in irregular fashion he managed to revenge his brother’s death and turned his interest in Egypt once more. Thus, EA 17 proved diplomatic signaling to the Egyptian side on behalf of Tuiserrata in order to seek friendly

³⁹⁹ Translation after Moran 1992: 39.

⁴⁰⁰ Indicative towards that direction was EA 9 on which Tutankhamun protested against the neutrality shown by Assyria.

relationships with Egypt in the same manner his father Shuttarna had with Amenhotep III in a diplomatic relationship which was sealed with the diplomatic marriage of the later with Gilukhepa.

Amenhotep III himself expressed strong interest in the development of friendly relationships with Mitanni (Bryan 2000a: 79). In evidence such the Mitanni marriage scarab (Urk. IV 1738), dated prior to the Amarna archive, his enthusiasm towards his marriage with Gilukhepa, his first Mitannian bride, was illustrated despite the fact that she was presented as part of the loot in a text which was presented solely on an internal audience. Despite the re-demonization of the figure of Mitanni⁴⁰¹ late in Amenhotep III's reign for reasons which imply a lot of speculation⁴⁰², Tuiserrata probably wanted to stress the favorable attitude Amenhotep III demonstrated towards Mitanni during the reign of Shuttarna and seek a further continuation on the good relationships the two states had in the past.

Greeting gifts were sent and an open invitation for the continuation of friendship aired. In addition, on EA 17 the perspective of the Mitannian rulers towards diplomatic marriage was unveiled: while, in the letters of Babylonian origin sent to Egypt the Babylonian kings never address a straight forward salutation to their sisters and daughters who were resided in the Egyptian court, this was not the case in the ones arrived in Egypt from Mitanni. In EA 17's salutation part Tuiserrata addressed his sister Gilukhepa and sent her greeting gifts while in the same time ignored Tiye, the great royal wife of Amenhotep III, probably in an effort to elevate her status in the Egyptian court and stress through that action his elevated status among the other Great Kings of the Near East (Bryan 2000a: 80).

⁴⁰¹Profound in several royal inscriptions from Egypt, see Urk. IV. 1693: 17-19 where Mitanni presented with fear in their hearts and their bellies opened, Urk. IV. 1696 where the King was presented as he whose mace smote Nahrin and Urk. IV. 1658 where he tramples Nahrin with his valiant strong arm.

⁴⁰²The possible alliance with Ugarit mentioned on EA 45, the assumption, on behalf of Amenhotep III, of a future decline in the role of Mitanni as major power in the Near East due to EA 17's reference on war with Hatti and EA 24's proposal of a mutual defense against the Hittites as the random choice of Mitanni from the royal propaganda in order Amenhotep III cement his status seemed all possible.

EA 19

BME 29791

Bibliography: Bezold-Budge 1892: no. 8; pls. 18-19; Knudtzon 1915: 136-145; Moran 1992: 43-46; Hess 1993: 95, 117-118, 161-162; Liverani 1999: 367-370; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 130-147; II: 1350-1351.

EA 19 belonged to the communication Tusratta had with Amenhotep III (Hess 1993: 117-118; Mynarova 2007: 128). Apart from the attestation of the diplomatic marriage between Amenhotep III and Gilukhepa at the salutation part of the letter, further information regarding a proposed diplomatic marriage between the two royal courts was given.

After the exchange of letters which were sent to the royal courts of Egypt and Mitanni with messengers known by their name, Tusratta accepted a diplomatic marriage proposal from Amenhotep III and requested gold for the construction of a mausoleum. Furthermore, he requested gold as bride price, an action which highlighted the significance of bride and her evaluation in gold in the diplomatic procedure recorded in the Amarna Letters. The account of the friendly relationships Tusratta's father had with Amenhotep III as the exchange of gold and gifts between them, probably mentioned in EA 19 in order to stress the good relationships the two states had in the past and to exploit the psychological leverage that accompanied such a relationship, created high hopes for more gold to the Mitannian side. And there was definitely an Egyptian answer to that request: gold was sent to Mitanni prior to EA 19 but it seems that it was not enough. Another request for much more gold and a bigger bride price made on EA 19 while the future bride of the Pharaoh (Taduhepa) was still in the Mitannian court the moment the Mitannian scribe wrote the letter. *"I will lead her in safety to my brother's country"*⁴⁰³, claimed Tusratta, a promise that will be probably fulfilled after the delegation of gold by Amenhotep III. Diplomatic gifts were sent and requests regarding the detaining of messengers were made.

Turning our attention to the salutation part of EA 19 once again, the presence of the dominant metaphor of family and brotherhood expressed through the verbiage

⁴⁰³Translation after Moran 1992: 44.

of kinship made its appearance once more. Hence, the use of titles such as these of brother, son in law and father in law mirrored what the Great Kings of the Near East in general and the Mitannian kings in particular conceived as international diplomacy during the Late Bronze Age. In a system which was set up long before Egypt participated in it, it was brotherhood and family ties metaphorically given which characterized the relationships among the Great Kings (Cohen 1996: 14). The Amarna system of diplomacy could not be proved an exception.

By elevating the contextual setting of negotiation into the spheres of brotherhood and family relations Great Kings entered into a fraternal relationship where blood ties made them members of the same household and united them under the bonds of “*love*”⁴⁰⁴ and “*brotherhood*” (Moran 1992: xxiv; Cohen 1996: 14). Accordingly, the diplomatic marriage proved as an excellent mean for elevating their diplomatic relationships to that level: from their perspective, giving a princess in diplomatic marriage could easily be perceived as an expression of sovereignty inwards and marital bonds with an empire such as the Egyptian could be only beneficial. It was under that perception where the Great Kings were bound morally by ties of obligation to each other: mutual assistance, fraternal ideals of equality, wishes for well-being and participation in joys and mourning, all expressions of familial ethos, turned into an acknowledged part of the diplomatic system shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age and all the participants, latecomers also, had to comply with the rules.

EA 20

VAT 191

Bibliography: Adler 1976: 136-143; Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: no. 22; Knudtzon 1915: 144-153; Moran 1992: 47-50; Hess 1993: 117-118, 161-162; Liverani 1999: 370-372; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 148-155; II: 1352-1353.

EA 20 constituted part of the royal correspondence among Amenhotep III and Tusratta, his Mitannian counterpart. It stands inside the Amarna archive as part of a diplomatic marriage negotiation which started with EA 19 and was characterized by

⁴⁰⁴For the term “*love*” in the Amarna Letters see Singer 2003: 81-83 with references.

complaints, detains of the messengers, delegation of gold more than once and expressions of fraternal love on behalf of Mitanni.

EA 20 probably arrived in the Egyptian court after the assignment, on behalf of Egypt, of Mane in the Mitannian court. The delegation sent on Mitanni was not that of a single person: Mane, accompanied with Egyptian soldiers, arrived on Mitanni in order to fetch Taduhepa in Egypt, give the requested gold to Tusratta and seal a diplomatic alliance using the means of diplomatic marriage. Apart from the attestation of a diplomatic marriage among Egypt and Mitanni EA 20 is significant for another reason: despite the implications, on behalf of Mitanni, for a future elevated status of the Mitannian princess (Taduhepa) in the Egyptian court⁴⁰⁵, an effort of Tusratta to elevate his status in front of his international peers was made. The gift of gold Amenhotep III sent to Tusratta was opened in front of his guests and the surprise waited the Mitannian king was not relevant of his status as a Great King: *“if there is someone whom he (Amenhotep III) loves, then who will not give such things to him. Whatever is needed is in Egypt more plentiful than dirt”*.⁴⁰⁶ An immediate compensation should be made on behalf of Amenhotep III in the name of fraternity love and respect and that was the request Tusratta ignited once more: more gold and better treatment than that Amenhotep III had to Tusratta’s father. A greeting gift was sent and expectations were raised.

While some lines of EA 20 might be perceived as a demonstration of some sort of abandonment of equality on behalf of Mitanni, at the end of the day it was the use of expressions of familial ethos which held the flag high: Amenhotep III, the son in law of Tusratta due to a previous marriage with one of his daughters, was morally bound by ties of obligation to his counterpart such as the ideals of mutual assistance and the fraternal ideals of equality. Under this light, Tusratta stated what could be perceived as the essence of EA 20 and the essence of the Amarna diplomacy in

⁴⁰⁵That of *“the mistress of Egypt”*, see Moran 1992: 47, lines 8-13. Despite the fact that Tusratta knew that his daughter will never replace Teye and that *“the mistress of Egypt”* will remain her, an acknowledgement he made on EA 26, he tried to elevate her status in order to elevate his status as well.

⁴⁰⁶Translation after Moran 1992: 48.

general: *“I will do forever what my brother (Pharaoh) wants, and my brother shall do what I want”*.⁴⁰⁷

EA 21

VAT 191

Bibliography: Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: no. 21; Knudtzon 1915: 152-155; Moran 1992: 50; Hess 1993: 117-118, 161-162; Liverani 1999: 373; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 156-159; II: 1353-1354.

EA 21 is another letter of the royal correspondence exchanged between Amenhotep III and Tusratta. Apart from the use of verbiage of kinship under the same fashion with the previous letters of Mitannian origin (EA 19, EA 20), EA 21 attests the conclusion of the diplomatic marriage negotiations made among the two royal courts on EA 19 and EA 20. On the letter which was probably the one the delegation which fetched Taduhepa on Egypt had in their purse, Tusratta informed Amenhotep III towards the assignment of his daughter to the Egyptian court and exalted the presence of the Egyptian diplomats as their role in the conclusion of the negotiations. Diplomatic gifts were sent and compliments were exchanged.

EA 26-EA 27

BM 29794 + A 9356 (Oriental Institute)-VAT 233 + 2197

Bibliography: Adler 1976: 206-211, 212-225; Moran 1992: 84-86, 86-90 ; Hess 1993: 152-152, 157-158; Liverani 1999: 398-405; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 276-295; II: 1362-1367.

EA 26 and EA 27 are two letters sent by Tusratta to Queen Tiye and Amenhotep IV respectively. The death of Amenhotep III and the forthcoming change in the throne of Egypt made Tusratta sent a letter to Queen Tiye in order to reassure the continuation of relationships between Egypt and Mitanni. Complaints towards the lack of gifts promised by Amenhotep III to Tusrata were made, stressing this way the exaggerated role gift-giving procedure played in the forging of diplomatic relationships inside the system of Amarna. The same pattern of complaints was also

⁴⁰⁷Translation after Moran 1992: 48.

followed in EA 27, having Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) as a receiver. On EA 27, the method of saving face through the disvalue of the materials requested was used in order the Mitannian king being able to keep his prestige despite the continuous requests of gold from Egypt.

EA 29

VAT 271 + VAT 1600 + VAT 1618-1620 + VAT 2192 + VAT 2194-2197

Bibliography: Winckler-Abel 1889-1890: no. 24; Knudtzon 1915: 244-269; Moran 1992: 92-99; Hess 1993: 152-152, 157-158; Liverani 1999: 398-405; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 301-323; II: 1368-1373.

EA 29 consisted part of the diplomatic correspondence exchanged between Tusratta, the king of Mitanni, and Akhenaten (Hess 1993: 115-116). In letters such as EA 26 and EA 27⁴⁰⁸, sent to the Egyptian court prior than EA 29, it becomes obvious that Amenhotep III died and Akhenaten succeeded him in the throne of Egypt. In addition, in the salutation part of EA 27, an implication for a diplomatic marriage between Taduhepa and Akhenaten was made: due to the death of Amenhotep III and the ascension of Akhenaten to the throne of Egypt, a new diplomatic alliance must be sealed. Hence, a diplomatic marriage between Akhenaten and Taduhepa seemed the perfect way for a renewal of any diplomatic alliance among Egypt and Mitanni. The marriage was concluded and the diplomatic relations between the two states continued undisrupted.

EA 29 could be characterized as a long review of the Mittanian-Egyptian relations since the time of the grandfathers of Akhenaten and Tusratta respectively. Furthermore, it attests a history of diplomatic marriages between the two royal courts, dated since the time of the Amenhotep II and Artatama. Apart from the long review of Mittanian-Egyptian relations and the complaints Tusratta raised regarding the delegation of golden statues promised since Amenhotep III was in the throne of Egypt, the letter is important for another reason: it also records the different status of the foreign wives of the Pharaoh.

⁴⁰⁸See Moran 1992: 84-86, 86-90.

In several lines on EA 29 Teye, the native Egyptian Queen of Amenhotep III and mother of Akhenaten, was referred with the status of “*the principal and favorite wife*” of the Pharaoh⁴⁰⁹, a designation which downgraded the foreign princess arrived in Egypt from the royal courts of the Near East to a status subordinate than that of the native Egyptian ones. In addition, the implication on EA 29 for a different residence of Taduhepa than that of the palace, probably that of the harem, not only implied the lower status of the foreign queens which arrived in Egypt but also placed them outside of the palace.

EA 31-32

C 4781-VAT 342

Bibliography: Moran 1992: 101-103; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 326-332; II: 1374-1376.

Due to the close relation EA 31 and EA 32 had to each other, they can be perceived as part of a single correspondence exchanged among Amenhotep III and Tarhundaradu, the king of Arzawa. After the necessary salutation at EA 31, Pharaoh wrote to Tarhundaradu about the forthcoming arrival of his messenger, Irsappa, in order to see the bride and seal the diplomatic marriage between the two parts. Apart from the forthcoming delegation to Arzawa, Amenhotep III mentions also the way the bride price will be paid to Tarhundaradu: “*Then they will come back to you (and) bring along the bride-price for the daughter*”.⁴¹⁰ At EA 32, the response of the king of Arzawa to the Pharaoh, Tarhundaradu accepted the Pharaoh’s request and declared that he will send his daughter to him as a wife.

These two Amarna letters are another attestation of the use of diplomatic marriage as means in order to seal a diplomatic agreement. Through the marriage of the Pharaoh with the daughter of the king of Arzawa, one of the most powerful rulers among the chiefs of the various principalities before Suppiluliuma I, Egypt tried to gain the loyalty of Arzawa in order to place an obstacle in the Hittite revival (Moran 1992: 102). Furthermore, significant information about how a diplomatic marriage was sealed can be gained. According to EA 31, after the necessary correspondence,

⁴⁰⁹ See Rainey 2015: 303.

⁴¹⁰ Lines 22-26.

Pharaoh sent a delegation and his messenger in order to pay the bride price, receive the bride, pour oil on her head and take her in Egypt. The bride price in gold suggested once more the emphatic way the foreign princesses used as gifts in order the chiefs of the principalities gain the highest profit from the Pharaoh.

EA 41

C 4747

Bibliography: Moran 1992; Schniedewind & Cochavi-Rainey 2015, I: 326-332; II: 1374-1376; Liverani 1998: 410-411; Miller 2007.

The recipient of this letter was either Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) (Liverani 1998, 410 n. 12; Miller 2007), Tutankhamun (Ten Cate 1963) or Smenkhkare (so Wilhelm and cited by Moran 1992 and Bryce 1990). On EA 41 the Hittite king calls the Egyptian pharaoh “*my brother*” (ŠEŠ-ya,), since the two were of equal rank in the world of “*Great Kings*.” Šuppiluliuma often refers to his friendly relations with this pharaoh’s father (*abû/i-ka*), and urges the new pharaoh to continue these good relations and fulfill any incomplete promises made by his predecessor (lines 14–15). Šuppiluliuma then describes the gifts that the predecessor had promised—statues of gold, silver, and lapis—and asks that these be sent forthwith. In return, he describes gifts of his own to the pharaoh (*ana šulmāni-ka*) that would accompany this letter, illustrating this way that the exchange of expensive gifts between members of the “*club of royal brothers*” was a form of international trade.

The analysis presented above highlighted a system of diplomacy compromised of commonly accepted rules. The rules of negotiation and communication were set a long time ago and its individual agents had to comply in order being accepted as equal partners to a fraternity of “*brothers*” (Lafont 2001: 40; Munn-Rankin 1956; Liverani 2000: 15; Cohen 1996: 11-28).

Such fraternity was functional mainly under bonds of blood and familial relationships, equivocal and reciprocal in character. It functioned under patrimonialism, a system pinned in the governmental system of the Near East hundred years ago before the Late Bronze Age (Schloen 2001; Liverani 2000: 15; Freire 2015: 3-5).

In order such participation achieved on behalf of Egypt, several internal facets of ideology needed to be bypassed. In addition, the new *status quo* had to be accepted. In such an effort, the model Egypt used inwards (analyzed in detail in 3.2) in order to justify its imperialistic ambitions needed to be altered. A new set of commonly accepted codes needed to be invented in order communication between territorial states achieved with the minimum cost in finance and prestige.

During such an effort, aspects of realism applied in order Egypt became possible to adapt its policies under the dictations the new system of diplomacy maintained in the Southeastern Mediterranean set. The participation, on behalf of Egypt, in such a patrimonial system was proved as a prerequisite in order channels of communication being invented. While the system of "*patrimonialism*" was not an invention for New Kingdom Egypt, it was its assemblage by Near Eastern peers that created the need of adaption of its patterns in order Pharaoh being accepted as an equal peer in such an "*international*" fraternity.

4.3] The Amarna Letters under IR theories

The interpretation of the corpora of the Amarna Letters received by Near Eastern specialists was that of documents which formed a manifestation of ancient forms of diplomacy (Liverani 2000: 16). In such texts diplomacy was maintained either among states of equal status under terms of reciprocity and equality as among territorial and vassal states through vassalage relations (Liverani 2005; Ibid., 2000).

That kind of interpretation drew the attention of scholars from other disciplines, especially those from the international relations, who saw in their study a great opportunity to understand better the development of interstate relations through the ages (Freire 2013: 130; Aissaoui 2011: 2).⁴¹¹ Such attempts become quite

⁴¹¹ With obvious limitations on their behalf though, such as their awareness of the existence of such a remote material, the acceptance of the relevance of such material and ancient past in general for the discipline (i.e Jennings 2011: 143-144; Liverani 2000: 16), and their unfamiliarity towards the historical background of civilizations such as Egypt, Babylon etc. Indicative were the efforts made by Westbrook (2000) and David (2000). Despite the fact that they demonstrate a good knowledge towards the Amarna Letters, they lack information towards the historical background of Egypt during the early 18th Dynasty, a period which paved the ground for the future actions followed by the Pharaohs of the Amarna Period.

fashionable after World War II⁴¹², with the first approach being the application in the Amarna Letters of modernism and primitivism⁴¹³ (Liverani 2000: 16).⁴¹⁴

According to modernism, the rules that define and regulate the economic and political relations are valid for the history of mankind and can be reconstructed on the sole basis of modern evidence (Liverani 2000: 16). On the contrary, the primitivist approach suggested that every evolutionary stage has its own regulations. Under that perception, every attempt to analyze ancient economies and political relations in terms of the modern market and political behavior would be largely misleading (Liverani 2000: 16). Both presented serious weaknesses when applied in corpora such as the Amarna Letters.

Modernists considered diplomatic treaties and letters as legal documents (Liverani 2000: 16). For them, any analysis of such material should be placed under the prism of a juridical terminology influenced by the Roman law and its modern variations (Korosec 1950: 390-97; Kestemont 1974; Liverani 2000: 16). In such a context, the diplomacy maintained in the southeastern part of the Mediterranean basin during the Late Bronze Age perceived as a manifestation of a “*prevalent despotic form of rule based on an endemic bend for bargaining and deception*” (cf. Liverani 2000: 16).⁴¹⁵

Despite any sense of modernism, the process of the creation of that “*primitive*” system of international diplomacy took place inside an economic, political and ideological environment completely different from the one nowadays

⁴¹² Its outcome as the subsequent process of decolonization followed transformed the prism under which the historical and social sciences analyzed the major global political and economic changes from a Eurocentric to a multicentric one, see Liverani 2000: 16. That change in paradigms influenced also disciplines such as the international relations and the political sciences and directed their interest to primary material such as the letters from Amarna.

⁴¹³ Despite the fact that the debate between modernism and primitivism enthusiasts had as its main subject the interpretation of ancient economies in modern terms, it can be applied also to the study of ancient political relations, see Lepore 1970: 3-33; Renger 1989: 166-78; Zaccagnini 1994: 213-25. For the early stages of the debate see Finley 1973.

⁴¹⁴ The first attempt for the study of the Amarna Letters inside the framework of a general history of diplomacy has been established during 1950's when Numelin (1950) presented his *Beginnings of Diplomacy*. The most recent approaches I am aware off were these made by Liverani (2000), Westbrook (2000), Ragionieri (2000) and David (2000), all gathered in the collective volume edited by Cohen R. and Westbrook R., see Cohen and Westbrook 2000.

⁴¹⁵ Although new trends to the study of the Near Eastern texts arose, using theories from disciplines such as semiotics, political anthropology etc., they remained quite unknown and in some extent undervalued in the English-speaking world because they were published in Italian, see for example Zaccagnini 1973; Pintore 1978.

(Ragionieri 2000: 42). As a result, several aspects of the diplomatic procedure maintained between Egypt and its Near Eastern peers such as the exchange of gifts, the exchange of gods and people, the use of women and marriage as diplomatic means as the several law doctrines which presented similarities with forms of “*domestic law*” etc., assigned an anachronistic character under such an approach.

Turning the discussion on the primitivist approach, several flaws can be revealed. Despite the fact that the “*Amarna society*” can be perceived as “*an international society in the making*” (cf. Ragionieri 2000), it demonstrated from the beginning all of these elements which constitute an international society⁴¹⁶ on its modern form.⁴¹⁷ A shallow analysis based solely in the use of specific terminology of family metaphors⁴¹⁸ or in the presence of the interpersonal level of contacts confirmed on several occasions among the participants⁴¹⁹, create a false impression of an embryonic international society which was organized exclusively under the rules of an enlarged village following doctrines of domestic law unfamiliar to modern states (Liverani 2000; Westbrook 2000: 32; Cohen 1996: 11-28).⁴²⁰

A reasonable approach to tackle such differences presented in attitude could be the perception of such a system of diplomacy as an “*international society in the making*”, anachronistic in the way its participants established and maintained its

⁴¹⁶ Quite different from what we perceive as international system, a construction which is consisted by a set of states each one of them have to take into account the capabilities and possibilities of at least one of its competitors, see Ragionieri 2000: 42. Despite the fact that the earlier attempts for diplomacy were noticed in the greater Mesopotamian territory during the end of the third millenium B.C. and in the Near Eastern territory during the first half of the second millennium B.C. respectively, these considered by scholars as interstate systems, not as international societies, see Liverani 1988: 372-402, 384-390. The first such attempt was made during the first half of the eighteenth century B.C. (Mari) but it was short lived and included fewer candidates than the international system reflected in the Amarna Letters had, see the messages of Rib-Hadda (EA 73-96).

⁴¹⁷ According to Wight, an international society comes into being when “*a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions*”, after Wight 1977: 33.

⁴¹⁸ Such as the ones mainly used in the salutation part of treaties and letters (*aḥi*, “my brother”, *abi*, “my father”), see Moran 1992, Mynarova 2007; Cohen 1996:12.

⁴¹⁹ In the use of the *šulma Saʿlu* formula in order to “ask news of the health of the partner, his wives, children, belongings” etc., the proposals for interdynastic marriages and the use of epithets such as father/son in law in EA 19-21, 23-24,27-29 etc. It was the use of the interpersonal level of communication which worked deceptively towards the understanding of the actual background of these contacts which is complied with the way politics are exercised nowadays.

⁴²⁰ Westbrook narrowed them down in a) the legal authority the head of the household had towards outsiders b) the enforcement of the legal obligations of the head of the household to his subjects and c) the possession of all of the belongings of the family by the head of the household and the succession right of his heirs, see Westbrook 2000: 32-33.

connections among them but modern in the reasons which influenced them to act in such a manner. What still needs to be defined is whether the behavior of the actors can be explained on the base of rational terms or in terms of the idiosyncratic motives of the agents. And a quite persuasive answer towards that direction can be provided through the examination of the Amarna Letters under another set of theories, these of realism and constructivism.

For realism, the world is a place which is operating independently and generates its own rules. Hence, the actions and the decisions of the states were influenced by exogenous factors (Buzan 1993: 327-352; Freier 2015: 4). Under such a doctrine, political entities are functioning inside a world of anarchy where no central authority enforces rules of behavior (Ragionieri 2000: 43; David 2000: 55).⁴²¹

In such a world, human nature is perceived as something fixed and flawed, filled with violence and hatred (David 2000: 55). As a result, states are able to harm each other and their leaders behave mostly rationally in order to achieve their goals (David 2000: 55). The situation among states is either one of a permanent conflict or one of collaboration filled by common interests (Ragionieri 2000: 43). What is important, however, is that the several doctrines of realism (neorealism, classical realism, etc.) do not dictate the behavior of the states or that of their leaders. What course will be followed by a state or a political leader is solely their choice.

Quite the reverse, the constructivist theory presents some major differences with realism. According to constructivism, the world acts dependently, according to how the communities and individuals behave (David 2000: 56). The interests the states presented are not defined by purely rational interests but are socially constructed. Hence, what states believe for one another depends solely on how they interact: if a state expects from another one to be cooperative and friendly then it will define its relationships under a friendly and cooperative manner. On the contrary, if a state is suspicious towards another then cooperation and peace are not an option. Furthermore, according to constructivists, international anarchy does not play an important role in the decisions of states (Wendt 1992: 391-425).

⁴²¹ Under that perception, anarchy does not reflect a world of chaos. Instead it reflects a world which set its own rules and limits to whom consists part of it, in that case states and individuals.

4.4] Realism in Late Bronze Age Egyptian Diplomacy

According to the defenders of constructivism, the international society of the Amarna was not an anarchical one (Liverani 2000; Cohen 1996: 11-28; Ragionieri 2000: 49; Westbrook 2000). The presence of an overarching authority⁴²² which defined the relationships between the Great Kings and their vassals through the application of hierarchy among them, differentiated the international society reflected in the Amarna letters from the ones suggested by the doctrines of realism (Liverani 2000: 21; Ragionieri 2000: 49). Although vassals were not considered as major players in the diplomatic procedure, their role was quite significant for the shifting of alliances among Assyria, Egypt, Mitanni, Hatti, and Babylon. Under that perception, the way the Great Kings and their vassals (individuals) acted dictated the way the international society of Amarna (world) functioned, something which fully complies with what the constructivist model suggests (David 2000: 56).

Apart from the hierarchical definition of the relationships, there is also another major component which, according to the constructivism enthusiasts, defined, shaped and placed the relationship maintained among the leaders of the great powers outside of an anarchical world: godly presence. The presence of gods as witnesses in several peace treaties and oaths conducted among the Great Kings each other and their vassals respectively, suggested that human behavior and kingly decisions were governed by an overarching authority which took the form of a divine legal system which judged behaviors and decisions (Westbrook 2000: 29). Misbehavior towards divine will could cause severe punishments such as calamities, plagues, draughts, floods and defeats in battle.⁴²³ However, this method of analysis has a number of limitations.

⁴²² Having the form of a "householder" (king) on a larger scale who exercised his power and authority on a "household" which was consisted by the several "households" (states) which constituted the political society of the Amarna Period, see Westbrook 2000: 29. The *šulma Saʿlu* formula was indicative towards the arrangement of the "household" which was a "house" consisted of the "father", the apex of the hierarchy, and several subordinate members of his "family" such as the sons, wives, daughters in law, daughters, grand children or his client states and slaves, see for example the salutation form of EA 1: 1-9; Stager 1985: 1-35; Westbrook 2000: 29.

⁴²³ Indicative towards that direction is the perception by King Mursili of the plague that afflicted Hatti as divine punishment due to his breach of the treaty his father Suppiluliuma conducted with the Egyptians. In order to stop the plague Mursili returned the Egyptian prisoners, see Ten Kate 1969: 81-98. Similarly action was taken by David (2 Sam. 21:1-11) in order to cease the drought caused by the breach of a treaty by Saul, his predecessor. In addition, Tutankhamun referred to the loss of the

Despite the fact that the application of hierarchy between suzerains and vassals is present among the majority of the Amarna Letters, this was not always the case. Several breaches of hierarchy and protocol⁴²⁴ made their presence in the Amarna Letters in order Pharaoh being able to secure his national interests and vassals to gain as much as possible from a superpower.

On several occasions concerning vassals from the northern periphery of Egypt⁴²⁵, a number of unusual demands recorded. On EA 49 the ruler of Ugarit (Niqm-Adda) made a request of two Nubian palace attendants and a physician (Moran 1992: 120) while in EA 55 the ruler of Qatna (Akizzi) asks from Pharaoh a sack of gold in order to fashion a new statue (Moran 1992: 127).⁴²⁶ Similarly, on EA 161 (Moran 1992: 247) Pharaoh sent gold and silver to Aziru of Amurru in order to persuade him to stay loyal on Egypt despite the courting by the Hittites (Morris 2006: 179-195).⁴²⁷

Moving clockwise to the periphery of southern hill country, several accusations of treachery by other rulers, recorded in EA 246, 280, 289, 290 etc., suggested that the vassal states located in close proximity to the traditional core of the Egyptian authority in Syria-Palestine were not always acted in Egypt's favor (Morris 2006: 188). The absence of the names of cities such as Jerusalem, Shechem, Ginti-Kirmil and Qiltu from the topographical lists composed during the New Kingdom strongly suggests that these warlords voluntarily assumed their status as vassals in order to gain as much as possible from Egypt (Morris 2006: 189). Several Amarna Letters such as the EA 287 on which Abdi-Heba asks from Pharaoh clothing, food and oil (Moran 1992: 327) and EA 265 where Tagi, the ruler of Ginti-Kirmil, receives

Egyptian possessions during the reign of Akhenaten because of latter's impiety: *"The land was in distress. The gods, they had turned their backs on this land. If expeditions were sent to Palestine to enlarge the boundaries of Egypt, they met with no success"*, see Urk. IV. 2027: 11-44.

⁴²⁴ Taking the form of the flouting of protocol as happened in EA 42 where Suppiluliuma responded angrily to Akhenaten due to his breach of protocol or in EA 41 where the Hittites did the same, the form of "donations" of gold, food etc. from the Pharaoh to vassals, unusual demands from Pharaoh or the right of vassals to exchange expressions of well-wishing with the Pharaoh, see for example EA 45, 49, 59, 75, 92, 132.

⁴²⁵ Such as Tunip, Hazor, Qatna, Irqata, Ugarit, Nuhasse.

⁴²⁶ A request which was often made by kings of equal status, see for example EA 4, Moran 1992: 8.

⁴²⁷ Although sending gold was not an unusual act, that happened mostly due to the payment of the bride price by Pharaoh to the father of the bride, usually a king of equal status. In this occasion we have an obvious paradigm of the "abandonment" of power by Pharaoh in order to secure Egypt's national interests against the Hittites.

a personal gift⁴²⁸ from the Pharaoh (Moran 1992: 314) are indicative towards that direction. The situation concerning the vassals located on the Phoenician coast and Northern Canaan was slightly different.

Resided within the core of the Egyptian empire, the rulers of cities such as Tyre, Megiddo, Sidon, Beirut, and Pella were used by Pharaoh in order to maintain the administration of the Egyptian empire shaped during the New Kingdom.⁴²⁹ On several occasions such as on EA 155, the rulers of Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre stated that all of them “*has done service*” on the Egyptian army using their ships while Tyre was dedicated to the estate of the eldest daughter of Akhenaten (Morris 2005: 246).⁴³⁰ The situation was pretty much the same for states such as Gezer, Akko, Yursa, Lachish, and Ashkelon, located on the southernmost border of Egypt. Akko worked as an Egyptian naval base since the reforms of Thutmose III while, according to EA 333, Lachish was under the commands of the Egyptian official Paapu (Moran 1992: 356). In addition, its temple was sponsored by Amenhotep III (Tufnell 1940).

Turning the discussion to the role of gods as an overarching authority which regulated the behaviors of the actors inside the international society of the Amarna, several assumptions can be made. Despite the fact that the invocation, by the fans of constructivism, of godly presence as a regulating force of behavior in order to demonstrate that the actions of the states and their leaders during the Amarna period was antithetical to realism has some merit, it has not escaped serious criticism.⁴³¹

Even though the piety shown by the Great Kings and the vassals is something undeniable, war presented no moral difficulties (David 2000: 62). Although the disobedience in gods will and subsequently the breach of a treaty which was witnessed by the gods could cause severe punishments with the form of natural disasters, plagues or defeat in the battlefield, war took matters in its own hands and self-help was not regarded as something incompatible with the divine authority (David 2000: 64).

⁴²⁸ A stereotyped procedure among kings of equal status, see Moran 1992: xxv.

⁴²⁹ Indicative towards that direction is the EA 85, EA 105 and EA 114 on which rulers from Beirut disburse grain from Yarimuta, see Moran 1992: 156, 178, 188.

⁴³⁰ EA 155, see Moran 1992: 241.

⁴³¹ See for example the criticism made by David (2000: 62-64).

The Egyptian ideology/theology towards foreigners and kingship⁴³², analyzed in detail on chapters 2 and 3, played a major part in the conduction of war in order Egypt being able to secure its national interests and Pharaoh confirm his role of guarantor of Ma'at by casting away the forces of evil (foreigners) and secure order in the interior of Egypt. Thus, the military campaigns against foreigners perceived inwards as part of the duties the gods pass on to the king. This kind of perception was expressed through verbiage relative with the inheritance of universal dominion on behalf of the gods to the king as through depiction of the reception from the king of a sword given by gods such as Amen, Ptah, Atum, Ra-Horus of the Horizon and Seth in several textual sources explicitly in 3.1, a perception prominent also in the Near East.⁴³³

While inwards the role of ideology/theology worked anachronistically and played a significant role in the justification of the decisions followed by the states and their leaders, outwards things were perceived differently and a sense of modernism accompanied the actions of the actors which were characterized mostly by rationalism. Under that perception, the theory of realism has some merit against constructivism. Factors such as the consideration of costs of an expedition in areas difficult to subdue (i.e. Hatti, Canaan), the acknowledgement of geopolitical aspects such as the tactic importance of cities like Megiddo, Kadesh and Ugarit⁴³⁴, the distance of several vassal states from the core of the Egyptian influence⁴³⁵ or the difficulties and the significance Canaan region presented for Egypt⁴³⁶ were taken into serious consideration before a decision for a diplomatic alliance or a military expedition was received.

It is true that the demonstration of a lack of structural thinking in several occasions by the rulers of the states which were part of the international society of the

⁴³² Shaped carefully through the ages through the use of propaganda in order to cement the position of the king and create an ideological background through which the national interests of Egypt could be preserved and the actions of the Pharaoh could be justified and veiled under an ideological cloak.

⁴³³ In the prayer of Tukulti-Ninurta I we read: *"The foreign lands of one accord have surrounded your city, Ashur with a noose of evil, all of them have assembled to hate the shepherd you named, who administers your peoples...The foreign lands crave night and day for the destruction of your wondrous sights, everywhere they seek to overthrow your cities"*, translation after Foster 1993, I: 231-2.

⁴³⁴ For the importance of Ugarit as a center of intelligence where Egypt could acquire information for its opponents see Cohen 2000.

⁴³⁵ Very informative towards that direction is the article written by Morris towards bowing and scraping in the ancient Near East, see Morris 2006: 179-195.

⁴³⁶ Worked as a land bridge between Egypt and the other great powers of the Late Bronze Age.

Amarna provided indeed a serious challenge to the application of realism in the policies followed by Egypt and its Near Eastern peers thousands of years ago. Occasions such as the efforts made by Egypt for an alliance with a vassal which was located far away and was under the control of Hatti (Arzawa), the Azirru case, the Egyptian rejection of the several offers for peace made by Hatti⁴³⁷, Akhenaten's policies, the abandonment of the Mitanni prospect as the fifty years of fruitless conflict around Kadesh in order Egypt to save face provided an obstacle in interpreting the actions followed under the prism of realism. The main limitation of this approach, however, is that realism, instead of dictating behaviors simply suggests them.

In a realist world states and leaders does not always follow what realism suggests. It is the consequences of the decisions and the dues states have to pay that made them not to follow the same path again. Taken together, these considerations suggest that the international society reflected in the Amarna Letters was a realist one and the actions followed by the states and their leaders were dictated by exogenous factors in a way similar with that the states and their leaders took decisions nowadays. In such a world, terms such as "*brotherhood*", "*reciprocity*" and "*equality*" gained an elevated significance under the elevated role of a "*father*" as the leader of an extensive international "*household*". It was the existence of a world functioned under such a system of patrimonialism which dictated such changes in attitudes and means of contact by Egypt.

4.5] Patrimonialism in Late Bronze Age Egypt and the Near East

Despite the fact that an extensive application of bureaucratic models in Late Bronze Age large scale administration systems can be seen in the work of many Near Eastern specialists and Egyptologists (Kemp 1991: 111-318), this was not the only approach. The placement of societies such as the ones of New Kingdom Egypt and the Late Bronze Age Near East under an ideal type of patrimonialism can be seen in the work of many scholars (Weber 1978: 1006-1110; Bendix 1977: 329-384; Eisenstadt 1971; *Ibid.*, 1973; Kalberg 1994: 96-98; Schloen 2001).

⁴³⁷ Recorded in the deeds of Suppiluliuma, in the negotiations for peace after the death of Tutankhamun and the Egyptian attack on Kadesh and on the battle of Kadesh narrative, see Guterbock 1956; Murnane 1990: 22-31.

For Weber, any prevalence of personal ties of patronage in place of impersonal bureaucracy led either to “*marginal cases of patrimonialism*”, applied loosely even in the feudal system of Medieval Europe, or to “*patriarchal patrimonialism*”, applied in the Islamic states of the Near East (Weber 1978: 1070, 1107).⁴³⁸ For Bendix (1977: 382) that connection between Patrimonialism and Feudalism made by Weber seemed quite problematic due to the status a feudal vassal had as a free man. He separated the conceptual and symbolic underpinnings of the two terms. Eisenstadt (1971; *Ibid.*, 1979) on his turn distinguished the patrimonial regimes shaped in the pre-Hellenistic Near East from the bureaucratic ones emerged later (Schloen 2001: 52). Schloen on his turn attacked on any approach based on materialism while the same time he considered Weber’s idealized societal type as the basis of any society shaped in the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean world during the Bronze Age (Schloen 2001). In his work, he was clearly influenced by Eisenstadt’s approach to “*axial age society*” (Eisenstadt 1971; *Ibid.*, 1979) as by the Weberian concepts of an ideal society. Despite his offensive tone and the criticism he received due to his largely philosophical approach though, his explanation of Patrimonialism as a societal approach based on the extension of traditional kinship formations into households which had the king at their apex gained some merit in the cases of Late Bronze Age Egypt and the Near East.

Schloen’s societal approach is not an artificial social construction which solely favors the application of political/economical factors over religious symbols and *vice versa*. It describes the fundamental social unit applied in Egypt and the Levant (household) through a method which suggests their combination (Schloen 2001: 1). The rich documentation of the dialectic of the “*house of the father*” and “*brotherhood*”⁴³⁹, the validation and sanctioning of such patterns through religious justification as their use in the innermost mechanisms of administration through the development of a network based on interpersonal relationships, created a flexible social archetypal under which the political relations in the Southeastern Mediterranean underwent until the 1st millennium B.C. (Schloen 2001: 1).

⁴³⁸ Despite the fact that Weber commented occasionally on ancient Near Eastern society, he regarded Egypt and the ancient Near East as patrimonial rather than bureaucratic, see Weber 1978: 1013, 1015, 1030, 1044-47; Lehner 2000.

⁴³⁹ Used as the fundamental metaphor in the political relationships shaped among the ancient Near Eastern polities and Egypt during the Late Bronze Age as demonstrated in the Amarna Letters analyzed in 4.2.

In Schloen's Patrimonial Household societal archetypal any sort of social order was derived from the ruler and it was seen as an extension of the ruler's household (Schloen 2001: 51). The entire social order was compromised to dyadic relationships between "lord" and "servant" or "father" and "son". Due to the interpersonal relationships maintained in that sort of social model, no distinction between private and public sector can be seen (Schloen 2001: 51).⁴⁴⁰

In such a model the king sits at the apex of hierarchy and everyone turns himself as part of his household under terms such as "son", "brother" etc. Unlike the interpretations that Marxist models such as that of the "two-sector model" offered (Diakonoff 1982)⁴⁴¹, the PHM binds all members of the household with filial bonds derived from the legitimate authority. In the same time, it sanctions and legitimates authority at all levels. In such a concept and contra to Wirth's (1938) conception of kinship as not an effective force of a complex society, it is kinship itself which gained special importance to the networks shaped in the southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (Schloen 2001: 71).

While for scholars such as Yoffee (1993: 69) that seems antithetical to bureaucratic state administration, the different principles of state organization (i.e. impersonal bureaucracy) co-opted with filial bonds under a net which was based on kinship and interpersonal relations. That can be seen in the construction of broader and economic relations under terms of household shaped during the Late Bronze Age in Egypt and the Near East as through the concept of its religious and administrative justification.

4.6] Religious Justification of Patrimonialism

The Patrimonial Household Model (PHM) perceived ancient societies as reflections of the divine household and gave emphasis in the way the later were organized under the patronage of a primary father-god. A connection between such perception with aspects of the religious thought of Egypt and the Near East can be traced in several paradigms taken from the several creation accounts, the fundamental

⁴⁴⁰ For the household model and its transportation to the system of diplomacy shaped among Egypt and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age see Cohen 1996: 11-28.

⁴⁴¹ A model which clearly separated the public from the private sector, see Diakonoff 1982; Schloen 2001: 71.

aspect of maintenance of order, the judgment of humanity, the provision of hope for the future and the resurrection of the dead. In all of these aspects, the theme of the fatherhood of the gods was of great importance (Tasker 2008: 122).

The Sumerian version of cosmogony, one of the oldest religious compositions, started with the primeval sea-goddess Nammu, “*the bearer of the senior gods*” (Klein 2003:516; Tasker 2008: 115). Under a similar procedure with that described in the Egyptian creation myths Nammu, the primeval ocean gave birth to the cosmic mountain which was consisted of heaven and earth entwined, An and Ki respectively. After their union Enlil, the air-god, was produced through sexual intercourse and it was he who separated his parents, unified with mother earth and set the stage for the creation of the universe and everything on it, acquiring the role of the father of the gods (Kramer 1981: 82-83, 89, 91; Tasker 2008: 115-116). Similarly, Sumerian influences can be found in the Babylonian Epic tradition with the most prominent examples being these of the Gilgamesh epic, the Atrahasis epic and Enuma Elis (Tigay 1982; Lambert and Millard 1969; Heidel 1942). In all the aforementioned examples a language of fatherhood was deliberately used with references to a god who presides over a heavenly council, takes the role of the creator- father of the gods and turned himself into the ultimate judge (Tasker 2008: 117).⁴⁴²

Apart from Babylon and Sumer, the model of a god which fathered the others was also used by the Egyptian intelligentsia in the several theological versions of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis under a quite fashionable manner. In the Heliopolitan version Atum, the primeval god, was the one who sat on the primeval hill emerged from Nun and through the sexual act of masturbation (PT 1248, 1249) created Shu and Tefnut (PT 1521, PT 1546) even before light and darkness, earth and heaven occurred. It was after the sexual intercourse of Shu and Tefnut where the other members of the Ennead occurred (esp. Osiris), a situation which placed Atum at the role of the father of the Ennead as that of the Pharaoh (Wilkinson 2003: 79, 98-101).⁴⁴³ Furthermore, he was the “*father of humanity*”⁴⁴⁴ as the “*Lord of Totality*”,

⁴⁴² Indicative towards that direction was the role Anshar and Enlil took in the Epic of Enuma Elis and the myth of Zu respectively, see Foster 2003: 395.

⁴⁴³ “O Atum raise this King up to you, enclose him within your embrace, for he is your son of your body, forever”, PT 213.

⁴⁴⁴ See Papyrus Bremner-Rhind: “When I evolved into this world Shu and Tefnut grew excited in the inner waters in which they were and brought my eye after them. And after I joined together my parts I

(CT III: 27), the monad from whom everything originally came (Wilkinson 2003: 99; Tasker 2008: 118). Similarly, in the Memphite theology, the role Atum acquired in the Heliopolitan version was occupied by Ptah. In one of the most intellectual creation thoughts arose in the whole ancient world, the connection of Ptah with craftsmanship made the Memphite theologians suppose that it was he who preceded the Sun god and created Atum and the other gods (Wilkinson 2003: 18).⁴⁴⁵ Atum's role was elevated also in the theology of Thebes. There he was perceived by the Theban priests as the one who can make eternal life a possibility and as the god who sustain for the living at Pharaoh's death (Tasker 2008: 119; Allen 1974: 65, 178).⁴⁴⁶ In addition, the fatherhood of gods as the language of "brotherhood", reflecting filial relationships with other gods, was used in compositions such as the great hymn to Osiris (Lichtheim 1976, II: 81).

Turning the discussion to afterlife beliefs, in several funerary texts, the individual role of the gods was described, giving us another glimpse of the father-god motif. In such kind of texts Ra took the role of the most important god due to his ability to provide bread, beer, barley etc. even in the underworld (Ut. 205.121a) while he is the one who helps the resurrected souls to ascend to heavens (Ut. 271.390) (Tasker 2008: 118; Faulkner 1967: 37, 791). In addition, Geb, the god of earth, was also called "father" in such kind of texts due to the ability demonstrated in restoring the parts of the deceased (Ut.14.9c; Ut. 15) as due to the help he provided to the deceased on their journey through the sky (Ut.484A.1030) (Tasker 2008: 118).

4.7] Patrimonialism as system of internal governance

By downgrading any aspect of authority in the sphere of the earthly realm, PHM placed societal functionality in a level similar with that of the household, considering family as the most fundamental unit inside society (Cohen 1996: 14; Weber 1978: 375; Lehner 2000: 278).⁴⁴⁷ Under that perception, the model of

wept over them; That is the evolution of people from the tears that came from my Eye", translation after Allen 2003a: 14-15.

⁴⁴⁵ "And great and important is Ptah who gave life to all the [gods] and their Ka as well through this heart and this tongue, as which Horus and Thoth have both evolved by means of Ptah", translation after Allen 2003b: 22.

⁴⁴⁶ See esp. Spells 72.S3 and 179.S3.

⁴⁴⁷ For the concept of the household as its use as a dominant metaphor in order to characterize the relations maintained among the Great Kings during the Late Bronze Age see Cohen 1996:11-28. For an

Patrimonialism appeared also in the Egyptian administration, although sometimes in a disguised form.

The several discussions made so far regarding the administration of the New Kingdom were focused primarily in the several components which constituted the public factor as to their relationship with the king himself (Shirley 2013: 572; O'Connor 1983: 208; Moreno Garcia 2013: 1-17). As a result, a distinction among the offices served the king from those serving the state proved a difficult task, especially if we add to the equation the connection the several officials of the Eighteenth Dynasty had with their king (Shirley 2005: 573-575; Nelson-Hurst 2011; Shaw 2008).

While family connections seemed an important feature of government, suggesting practices which were explained better under Weber's and Schloen's patrimonial nature of the Egyptian bureaucracy (Weber 1978:1013, 1030, 1044; Schloen 2001:52, 70, 313)⁴⁴⁸, placing the Egyptian administration under one model and excluding aspects which belong to a "*rational*" system of bureaucracy might being proved a fruitless task (Shirley 2013: 573).

Qualities met in "*rational*" systems such as the connection of officials with specific duties as the significance the interpersonal connections the former had with their king in matters of selection⁴⁴⁹ made the Egyptian system of administration of the New Kingdom a combination of elements rational in nature but retaining patrimonial elements in several of its aspects (Shirley 2013: 574). It was Patrimonialism though which made its appearance in one of the most important aspects of government and administration Egypt demonstrated during the New Kingdom Period, that of diplomacy. In the system maintained in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age among powers such as Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria, Babylon and others, patrimonialism made its appearance and defined the way any diplomatic relationship maintained through the application of several aspects such as the adoption of the language of "*brotherhood*", the creation of filial and blood-based bonds among the participants through the use of diplomatic marriage, the exchange of diplomatic gifts, etc.

anthropological approach of the concept of the family in the Middle East to the present day see Eickelman 1981: 105-134.

⁴⁴⁸ See also the comments made by Eisenstadt 1971: 138-145; *Ibid.*, 1979: 21-33.

⁴⁴⁹ What Schloen calls "*preexisting networks of traditional personal relationships*", see Schloen 2001: 69.

4.8] Patrimonialism as aspect of diplomacy

The Amarna system of diplomacy is generally perceived as an “*international society in the making*”, the first extended system of diplomacy in history which obeyed in rules found nowadays in the field of international relations (Ragionieri 2000: 42; Bryce 2003). Definitions of terms at this point seem unavoidable.

An international society constitutes a group of states with common values and interests, in other words, an assembly of states which were bounded together by rules commonly accepted (Wright 1977: 30).⁴⁵⁰ States on their turn are perceived as legal entities which belong to the so-called corporative model: they considered as artificial entities whose “*acts*” were resulted due to the impact the act of its officials had on it, a separation which made them subjects of international law (Westbrook 2000: 28; Kelsen 1961:181-82, 191-93, 197-99). While ancient law had not relied on the model of corporation in order states being considered functional, it was the application of a model depended on the domestic law (Patrimonialism) which made ancient states to operate inside an international law system which functioned under the rules of an extended household (Westbrook 2000:29; Cohen 1996: 11-26; Artzi 1980: 167).

The system existed before Amarna was an interstate one, including lesser states and spread in a significantly smaller territory than the one expanded in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (Liverani 1988: 372-402; Ragionieri 2000: 46). It was its transformation during the Late Bronze Age, to a system which reflected values, rules and common interests of culturally distinct political entities which brought in surface a need for a change. In addition, closer relations dictated by familial ethics and diplomatic conducts among the participants brought changes in the way aspects such as power, authority, commerce and jurisdiction perceived by the actors of the system, namely the Great Kings and their vassals (Zaccagnini 2000: 141-144; Cohen 1996:11-28). Hence rules seemed unavoidable in order the system considered functional.

⁴⁵⁰ Distinct from the international systems due to the significance given by the former in their interactions instead of their definition through fundamental values, a characteristic met in international societies, see Wright 1977: 25.

In order a sense of stability⁴⁵¹ being maintained, patterns of behavior were conducted with the rules of reciprocity, equality, and submission being pinned at the core of the Amarna system of diplomacy (Ragionieri 2000: 47). While the rules of submission constituted a much simpler form of interstate “*agreements*”, accepted as established practices being there from “*time immemorial*” or considered applicable and unavoidable due to the need for demand and power on the one hand and the need for protection and supply on the other, rules of reciprocity formed a much more difficult category. There, the expression of the relationships maintained among the Great Powers (Egypt, Mitanni, Assyria, Babylon, Hatti, Alasiya, etc.) in terms of domestic society made the use of metaphors such as that of “*brotherhood*” unavoidable (Ragionieri 2000: 47).

In the Late Bronze Age Near East negotiation in the higher level meant equality in status and recognition of the right to belong to a private club of “*Great Powers*” (Cohen 1996: 13).⁴⁵² But equality in status was nothing more than an illusion due to the differences in internal ideology as due to the different levels of wealth and power the participants of such a system had. Hence, the use of a dominant metaphor in order the commercial, dynastic and strategic interests of the powers participated in such a system satisfied needed. It was the metaphor of “*brotherhood*” which proved as the most suitable one.

Through the establishment of fraternal relationships between the members of the “*Great Powers Club*” any sort of negotiation was embedded in a system which worked similarly with the institution of the family, following patterns met in Patrimonial Systems. In such a system the Great Kings were bounded to each other by ideals which originated from what is called familial ethos with equality, harmony and mutual assistance being vital (Artzi and Malamat 1993: 35; Cohen 1996: 15). Furthermore, terms such as “*love*”, “*brotherhood*” and “*friendship*” were used in the

⁴⁵¹ Perceived as the maintenance of domestic stability and preservation of suzerain relations on behalf of the Great Kings and as the exchange of dependence for protection for the vassals, see Cohen 1981: 8; Luard 1990: 201.

⁴⁵² See the several differences in the diplomatic practice followed by Great Kings and vassals in the Amarna correspondence. While the heads of powers such as Egypt, Mitanni, Babylon, Assyria etc. were communicated each other under terms of reciprocity and equality, embedded inside a familial ethos, the situation for the vassal principalities was quite different. The latter were not autonomous actors and addressed their suzerains in terms which mirrored dependence, see Moran 1992; Cohen 1996: 13-14; Artzi and Malamat 1993: 33.

political sphere of negotiation in order to denote such bonds, reflecting on their turn aspects of patrimonialism.

The importance symbols acquire in understanding a culture as the significance metaphors can gain during the same procedure is not needed to be mentioned here.⁴⁵³ From the Aristotelian perception of the use of metaphor as literature device limited only to poetic-rhetoric prettification of speech (Avruch 2000: 156) to its understanding as something crucial for what Lakoff called as “*communicational performance*” (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980), metaphor took central part in several interdisciplinary efforts made from different theoretical camps in order to decode behaviors appeared on distinct political systems and cultures.⁴⁵⁴ It was in the Amarna Letters though, a quite distinct corpus of letters which recorded the diplomatic action between powers such as Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, Mitanni, Babylon, etc. where fertile ground for such an attempt was provided.

Despite their “*simplistic*” character and the content and language of correspondence which reflected a “*remote age*” (c.f Cohen 1996: 12), the Amarna Letters as other letters and treaties exchanged among the Pharaohs of Egypt and the Kings of the Near East during the Late Bronze Age were dominated by the metaphor of family and brotherhood. In their majority a familial ethos is evident and an ethic of brotherly love appeared. The latter was not limited in mere kinship relations but expanded also in the fields of adaptive kingship and fraternal relationships, using terms which had their semantic origins in family law (Cohen 1996: 14-15; Weinfeld 1973: 83). But which view of metaphor can explain better the effect the use such a terminology had in the diplomatic processes followed at the Amarna system of diplomacy? If metaphors perceived as simple literature devices which had as their only purpose the embellishment of the text with artificial verbiage, then the letters and the several treaties can be understood as a literature fabrication poor in metaphors. Their character, records of diplomatic exchanges, quarrels, requests for marriages, military assistance, inventories of gifts, etc., had nothing in common with texts of religious, mythic or ritual character, rich in metaphors and allegories (Avruch 2000: 156). If metaphor perceived as the key to what is called as “*communicational*

⁴⁵³ See the discussions made by White 1949; Spiro 1982: 45-72; Fernandez 1991; Chilton 1996.

⁴⁵⁴ For a review regarding problems, methods and limitations see the introduction made by Cohen (1996: 11-12).

performance”, crucial for the development of contacts, constitutive of discourse and a valuable tool of human cognition and reasoning (Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980), then the letters exchanged were full of dominant symbols and root metaphors, connected with the basic principles of status recognition, authority, equality, and prestige (Avruch 2000: 157).

Near Eastern world of the Late Third and Early second millennium B.C. had very little in common with the Late Bronze Age. Starting with the elevation of king Sargon, a succession of imperial enterprises which contained the rise and fall of a number of Kingdoms such as Ur III, Hammurabi’s Babylon and Yahmad’s Aleppo was recorded (Bryce 2003: 45). While the impact the military achievements of these kings had in the succeeding generations of kings such as Thutmose III and Hattusili I was enormous⁴⁵⁵, it was the aftermath these earlier kingdoms experienced due to the lack of experience, logistics, resources and alternative means of communication and co-operation which led the later generations of kings to follow a path different than that of war.⁴⁵⁶

What brute military force brought to kingdoms such as Babylon, Ur, Aleppo and that of Akkads in the past was a brief flourish which led finally to decline and fall. Another path needed to be followed and political and diplomatic activity proved as a commendable mean for achieving great status without collateral damages being recorded. In order to achieve unity though, the need for the adoption of codes commonly accepted, especially among partners of equal status, needed. The metaphor of *protection*, although applicable in relations maintained among parts which were unequal in power, prestige, and sources⁴⁵⁷, was not the appropriate one to designate the peer relations maintained among the great kings during the Late Bronze Age (Liverani 2001: 135). Although the path of war was abandoned due to the insight the Late Bronze Age kings acquired, the need for saving face and holding a level of prestige towards their peers was never abandoned, especially for reasons of internal politics and ideology. Hence, in order to communicate among each other in terms

⁴⁵⁵ See for example the connection Hattusili I made with Sargon I and his successor Naram Sin.

⁴⁵⁶ Notable exceptions the conflicts between Hittites and Mitanni and the two clashes among Egyptians and Hittites at Kadesh, the first under the reign of Seti I and the second during the reign of Ramesses II.

⁴⁵⁷ Such as Great Kings-Vassals relations.

which reflected reciprocity and equality another metaphor, the one of “*brotherhood*” needed to be employed.

While the character of the relations hidden behind the term might seem conventional due to the familiarity the term enjoyed in the Late Bronze Age Near East, its use reflected relationships bounded by bonds of blood, having the partners being voluntarily involved in such commitments (Liverani 2001: 135). Brother-in-law relationships, complains, exchanges of gods and specialists among courts bound by intermarriage relationships, requests for marriages and gifts as intermarriages among the Great Kings justified the use of such terminology: through its use the Great Royal Houses of the Late Bronze Age were placed to an international extended household this time which was bound by bonds of blood. In addition, the political hierarchy was placed as Liverani very apposite remarked, “*in a horizontal solidarity no less important than the vertical ‘national’ which is sharply fractured by the basic distinction between lords and servants*” (c.f. Liverani 2001: 135). Furthermore, the use of the metaphor of brotherhood reflected ingeniously the political needs of the era.

The Late Bronze Age was characterized by a constant change in the spheres of power maintained among powers such as Egypt, Mitanni, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon. While the placement of peer relations among Great Kings inside family context, dominated by the ideas of love and mutual respect, served perfectly purposes of self-ostentation and self-prestige, quarrels among brothers were not excluded at all. Hence, quarrels among status, role transmission from father to son as quarrels regarding recognition occurred, objecting to the theoretical model of mutual love. The path of brotherhood was not easy to be followed and the status of brother among Great Kings was not guaranteed at all.

In several letters exchanged between the Great Kings resided in Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age⁴⁵⁸ a familial designation was expressed, with the use of the term “*brother*” being of great significance.⁴⁵⁹ Despite the familiarity of the term though, the status of “*brother*” was neither easy to achieve nor permanent. The old fashioned path to brotherhood, namely the inheritance of a throne which was

⁴⁵⁸ See for example the corpus of Amarna Letters or the Letters exchanged between Ramesses II and the Hittites. For a coherent translation of the Amarna Letters see Moran 1992; Rainey 2015, Vol. I. For the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence see Beckman 1999; Edel 1994.

⁴⁵⁹ See the discussions made by Bryce 2003; Liverani 2001; Van De Mieroop 2007: 100-32.

connected with bonds of brotherhood with another one abroad, was the generally accepted way as several letters indicate. The norm in such occasions was the mourning on behalf of one Great King for the loss of one of his “*brothers*” while the renewal of brotherhood, interpersonally connected with persons and not states, forged through practices such as a new diplomatic marriage agreement, the reassurance that filial feelings among the two courts didn’t change as the delegation of diplomatic gifts with messengers tactically send abroad. But being a brother was by no means a static fact.

The turbulent political scenery of the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age as the several interstate conflicts due to the quest for inner power and control created changes in status and quests for recognition in order newly appointed kings legitimate their rule and gain their ticket to the “*Great Powers Club*” and rising powers being acknowledged by their international peers as equals. In such efforts, the demonstration of brute force gains nothing but the recognition of Great Kingship status with that of being a brother being at stake due to games of power, prestige, and diplomacy. In order Egypt being able to achieve a place in such an environment, it had to abandon several ideological beliefs and traditions as we will see in chapter 5.

5] Aspects of Egyptian abandonment of power

The everchanging political situation in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age as the needs territorial states presented in order to solidify the power of the monarchy, enrich their economies and secure their strategic and economic interests led to the development of a system of diplomacy truly unique in character. That system had on its core commonly accepted codes and it was based on values grounded on reciprocity and equality among its participants (Avruch 2000: 160-164; Cohen 1996: 11-28; Liverani 2000: 15).

Through a large corpora of texts found in modern Tell el-Amarna, the so-called Amarna texts, a system of diplomacy having at its apex territorial states such as New Kingdom Egypt, Mitanni, Assyria, Babylonia as other city-states, obtaining the role of the vassal as that of the buffer zone among the great powers, revealed (Rainey 2015; Moran 1992; Mynarova 2007). It was through such a corpus and especially through the letters exchanged among great kings (See 4.2) where the peculiarities as the purpose of such a system exposed.

The major purpose of the diplomatic system of Amarna was the invention of codes commonly accepted in order the upheaval and the costly military operations being restrained. In addition, economic profit as a flow of income with the minimum costs in manpower and wealth became a primary goal. Co-operation through commonly accepted codes of behavior and communication (i.e patrimonialism, the metaphor of brotherhood, etc.) led to that direction (See 4.3, 4.8). Despite the existence of codes commonly appreciated and accepted by the participants of such a system though, fundamental differences in aspects such as governance, power, the notion of the divine, the tolerance towards anything foreign, etc. occurred.

While fundamental aspects such as the use of metaphor of "*brotherhood*" as accepted communicational code among political entities of equal and reciprocal value as the existence of patrimonialism under which the whole diplomatic procedure was placed inside a theoretical family context having on its head the "*father*" occurred (See 4.3-4.8), several ideological retreats as many adoptions of customs foreign needed to be achieved in order Egypt being accepted as equal partner.

While Egypt gained the role of a major participant in such a system, it was a latecomer (Liverani 2000: 15). The rules of negotiation and communication were set a long time ago and its individual agents had to comply with them in order being accepted as equal partners to an artificial fraternity of “*brothers*” (Munn-Rankin 1956; Liverani 2000: 15; Cohen 1996: 11-28). Such fraternity was functional mainly under bonds of blood and familial relationships equivocal and reciprocal in character (Liverani 2001: 135). In order such participation achieved, several internal facets of ideology needed to be bypassed and Egypt had to accept the new *status quo*.

In order Egypt became possible to participate on equal terms in such a system, aspects such as universalist ideals, notions of supremacy over everything foreign, theological notions favoring Egypt over the others as the absolute use of the Egyptian language (see chapters 2 and 3) needed to be expelled. Furthermore, the participation of Egypt in customs foreign as in practices such as the exchange of gifts, the practice of diplomatic marriage, the use of Accadian as a common *lingua franca* of the communication maintained as the acceptance of gods of foreign origin as guarantors of any diplomatic agreement needed to be adapted.

Despite the efforts made for acquiring prestige using mechanisms such as the delegation of messengers, the highlighting of elevated status through specific verbiage as the several demands and complains towards the value of the gifts, the size of delegations as the quantity of gold sent regarding the bride price or as a gift (Zaccagnini 1987: 58-59; Ibid., 2000: 147), all visible in the analysis made in 4.2, the rules were set and the participants had to follow them. Aspects such as royal gift-giving, diplomatic marriage, and exchange of gods proved of great significance and Egypt had to participate and adapt their peculiarities in order to become an equal partner of its Near Eastern peers. It was in such facets where several aspects of abandonment recorded on behalf of the Egyptian side.

5.1] Royal gifts exchange

During the continuous process of evolution and political schematization of the diplomatic system of Amarna, it was reciprocity, equality, brotherhood and exchange that held the whole construction together (Cohen 1996: 11-28; Liverani 2000: 15). The same values worked as a corner stone in order rules meant to be followed by its participants for at least 500 years set (Beckman 2003: 754-755; Cohen 1996: 11-28; Liverani 2000: 15; Avruch 2000: 160-164).⁴⁶⁰ In such a system, where the expression of unbounded love and esteem of one great king to another was vital in order a ruler being accepted as an equal member of the “*brotherhood*” shaped among kings of equal rank (Singer 2003: 81-84), royal gifts provided a fitting way in order a ruler being able to express such feelings to another.

Gift giving was neither an invention of the Late Bronze Age nor free of bonds (Zaccagnini 2000: 147-153; Avruch 2000: 154-164; Liverani 2000: 24-26; Ragionieri 2000: 47-50). Several texts from the palace of Mari testified the existence of such a procedure long before the Late Bronze Age (Zaccagnini 2000: 147-153; *Ibid.*, 1983: 192; *Ibid.*, 1973). On the other hand, aspects such as the internal ideology the participants had, the methods used in order to acquire prestige as several demands and requests made, uncovered a tricky mean of diplomacy (Kopaniias 2015: 199-206; Liverani 2000: 24-26; Ragionieri 2000: 47-50; Zaccagnini 2000: 147-153). Egypt and its Pharaoh had to adapt to in order to become able to participate in the diplomatic system shaped as equals with its Near Eastern peers.

The perception of the Amarna system of diplomacy as a political structure defined through feelings of brotherhood and consequent mutual love among its participants contradicts the way royal acts of exchange were presented inwards (See 3.1). While, in sources such as the Amarna Letters the participants of any act of royal exchange were presented as being of equal rank⁴⁶¹, reciprocal and equate each other (See 4.2), when the same act of exchange was unfolded in front of Egyptian audience

⁴⁶⁰ A terminus ante towards the development of Egyptian policies such as that of diplomacy and gift giving procedure among Egypt and Near Eastern polities can be considered the battle of Thutmose III at Megiddo as Thutmose III's expeditions, see Morris 2005; Redford 2003; *Ibid.*, 2006.

⁴⁶¹ At least at the “*great powers*” level, using verbiage of brotherhood. EA 265 where Tagi, the ruler of Ginti-Kirmil, receives a personal gift from Pharaoh or the several requests made from vassals to Pharaoh in Letters such as EA 49, 55, 161, 287 few constituted a breach of protocol in order Pharaoh being able to secure his national interests and vassals to gain as much as possible from a superpower, a realistic approach of diplomacy.

inner political propaganda transformed it into the demonstration of submission and tribute (*inw*) on behalf of the foreigners (Zaccagnini 1973: 133-134; *Ibid.*, 1987: 60; Liverani 2001: 183).

The several facets of the Egyptian ideology as theological implications created the picture of an uncivilized foreigner, an archenemy of order (Baines 1996; Kousoulis 2012: 259; Schneider 2010: 144-6; Schneider 2003). Foreigners were presented in the Egyptian textual and pictorial sources as chaotic hordes which were destroyed by Pharaoh and the gods of Egypt. Loot was part of the victory and it was presented by Pharaoh to the gods (Schneider 2010: 144-6; Redford 1984: 27; Kemp 1978: 9). They were obliged to deliver an annual tribute to Egypt and its gods and to serve as servants in its temples, a literature topos frequently reproduced in texts as in visual representations in the walls of the tombs and the temples.

Such a topos transformed, at least internally, any act of exchange in the form of tribute and submission (*inw*) (Redford 2003; *Ibid.*, 1984: 27; Kemp 1978: 9). While that sort of perception of foreigners was demonstrated vividly in several textual sources (i.e Docs 3-5, 7-9, 11, 13, 15-16, 19, 20, 26, 28-29, 40, 43), it was in texts such as Hatshepsut's expedition at Punt (Doc. 11) or in the campaigns described in the annals of Thutmose III (Doc. 16) where such a perception reproduced ingeniously under the dictations of the Egyptian propaganda.

In the expedition sent by Hatshepsut to Punt (Breasted 1906: 102-122; De Buck 1948: 48-53; Sethe 1906, no 106; Hanning 1995), the interaction between acts of exchange and inner ideology as the differences presented in the practical running of transactions were highlighted under an emphatic way (Liverani 2001: 166). Despite the fact that products such as myrrh and incense were already reaching Egypt even before Hatshepsut sent an expedition at Punt⁴⁶², the rate of income was slow and many detours were the rule (Save-Sodeberg 1946: 8-30; Liverani 2001: 166; Kitchen 1971: 191-192).

From an economic point of view, the creation of a direct route to Punt through the Red Sea as the bypass of any middlemen gave Hatshepsut the upper hand in an economical transaction which was characterized by the exchange of raw materials for

⁴⁶² On *ntyw*, myrrh, and *sntr*, incense, see Hepper 1969: 66-72; Nielsen 1986: 5-15.

common items of workmanship in return (Liverani 2001: 167). But the economic gain was not the sole aspect of the transaction recorded at the walls of Deir el Bahri. The presence of Egypt at Punt was presented inwards as the absorption of a very remote land into the “*known*” and “*civilized*” Egyptian world. By “*trading on the myrrh terraces*”⁴⁶³ (*wb3 mtnw r htiw-ntiw*), the Egyptians took possession of Punt and assimilated a territory previously belonged to the outer space, inhabited by the forces of chaos and destruction. Hence, the remote locality abandoned its pre-creation condition and became part of Egypt where Maat rules.

The iconic representation of the expedition illustrated the Egyptians to deliver gifts such as metal rings, a sword, an axe and a lot of bed necklaces (Navelle 1898, pl. LXIX). In return, they received supplies from Punt (raw materials) which were described in the texts accompanying the reliefs as *inw*, “*tribute*” which was received not by the king himself⁴⁶⁴ but the king’s messenger from the chiefs of Punt which came with “*their heart full of fear*” (*m ib snd*), “*bowing their heads down*” (*m w3h-tp*).⁴⁶⁵ That contradiction was explained by the Egyptian ideology ingeniously.

Although it was Hatshepsut who sent the expedition to Punt, the Egyptian sources presented the chiefs of Punt moving towards the Egyptian messenger in a gesture which declares inferiority (Liverani 2001: 168). Similarly, the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners remained intact through the use of two literature devices. The gifts delivered by the Egyptians were given not to the local rulers themselves but to an artificial duplicate of goddess Hathor, a convention of the divine which was applied by the Egyptian theologians in all countries which were suppliers of raw materials (Givon 1978: 61-67). Furthermore, the gifts offered by the Egyptians were described in the texts as foodstuffs, the only export consistent with the Egyptian ideology (Liverani 2001: 168). Despite the differences in terminology, what the Egyptian traders brought back home were *inw* and *bi't*, “*tribute*” and “*marvels*”⁴⁶⁶ which the foreign chiefs of Punt brought to Pharaoh in order to receive “*the breath of life*” (*t3w n nḥ*), leaving intact the Egyptian ideology who wanted foreigners to be totally submissive to Egypt.

⁴⁶³ Translation after De Buck 1948: 48-53.

⁴⁶⁴ For the representation of Queen Hatshepsut as a male see Gadolbe 2014: 33-48; Szafranski 2014: 125-138.

⁴⁶⁵ Translation after De Buck 1948: 48-53.

⁴⁶⁶ See the analysis of the terms made in 3.1.

Similarly, in the annals of Thutmose III (Redford 2003; Urk. IV, 647-756), an annual flow of goods transported to Egypt from abroad due to the annual campaigning of the king was described. The use of different vocabulary in order to classify them was the rule (Liverani 2001: 176). Although the goods arrived in Egypt were generally described in the annals as “loot” (*ḥ3k*)⁴⁶⁷ which derived directly from the military victories of Thutmose III⁴⁶⁸, the different classification of them using words such as “tribute” (*inw*)⁴⁶⁹, “production” (*b^ck*)⁴⁷⁰ and “marvels” (*bi^ct*)⁴⁷¹ demonstrated several types of delivery which were classified regarding the status of their suppliers (Liverani 2001: 176), an antithesis to the way greeting-gifts presented in the Amarna correspondence.

In the majority of the Amarna letters, the acts of royal exchange which presented and derived to and from the Egyptian court were demonstrations of mutual love and reciprocal actions among the rulers of the “*Great Powers*” club, not revenue declared differently regarding the status of the sender and the receiver. In the annals of Thutmose III the situation was presented in a different way. The Egyptian taxonomy of incoming goods separated the supplying localities into three zones, the *b^ck* lands, an extension of the Egyptian administration consisted of Nubia on its whole and parts from Syria-Palestine, the *inw* suppliers such as Cyprus, Aegean and the whole of south-east Asia where their local rulers presented the tribute to the Pharaoh himself (Liverani 2001: 177; Bleiberg 1981: 107-110) and localities such as Punt where *bi^ct* derive (Liverani 2001: 177).⁴⁷² As a result, a differentiation among areas which were administrated directly by an Egyptian official and those who kept their own political authorities under a state of vassalage became obvious. In the former, the revenue was presented annually with the form of taxation while in the later the way their production presented in the Egyptian texts (tribute, supply or marvel) as the frequency of its arrival was dependent on the political situation obtained among Egypt and the rulers of the foreign localities (Liverani 2001: 178). But was that

⁴⁶⁷ Wb III: 32.

⁴⁶⁸ “*His Majesty commanded to cause to be recorded his victories...together with the plunder which his Majesty carried away therein*”, translation after Breasted 1906, II: 407.

⁴⁶⁹ Wb I: 91.

⁴⁷⁰ Wb I: 426-430.

⁴⁷¹ See Graefe 1971.

⁴⁷² An antithesis prominent also in Docs. 3-5, 7-9, 11, 13, 15-16, 19, 20, 26, 28-29, 40, 43.

differentiation in terms significant for the Egyptian ideology? The answer is probably not.

The supplies presented to Pharaoh and the gods were for the Egyptian ideology products which derived from inferior beings. They created in order to comply with the rules the creator god set a long time ago and obliged to serve Egypt. Hence, the acceptance of any political significance in the separate translations given for *inw* (i.e. “gift”⁴⁷³ or “tribute”⁴⁷⁴), apart from an artificial dilemma, introduces a distinction which never existed for the Egyptian ideology (Liverani 2001: 179). Despite any neutral denotation implied in the Egyptian texts by the use of different terminology in order to describe the supplies which came from abroad, a strong political connotation can not be excluded (Stevenson Smith 1965: 3; Morenz 1969: 24-25; Liverani 2001: 179). The emphasis which the Egyptian ideology gave in the demonstration of any revenue came from abroad in texts made for internal consumption was their representation as tribute due to the lower status of the sender, the fear for the Pharaoh or a military defeat, working as an unconcealed expression of propaganda for inner political purposes such as the control of the Egyptian population and the reinforcement of the position of the monarch (See 3.1). It was that sort of perception which was demonstrated also in several representations of tribute scenes located at several private tombs dated during the New Kingdom (Redford 1967: 120-128; Davies 1901-1946).

Despite the gradual disappearance of such a theme from the repertoire of the private tomb decoration (Vandier 1966: 535-536), it was such its popularity that tribute scenes were noticed not only in tombs at Thebes but also in El-Amarna, Deir Rifa and Saqqara (Aldred 1970: 105; Davies 1901-1946). Despite the dispersal of such scenes in tombs located in different areas though, it was in the Theban tombs that the scenes shown the tributes of Africa and Asia offered to the Pharaoh occurred in at least fourteen examples⁴⁷⁵, presenting an excellent example of the use of propaganda internally (Davies 1923; *Ibid.*, 1960; *Ibid.*, 1946).

As the historical record demonstrated vividly, the Egyptian Pharaohs of the New Kingdom led no military expeditions in Punt, the islands of the Mediterranean,

⁴⁷³ See Muller-Wollermann 1983: 81-93.

⁴⁷⁴ See Boochs 1984: 61-66.

⁴⁷⁵ For an index to such scenes see PM I: 463.

the Mitannian capital or the Hittites directly (Aldred 1970: 105; Weinstein 1981). Despite the clashes recorded between Hatti and Egypt at Kadesh and elsewhere, the latter was a buffer zone and not Hittite ground. The same executive military plan followed by the Egyptian army men in the several clashes the Egyptians had with Mitanni. Hence, the bombastic exaggerations used in the textual record as the closer examination of the tribute depicted in the aforementioned scenes presented some serious doubts regarding the nature of the acts of exchange depicted in the Theban tombs as towards the way “*gifts*” were exchanged respectively.

The first thing that someone notices after a careful examination of the “*tribute*” shown in the so-called tribute scenes is that the “*tribute*” offered cannot be gathered at the battlefield (Aldred 1970: 105-106). Despite the fact that scenes relative with the representation of booty taken at the battlefield did occur⁴⁷⁶, their main features were the representation of phalli and hands from the slain enemies as captives, corpses, horses and chariots (Docs. 3-5, 7, 13, 15-16, 19, 23, 28, 31, 33). In contrast, none of such representations occurred in the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Aldred 1970: 107; Davies 1933: 8, No. 63).⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, there is no proof that the “*chiefs*” depicted bearing the tribute were the rulers of Hatti, Mitanni, etc.

Despite the fact that the bombastic exaggerations in the texts wanted the king to capture thousands of hundreds of prisoners including “*the chiefs of the wretched Hatti*”, and the custom the Egyptians had to take the offspring of the rulers of the localities scattered in the Near East at the Egyptian court in an effort to acculturate them in the Egyptian way of life since the reign of Thutmose III, no further proof towards the identity of the chiefs depicted can be provided. Similar flaws were presented in Redford’s alternate interpretation of such scenes as the presentation of annual tribute (Redford 1967: 120-128). While in texts such as the annals of Thutmose III (Doc. 16) the reception of products from Nubia and Kush was recorded

⁴⁷⁶ See for example the representation of Ramesses III at a window of appearances found in the first court of Medinet Habu or Thutmose III’s display of spoils after the battle of Megiddo, see Medinet Habu, I, Pls. 22, 23, 42; II, pl. 75 and Urk. IV, 659, 15; 663, 7 respectively.

⁴⁷⁷ For the interpretation of the corselets shown at the tomb of Kenamun as “*New Year’s gifts*” and not as booty see Davies 1930, pls. xvi, xxiv. For the plumed casques offered by Syrian bearers at tombs nos 42 and 86 and their interpretation as presentation pieces and not spoils derived from the battlefield see Aldred 1970: 107; Davies 1933: 8, No. 63.

as an annual event⁴⁷⁸, this was not the case with the tribute shown in the hands of Asiatics (Aldred 1970: 110).

The Egyptians of the New Kingdom annexed Nubia and Kush and governed such localities using the Egyptian model of administration.⁴⁷⁹ Hence, a taxation system which was extracted products such as grain, gold, cattle, ivory, ebony, pelts, slaves, etc. was applied under the same way it was functioned in the Egyptian towns and regions (Smith 1997: 301-305, *Ibid.*, 1991: 77-79; Aldred 1970: 110). The existence of such system though cannot be confirmed for localities such as Hatti, Mitanni, the islands of the Aegean, etc.

Despite the fact that the Egyptians probably applied some sort of taxation system in the buffer states which were under their sphere of influence or directed by an Egyptian official, this was not the case for the aforementioned localities. In addition, the products shown carried out by the Asiatics were not in the form of raw materials, they were finished works similar to those described in the exchanges in the Amarna Letters analyzed in 4.2. As a result, alternate suggestions towards the nature of the scenes of tribute shown in the Theban tombs made, with their understanding as a representation of a public ceremony in which the sovereignty of the Pharaoh was recognized by his peers through the presentation of gifts being quite fashionable (Aldred 1970: 105).⁴⁸⁰ The Asian tribute depicted in the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty could be perceived as a disguised state-trading, transformed by the Egyptian propaganda internally in order to reinforce the prestige of Kingship inwards and comply with the limitations the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners posed (Aldred 1970: 111), a suggestion which founds fertile ground on the way Egypt enters in the gift-giving procedure described in the Amarna Letters.

The way acts of royal exchange were presented in sources such as the Amarna Letters differs fundamentally from that demonstrated in the Egyptian textual and pictorial sources dated during the New Kingdom. Instead for an arid representation of

⁴⁷⁸ See for example the reference made in room XIII of his festival hall at Karnak where Thutmose III dedicates to Amun Ra "*the yearly dues*" from the Southern countries, see Urk. IV, 871.

⁴⁷⁹ For the administration of Nubia by the Viceroy of Kush, see Habachi 1981: 155-168. For the two deputies worked along the viceroy of Kush see Shinnie 1996: 82.

⁴⁸⁰ Contra Redford 1967: 120-8 where he argues that the procession of tribute bearers led by the tomb owner might represent the plunder from a foreign campaign or alternatively the arrival of yearly tribute in Egypt.

supplies of goods as a tribute, marvels and taxation delivered only in one direction, a sense of equality and reciprocity in the way any act of royal exchange was conducted became prominent (Zaccagnini 2000: 144; Liverani 2001: 180).

The international relations shaped among Egypt and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age were characterized mainly by positive interactions expressed inside a system which was functioned under the context of “*brotherhood*”, “*love*” and “*friendship*” (Zaccagnini 2000: 144; Liverani 2001: 181; *Ibid.*, 2000: 18; Cohen 1996: 11). Despite the several adaptations noticed due to the absence of a “*father*”⁴⁸¹, a significant element in order the domestic household became functional⁴⁸², as the inequalities presented among the participants of such a system in aspects such as power, wealth, technology and resources, internal propaganda was not the norm.

In order to be accepted in an international system which operated under the rules of an “*enlarged village*” (Beckman 2003: 754-755; Liverani 2000: 18; *Ibid.*, 2001: 181), any great king had to adapt his ways of communication and bargaining and Pharaoh didn’t prove an exception. Hence, adaptability, formality, and artificiality proved vital for the participation of Egypt. The character of the Late Bronze Age as the political horizons created were characterized by a constant balancing of great powers, mutual contacts and an endless desire for expanding spheres of influence, created not only for ideological but also for commercial and economic reasons (Zaccagnini 1983: 192; *Ibid.*, 2000: 145; Liverani 2001: 181). This was reflected in the value items such as gold, silver and lapis lazuli as human personnel such as foreign brides, experts and messengers had as in the form any sort of royal exchange took in the Amarna correspondence.

Despite the use of several rhetorical mechanisms by the participants in order to reduce the value of the exchange items and acquire prestige (Zaccagnini 1987: 58-59; *Ibid.*, 2000: 147), the general norm in the Amarna Letters was that apart from

⁴⁸¹ Such as the transportation of any negotiation from a “father to son” level to a “brother to brother” level when the interactions were between kings of equal rank as the transportation to “lord to servant” schema when negotiations concluded among participants of unequal rank, i.e. great king and vassal, see Zaccagnini 2000: 144.

⁴⁸² For the household model and its transportation to a system of diplomacy during the Late Bronze Age see Cohen 1996: 11-28. For patrimonialism and the household model in Ugarit and the ancient Near East in general see Schloen 2001.

accepted gifts, Pharaoh also delivered them through his messengers, following a procedure which reflected a disguised state trading activity as some sort of abandonment. Egypt was the main supplier of gold (Edzard 1960: 38-55) but on the same time, it was dependent on other Near Eastern peers for its supplies of silver, semiprecious stones, copper and lapis lazuli. As a result, ceremonial bargaining invented in order a balance among necessity and prestige being held and economic needs being satisfied (Zaccagnini 1987: 58-59; *Ibid.*, 2000: 147).

Despite the diplomatic formalities which characterized any exchange of goods between the courts of Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age, also several peculiarities regarding the way the aforementioned exchange concluded emerged, presenting similar limitations with the ones made their appearance during the Old Babylonian period (Zaccagnini 1983; *Ibid.*, 1973). The basic principles which characterized royal gift exchange in the Amarna Letters can be confined into three major labels: gifts cannot be asked for, gifts must be given from both sides, accepted and appreciated and gifts must be reciprocated (Liverani 2000: 24-25). Hence, several features which characterized any act of royal exchange made its appearance in the Amarna Letters with the most important one being that of acquiring prestige (Zaccagnini 1983: 58).

In several transactions between the royal courts of Egypt and the Near East, a tendency for decreasing the value of the exchanged item was noticed, especially from the party who waited or asked for it (Zaccagnini 1983: 58). This was mainly due to reasons of prestige. Several rhetorical devices such as the practice several participants had of sending qualities of a luxury item (i.e gold, silver, ivory) to a country which had plenty of it in order to demonstrate autarky or the invention of specific circumstances (i.e the construction of a great work) in order to minimize the “*embarrassment*” the repeating requests created used under the same fashion (Zaccagnini 2000: 147; *Ibid.*, 1987: 58-60).

Despite the aforementioned techniques of acquiring prestige, a sense of abandonment due to the adoption, on behalf of the Pharaoh, of ways of exchange foreign to the Egyptian ideology cannot be excluded from the gift-giving procedure recorded in the Amarna Letters. And this was not the only act of abandonment on behalf of the Pharaoh. Apart from delegations of messengers exchanging gifts also

princess of foreign origins were transported from the palaces of the Near East to the royal court of Egypt, with the Pharaoh took part in foreign customs perceived as an abomination for the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners.

5.2] Diplomatic marriage

Interdynastic marriages were a significant component of the political relations shaped among the political entities of the Near East already from the Third Millennium B.C. (Schulman 1979: 180).⁴⁸³ Such a norm was practiced also inside the Amarna Age where diplomatic marriage⁴⁸⁴ took the form of a fundamentally acknowledged way of maintaining relations on the highest diplomatic level (Artzi 1987: 23; Schulman 1979: 180; Meier 2000: 165; Bryan 2000a:80; Zaccagnini 1990:38).⁴⁸⁵

Any discussion around the diplomatic marriages conducted during the Amarna Age should be examined in the context of the entire Late Bronze Age. Such an attempt though could be proved fruitless due to the limitations such an effort presented: despite the fact that some reliable generalizations regarding diplomatic marriage can be made⁴⁸⁶, the fundamental differences in culture, theology, and ideology the participants had as the variances in the way diplomatic marriage was perceived and presented inwards and outwards due to reasons of propaganda made such an attempt quite ineffective.

Differences in marriage laws and customs among West and East Semitic cultures and Egypt presupposed different expectations for the participants (Meier 2000: 165; Allam 1969: 155; Lebrun 1979: 109-125). In addition, alterations in the perception of aspects fundamental for the conduction of diplomatic alliances such as

⁴⁸³ See for example the Old Babylonian interdynastic marriages recorded in the texts of Ur III, Mari or those from Ebla, see Pettinato 1981; Durand 1985: 385-435; Lafont 1987.

⁴⁸⁴ Defined as *“the arranged marriage between the ruler of one state and the offspring of the royal house of another”*, cf. Schulman, 1979: 179.

⁴⁸⁵ Purely political reasons such as the establishment of alliances, the neutralization of the rivalries and the reinforcement of treaties every time the *“head”* of a state changed, made diplomatic marriage a well attested practice in the ancient Near East during the last two millennia B.C., see Rollig 1974: 11-23; Malamat 1963: 8-10; Kitchen 1986. For a study oriented in New Kingdom Egypt see Schulman 1979: 177-193.

⁴⁸⁶ Such as the acceptance of marriage between the royal houses of Egypt and the other powers of the Near East in order to maintain diplomatic relations, the use of diplomatic marriage in order to obtain wealth, the use of gold and personnel as dowry or the attestation of a bride price etc., see Schulman 1979: 177-193.

kingship, kinship, theology, ideology towards the others or even the language itself made any attempt of generalizations quite insecure (Meier 2000: 165). Surprisingly enough though, it was under this light where the diplomatic marriages conducted among the royal houses of Egypt, Hatti, Babylon, Assyria, and Mitanni during the period of Amarna acted as a factor of unity among the aforementioned members of the “*Great Powers Club*” shaped during the late Bronze Age (Meier 2000: 165).

The acceptance of diplomatic marriage as one of the corner stones of the system of diplomacy shaped in the southeastern Mediterranean was not free of bonds. A feeling of abandonment on behalf of Egypt, of fundamental ideological values as Pharaoh’s surrender of uniqueness in several cases of diplomatic marriages recorded in the Amarna Letters analyzed in 4.2, highlighted the two major aspects of the system:

- The rules of international marriage game were set long ago, before Egypt and its New Kingdom Pharaohs participated in it (Schulman 1979: 180).
- Egypt had to submit to foreign ways in order to become a qualified peer in the international arena, at least in the way the diplomatic marriages Egypt conducted with its neighbor states presented outwards (Meier 2000: 165).

Necessity versus ideology

The refusal of Amenhotep III to Kadasman-Enlil for an Egyptian bride on EA 4, representative of the one-sided Egyptian attitude towards diplomatic marriages⁴⁸⁷, suggested some sort of double standard regarding the perception of diplomatic marriage in Egypt. Although, “*from time immemorial no daughter of the king of*

⁴⁸⁷ At least in diplomatic marriages which were recorded in the Egyptian sources. While in several sources such as the two marriage stele of Ramesses II, the Bentresh Stelae or the marriage scarabs of Amenhotep III (doc. 21, 39, 43, 44) the diplomatic marriage as the arrival of princess was perceived as an act of submission on behalf of the foreigners, in the case of EA 4 the refusal of Amenhotep III to Kadasman-Enlil served the purpose of saving face for Egypt in a fruitless way. Despite the fact that several scholars such as Schulman (1979) suggested that the denial of the Pharaoh to give an Egyptian bride to the Babylonians supported the claim of Egypt as the leading power, he overlooked the use of verbiage of equality and kinship as the acceptance of the Pharaoh of foreign customs such as the action of the pouring of the oil to the head of the bride, actions which downgraded the King of Egypt to the same level with the other Great Kings of the Near East, for details see Meier 2000: 170-171.

*Egypt is given to anyone*⁴⁸⁸, it was acceptable for the Egyptian ideology of the New Kingdom the Pharaoh had a number of foreign wives in his harem with status subordinate to that of the Egyptian Queen (Schulman 1979: 180).⁴⁸⁹

Despite the gradual changes noticed in the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners⁴⁹⁰, deep on its core it remained Egyptocentric, considering them as instruments of chaos which must be destroyed when rebellious while perfect for exploitation when in peace (Kousoulis 2012: 259; O'Connor and Quirke 2003: 11). As a result, any acceptance of the foreign way of life by an Egyptian was perceived as barbarism⁴⁹¹ while any allowance of a diplomatic marriage on which the direction of the bride would be the opposite one was perceived by the Egyptian ideology as an act of abomination.⁴⁹²

That sort of interpretation of diplomatic marriage was applied mainly inwards, in times when Egypt held a powerful empire. In certain periods of political, theological and economic transitions such as the Second Intermediate Period or the period of Amarna, the doctrine of realism (see 4.3) dictated some sort of adjustment even in the Egyptian ideology, an area where fundamental changes when elevated to the spheres of intellectualism amounted with chaos and devastation. Under this light, several exceptions to Amenhotep's refusal for a native Egyptian bride to Babylonians on EA 4 appeared with the most noticeable ones being these of Tany, Herit, and Ankhesenamun.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁸ Translation after Moran 1992: 8, 4-22.

⁴⁸⁹ Noticeable exception was Maathorneferure, the foreign wife of Ramesses II which acquired an elevated status due to her association with his divinized counterpart, see Habachi 1969; Price 2011.

⁴⁹⁰ From a notion which served as an imagery of universalism, perceiving Egypt and Egyptians as the center of the universe and reflected in several of the Pyramid texts of the Old Kingdom as in texts dated during the middle Kingdom to a notion which annexed foreigners and placed them under the godly creation as valuable parts of the world, reflected in hymns such as the ones to Aten and to Amun Ra, recorded in Papyrus Boulaq 17 and dated during the New Kingdom Period (Doc. 27), see Allen 2003a: 23; Baines 1996: 372-3; Kousoulis 2012: 258; Assman 1995; Lichtheim 1976, II: 98.

⁴⁹¹ As reflected very appositely in the story of Sinuhe, composed during the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, see Parkinson 1997: 21-53. Sinuhe had to expel the foreign way of life in order to be accepted again in Egypt.

⁴⁹² See also Herodotus, Book III, 1 where the writer referred to the contrast between Egyptian tradition and the diplomatic marriage of a native Egyptian with a foreign King, this time the Persian Cambyses.

⁴⁹³ The proposed marriages of Hadad of Edom and King Solomon with native Egyptian princesses fall into the sphere of an ambiguous treatment of texts written at the court of Solomon with face value by several scholars, see i.e. Malamat 1958: 96-102; *ibid.*, 1963: 1-17; Kallai 1977: 103-109 etc. Despite the desire historians and Biblical archaeologists demonstrate to investigate "*probability*",

The first evidence of a diplomatic marriage where the rules the Egyptian ideology strictly dictated were set in opposition survived to us from an inscribed fragment of a limestone stela from Tel el-Daba (Schulman 1979:181; Simpson 1959: 237-38).⁴⁹⁴ Despite the difficulties presented on the interpretation, Simpson (1959: 237-38) read the name of an Egyptian woman (*t3ny*) inscribed in a cartouche.⁴⁹⁵ What followed the inscription was a group of peculiar signs as the name of Apophis (*ipp*), the famous king of the Hyksos, at the end (Simpson 1959: 233-239).

If Tany was an Egyptian commoner her name should be inscribed under a simple manner and not inside a cartouche. In addition, the similarity of the first element of her name with that of several rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes demonstrated a noble origin, probably that of a sibling of a high qualified member of the Egyptian court or the king himself, settled at Thebes during the reign of Apophis (Schulman 1976: 181; Simpson 1959: 236).⁴⁹⁶ Furthermore, the association of the name of Apophis with that inscribed on an offering stand dated during the Twelfth Dynasty (Berlin Museum 24487) as the presence of the name of Tany on it, not inside a cartouche this time, strongly suggested that the princess must have been a member of the Hyksos family in a period where Egypt was politically fragmented.

Apart from Tany, a similar case of marriage was recorded on an alabaster vase (MMA 21.7.7) discovered in the tomb of Amenhotep I at Thebes. The vase was inscribed skillfully with inscriptions such as *ntr nfr 3-wsr-R^c Ipp*, “the good god Aawosire, son of Re, Apophis” on its left and *s3tn swt 3rit*, “the king’s daughter Herit”, on its right respectively (Schulman 1979: 181; Carter 1916).

The presence of the name of the king of the Hyksos Apophis together with that of a Hyksos Queen to a Theban tomb made Carter to suppose that Herit would probably have been married to one of the rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty which were resided on Thebes and that the vase ended in the possession of Amenhotep I as

what one can gain from the Biblical sources is are enforcement of faith given skillfully by the hand of a scribe and “a limited insight into what the Deuteronomist writer considered to be the nature of the united monarchy”, c.f. Redford 1992: 311.

⁴⁹⁴ For a catalog of objects which derived from the site of Tell el-Daba see PM IV: 9.

⁴⁹⁵ *snt nsw t3ny 3nhiti*, “the sister of the King, Tany, she lives”, see Simpson 1959: 237-38.

⁴⁹⁶ Although it is tempting to suggest that Tany would probably be a Theban who held property at the Delta and enjoyed some sort of income of the fields and the use of pasture land there as suggested for other occasions at the Carnarvon tablet, it is the enclosure of her name in a cartouche as the title she held which made that theory quite insecure.

part of a dowry (Carter 1916 no. 5). However, the Egyptian origin of the name of the princess as the precedent of Tany suggested another diplomatic marriage between members of the Hyksos and the Egyptian Seventeenth Dynasty in a period which marked the pinnacle of Hyksos power in Egypt (Redford 1992: 118, 120-121; Schulman 1979: 181-182). But the Second Intermediate Period was not the only period of crisis for the Egyptian empire. The Egyptian message arrived in Hattusa in a moment of chaos due to the sudden death of Tutankhamun and the absence of any heir to succeed him in the Egyptian throne involved Ankhesenamun in a marriage proposal out of the accepted Egyptian ideological norms (Kontopoulos 2015: 1-14).

The available sources towards Ankhesenamun's pledge for a Hittite prince are unfortunately limited and derived solely from cuneiform sources (Guterbock 1956: 41-68). During Suppiliuma's attack to Carchemish, the Hittite king was informed that a messenger had arrived from Egypt, bearing an important message from his Queen. In that message a request without precedent was addressed to the Hittite king: Ankhesenamun requested from Suppiliuma a Hittite prince to come in Egypt, bind with her with the bonds of a diplomatic marriage and become the Pharaoh of Egypt (Kontopoulos 2015: 1-4; Guterbock 1956: 41-68).

Although the request for a foreign prince seemed as something impossible for the Egyptian ideology, it seems that Ankhesenamun held serious reasons for doing so. During Tutankhamun's reign, Egypt returned from a situation of an unorthodox monotheism to its previous state of polytheism (Bryce 2003: 191; Silverman 2006). His sudden death as the absence of an heir to succeed him could plunge Egypt into chaos again. The absence of a strong central government and the fear of a possible Hittite attack probably placed Ankhesenamun in a very difficult position (Kontopoulos 2015: 8; Schulman 1979: 178).

During the reign of Akhenaten, Hatti and Egypt maintained friendly relationships as recorded in the Amarna Letters. It was Tutankhamun's attack on Kadesh⁴⁹⁷ which created hostility among the two powers (Bryce 2003: 192; Schulman 1979: 178). At Tutankhamun's death, Egypt was vulnerable to a Hittite attack. By offering Suppiliuma's son the throne of Egypt Ankhesenamun may have tried to avert

⁴⁹⁷ Probably in order to secure his position to the throne of Egypt through tradition as a "*smitter of the Asiatics*", for details see Redford 1992: 177; Redford 1984: 213-14.

this. By using the known method of a diplomatic marriage, the opposite way round this time, the Queen possibly had in mind to unite the two biggest Kingdoms of the Near East (Kontopoulos 2015:4-6). In addition, it was only her union with a legitimized Pharaoh which could guarantee her own position on the throne of Egypt.

Queenship was used as a channel for the succession of males to the throne of Egypt. Hence, it was the bonds with the Queen which legitimize the succession of an heir to the throne of Egypt (O'Connor and Silverman 1995; Troy 1986: 102). In order to achieve that marital union a way to bypass the Egyptian tradition should be discovered and the acceptance, by the Hittite prince, of the Egyptian way of life and customs in order being accepted in Egypt seemed as quite profound solution (Kontopoulos 2015: 6). Under this light, Suppiluliuma decided to send his forth son in Egypt but, as the Hittite sources recorded, he never arrived alive⁴⁹⁸ with the suspicions of the murder to burden the shoulders of Ay, successor of Tuthankhamun. Despite the fiasco demonstrated towards the completion of the aforementioned marriage proposal, it was through the Hittite records where another case of diplomatic marriage which overturned the rules the Egyptian ideology strictly settled was revealed, once again proposed in a period in which the country was politically weak.

Diplomatic marriage in the Amarna Letters

Despite the variety in forms of contacts among Egypt and foreign populations as in the way the former represented in the textual and visual record⁴⁹⁹, it was the element of diplomacy which prevailed among them. Diplomatic marriage proved one of the most fundamental ways for the establishment of relations among territorial political entities with significant differences in aspects such as administration, theologies, kingship, ideology, and kinship. It was under its bonds where princess from Mitanni, Hatti, Arzawa, and Babylon arrived in Egypt and sealed or renewed diplomatic alliances between the several parties involved.

⁴⁹⁸ Several accounts from the Hittite perspective such as the Fragment 28 of the Deeds and Mursilli II's second plague prayer testify the Death of Zannanza, for details see Guterbock 1956: 108; Goetze in: *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930), 208-213. For a modern analysis see Murnane 1985: 25-51; Redford 1992: 178; Schulman 1979. In addition, minor supplementary account of the matter was found at another prayer of Mursillis, see Guterbock 1960: 60-61.

⁴⁹⁹ Extended from military conquests, annihilation, subjugation and exploitation of the foreigners to trade expeditions, exchange of people, gods, experts, products and ideas.

A quite representative amount of these marriages was recorded in several of the Amarna Letters (Moran 1992: 6). In 20 of the Amarna Letters sent among Egypt and its international peers marriage proposals, references to marriages already conducted, refusals, exchange of gifts, saving-face efforts, demands, complaints and gestures of reciprocity recorded on clay tablets which were written on their majority in Peripheral Accadian (Mynarova 2007: 45-46). Furthermore, several aspects of abandonment of power were recorded on these with Egypt being itself quite receptive in foreign ways and customs in order to participate in a diplomatic system which was maintained before the creation of the cosmopolitan empire of Thutmose III, having its tools and its rules already accredited by the other participants.

While the terminology of kinship, the language of brotherhood, the reciprocity and equality derived from the letters as the mutual gift-giving procedure followed among the participants creates to the modern reader a sense of equality among them, several signs of incongruity such as self-seeking political machinations and mercenary motives made their appearance on the letters from Amarna, especially in those relative with diplomatic marriage. On a corpus consisted of 387 letters (Moran 1992; Rainey 2015), only the 5.16% of them (20) was relative with marriages or marriage proposals conducted among the Great Kings of the Near East and Egypt under the terms of “*reciprocity*” and “*equality*”. From 42 Letters survived among Great Kings only 47.6% of them (20) was relative with diplomatic marriage. But how equal and reciprocal were these diplomatic exchanges of brides from one royal court to another?

As already discussed, the system of diplomatic contacts maintained between Egypt and the Near East was not an innovation of the Late Bronze Age. It was shaped quite earlier since the age of Mari, long before Egypt participated in it as an equal partner. Hence, in order Egypt being accepted as a qualified part of the diplomatic system of the Late Bronze Age it had a) to submit to foreign ways b) use diplomatic tools already accredited by the other members of the system and c) learn rules which were set up by others (Meier 2000: 168).

It is true that the ambiguity and imprecision characterized the way the diplomatic marriages conducted as the use of a language such as the Accadian, complex in meanings and interpretations, created a perception of reciprocal and equal diplomatic contacts among the royal courts of Egypt and the Near East. But it was

exactly that sort of ambiguity and imprecision which aired signs of abandonment of the Pharaonic power. While differences in the meanings of the words used created opportunities for different interpretation from the parties involved, vital for the reinforcement of institutions such as kingship inwards, several signs of public compromise of status demonstrated outwards, on behalf of Egypt, in order diplomacy being maintained.

The first sign of Egypt's surrender of uniqueness was the acceptance of a language other than the Egyptian in the Amarna Letters (Meier 2000: 168). In a corpus of 20 letters only 15% of them was written in a language other than Peripheral Accadian (EA 31, EA 32) and Egyptian was found nowhere in the agenda.⁵⁰⁰ The fact that the Pharaoh himself⁵⁰¹ corresponded in a language other than the Egyptian marked a real surrender of Pharaonic power and constituted a serious breach to the Egyptian ideology. For the later, the adoption of the Egyptian language was a necessity in order foreigners being part of the Egyptian society and considered part of the civilized world. Everything else was perceived as aberrance from the norm, as a sign of barbarism.⁵⁰² Nevertheless, as the majority of the letters reveal, it was not the foreigners who learned the Egyptian standards. It was Egypt itself and its Pharaoh who surrendered in the mechanisms of international communication by using a language other than the Egyptian, an action which reflected a public compromise of Egypt's image (Meier 2000: 168).

The second sign of Egypt's surrender of uniqueness was its participation in foreign customs. In the 24% of the letters (EA 1, EA11, EA 24, EA 29, EA 31, EA 34) an Egyptian envoy was sent to foreign soil in order to pour oil upon the head of the future bride of the Pharaoh or such an action was implied, an action which had no known precedent in the Egyptian sources (Pardee 1977: 14-18; Thompson 1994: 24; Meier 2000:169). By participating in foreign customs, the Egyptian messengers who arrived in the courts of Babylon, Arzawa, Hatti and Mitanni were submitted in foreign

⁵⁰⁰ EA 31 and EA 32 were written in Hittite, see Moran 1992: 101-103; Mynarova 2007: 46.

⁵⁰¹ Or his messengers, accredited agents who were authorized to speak on behalf of the Pharaoh.

⁵⁰² Indicative towards that direction was the scribal milieu of the Ramesside period where, the culture the educated Egyptian males acquired was unified and contrasted to the one the animals and foreigners receive: "*The ape understands words, yet it is brought from Kush*", translation after Caminos 1954: 13. As the only human language was the Egyptian one the difficulty for the ape in order to understand the Egyptian language consists not because of his animal nature but because of his foreign one.

ways in order Egypt being able to participate to the international system shaped during the Late Bronze Age as an equal participant.

The messengers arrived in the foreign courts, paid the bride price, anointed oil on the head of the brides and escorted them in Egypt under an entourage consisted of chariots and army, following a procedure quite different than the one the Egyptian sources presented to us. In textual sources such as the marriage scarabs of Amenhotep III (Doc. 21) or the diplomatic marriages of Ramesses II with princess of Hittite origin (Docs. 43-44) the arrival of the bride was presented as part of the loot, as a unilateral act of submission on behalf of the Near Eastern Kings towards the superiority of Egypt and its Pharaoh. On the contrary, in several letters from Amarna (EA 1, EA 4, EA 14, EA 19, EA 27, EA 29, EA 31, EA 41) quarrels regarding the amount of the bride price as complaints towards the size of the entourage the Pharaoh sent in order to escort the foreign bride in Egypt were made, underlining the difference in the way these diplomatic agreements presented inwards and outwards.

Turning the discussion to the vocabulary the scribes used in the letters relative with diplomatic marriage, it is true that the real level of the ideological abandonment on behalf of Egypt was not sufficiently appreciated. In order Egypt being able to communicate with its Near Eastern peers, several differences in notions such as kingship and kinship had to be bridged and the verbiage of kingship proved a very effective mean.

While, in the second part of the Second Millennium B.C., Pharaoh was considered as an epiphany of God, the living incarnation of Horus on earth and the guarantor of Maat in Egypt (O'Connor and Silverman 1995: 69-80, 85-86, 157-184), this was not the case for the other Great Kings of the Late Bronze Age. The king in Hatti was considered god *post-mortum* (Meier 2000: 166) and his royal counterpart in Mesopotamia was immortal, a man among other men which was chosen by the gods (Frankfort 1948a: 237-243). Under this light, it seems remarkable that the Pharaoh abandoned a part of his prestige and power and accepted the designation the Accadian lingua franca used also for the other Great Kings (LugalKur/Lugal Gal).

In the context of marriage the acceptance, on behalf of the Pharaoh, of the application of the language of kinship was another sign of abandonment of his power. A marital union among the Pharaoh and a bride from a foreign royal court created

bonds of blood among the participants. Hence, Pharaoh was not the supreme-being, lord of every foreign land and crusher of the foreigners; he downgraded himself to the level of the son-in-law and entered into a patrimonial system of relationships which was characterized by mutual obligations and agreements. Under this light, the Pharaoh accepted to become relative with second class humans, foreigners which were meant either for exploitation by Egypt and its gods when in peace or for annihilation when rebellious, with such a public compromise of his power and status underlining the transaction of Egypt from a unique power to a simple member of an elite club.

It is only after a careful examination of the way the aforementioned diplomatic contacts conducted which reveals several breaches in the ideology the participants of the diplomatic system of the Late Bronze Age demonstrated as in the need for realism in a global environment with conflicting interests. Despite the fact that efforts for acquiring prestige were recorded on behalf of Egypt in some of the letters relative with diplomatic marriage (i.e EA 4), it was the several differences in the meanings of the words used and the differences in ideology among the participants which created opportunities for a different interpretation.

While an unambiguous statement of Pharaoh's refusal to give one of his daughters as bride to a foreign ruler was recorded on EA 4, that sort of negation could be perceived differently from the opposite side: the use of Peripheral Accadian, combined with that of the international language of brotherhood and kingship had already downgraded the King of Egypt to the same level with the other Great Kings of the Near East. In addition, his participation in customs foreign to Egypt in order to seal several diplomatic agreements with the other Great Kings of the Near East made Pharaoh a *primus inter pares*. This was the path Egypt had to walk as a latecomer and negotiations such as that recorded on EA 4 perceived as a peculiarity on behalf of Egypt rather than a demonstrative of power.

Although several differences in the way words interpreted inwards and outwards created saving face opportunities for Egypt, it was the aforementioned signs of abandonment of Pharaonic power which placed the relationships maintained on their true extent. At the end of the day, it was realism which dictated the actions of Egypt and no matter the size of the sacrifice of prestige and power Egypt had to

demonstrate outwards, the need for its participation in the diplomatic system maintained during the Late Bronze Age was vital in order to secure its geopolitical interests. Under such a light, exchange of gods traveling from one place to another in order to seal agreements proved, on behalf on Egypt, as another sign of abandonment.

5.3] Traveling Gods

Apart from the exchange of royal gifts under the form of a disguised trade as the arrival of foreign princesses to the Egyptian court in order a diplomatic agreement being sealed, the Amarna Letters exchanged between great kings reveal another important aspect of the diplomatic procedure shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age: the exchange of gods.

In several of the letters analyzed on 4.2 (i.e EA 19, EA 20-21, EA 23-24), foreign gods needed to travel from one political domain to another in order to bless the sealing of a diplomatic agreement or eulogize a diplomatic marriage between the Pharaohs and princesses from the several courts of his Near Eastern peers. During such a procedure, several breaches in the Egyptian ideology noticed in order Egypt being able to be considered by its international peers as equal among equals.

In Dynastic Egypt and the Bronze Age Near East, gods were perceived as supreme powers of celestial nature, acquiring qualities and emotions met in the physical world (Hornung 1996:143-196).⁵⁰³ Divinities obtained a strong, materialized existence⁵⁰⁴ and transcendence and omnipresence were not always the case (Quack 2015: 255; Hornung 1986: 186-196). Gods obeyed in rules similar to the ones the humans had and several restrictions in the ways they traveled in realms placed in earthly and celestial level respectively occurred (Meier 2007: 185). Such restrictions were placed mainly for reasons of acquiring prestige inwards as for reasons of reinforcement of the image of the monarch, an image vital connected with the divine (See 3.3).

In the light of what is known from ancient diplomacy, any political entity which took part to the game of diplomacy had to adjust its own ideological-

⁵⁰³ Love, lust, wrath, anger, wisdom etc.

⁵⁰⁴ Indicative was the passage recorded in the Admonitions of Ipwer were gods were sold for oxen (Admonitions 8, 12), see Lichtheim 1976, I: 149-163. For the several explanations given to the passage see Enmarch 2008: 145; Quack 2010.

theological claims to these competing political sovereignties presented (Meier 2007: 193). The same time, prestige for internal reasons of reinforcement of monarchy as royal propaganda could not be placed on stake. Hence, gods and their travel abroad presented inwards through polarizing rhetoric of domination for reasons of propaganda, in order to justify imperial ambitions as for reasons of reinforcement of the power of the monarch. On the contrary outwards, inside a diplomatic system characterized of values such as reciprocity and equality among the participants, gods and their travel abroad perceived as blessing, as a prerequisite in order an agreement being sealed and fraternal relationships maintained among the great kings.

Already from the Old Kingdom Period, the Egyptians imagined their own gods as sovereigns of foreign localities (Quack 2015: 256).⁵⁰⁵ Such an idealization of power was expanded during the New Kingdom, the period of the creation of the Egyptian empire in the Levant. In several texts given appositively in 3.1, Amun had unlimited power and delivered to the king “*what the sun disc encircles*”, “*what Geb and Nut enclose*”, making conquest a duty of the Pharaoh. Gods transported awe and fear for the king in the “*four pillars of the earth*”, in places very far away from Egypt and even placed themselves the sword of conquest to the hand of the king, justifying this way his actions against the foreigners (Quack 2015: 256; Muhlestein 2011: 84).

While such perception was ideal for reinforcing internal propaganda and securing the power of the monarch, it could not explain inwards the departure/arrival of gods from one realm to another for reasons of diplomacy. Despite the fact that maintenance of diplomacy and good relations under reciprocity and equality required transportation of gods from one realm to another in order an agreement being blessed, mechanisms of acquiring prestige needed to be invented in order such a departure seemed profitable. And permission for traveling proved an ingenious way: in order to be able to transport from one realm to another, gods had to acquire for permission, an action of diplomatic significance important even in travels occurred in the celestial realm (Quack 2015: 255; Meier 2007: 185).

Several portrayals of divine geography, deeply rooted in the religious systems of the Egyptians and the people of the ancient Near East, confirm the territoriality of

⁵⁰⁵ See for example the perception of Hathor as the mistress of Sinai and Byblos, see Allam 1963: 76-89.

the gods (Meier 2007: 186). In the story of Atrahasis, written in clay tablets dated around 1800 B.C., the creation of man as a flood sent by gods in order to reduce overpopulation was narrated (Dalley 1989: 1-8). In such story (I, 13-16) Enlil occupied the earth, Anu heavens, and Ea the sea, with elevation from one realm to another being an act which required permission (George and Al-Rawi 1996: 147-190; Meier 2007: 186). Similarly, in myths such as that of Nergal and Ereshkigal, a passionate love story that takes place in the Mesopotamian underworld, a similar situation was depicted.

In the version which was known from Sultanepe, Nergal made two visits in the underworld as Ereshkigal's vizier in order to fetch a portion from the banquet the gods had in heavens (Dalley 1989: 163). In such story, the underworld queen is not allowed to elevate herself in the heavens to take part on the banquet nor the other gods are able to "go down", demonstrating this way that ease of movement was not an assumed characteristic of gods (Meier 2007: 186; Gurney 1960: 105-131). Indicative towards that direction is the "blockage" of Ishtar/Inanna's descendance to the underworld by locked gates (Dalley 1989: 156-157; Meier 2007: 186) as the blockage of Kakka, a Mesopotamian messenger deity whose entrance to the underworld became possible only with the gates of the netherworld being opened from inside (Gurney 1960: 105-131).

In Egyptian equivalents, the territoriality of the divine was depicted in cases such as the several books of the underworld. In books such as these of *the Book of the Gates* or the book of *Amduat*, guardian serpents and gates are present in order to restrict access (Hornung 1999a: 27-77). The knowledge of the names of the guardians by deities and Pharaoh himself as their participation in the entourage of Re was a prerequisite for the gates to open and passage being permitted (Hornung 1999a: 27-77; Meier 2007: 186).

Apart from celestial realms, the aspect of territoriality was transported also in cases where gods made travels from one political entity to another. Such transportation/travel occurred mainly for reasons of reinforcement of political alliances as in order "loyalty", "obedience", "reciprocity" and "love" being expressed between overlords-vassals as among "Great Kings" respectively (Quack

2015: 255; Meier 2007: 186). Inwards, for reasons of prestige of the host, such a movement could not remain unrestricted.

In order gods being able to travel from one political domain to another, a passport on behalf of the host was needed (Meier 2007: 200). While porous borders were a constant reality, especially in cases of refugees, debtors, brigands, etc., the ones who traveled exercising socially acceptable enterprises had no other option but to ask for permission in order border restrictions being bypassed and protection guaranteed (Meier 2007: 200; Westbrook 2000: 33-36). Such principle is visible in several cases recorded in periods such as the Old Babylonian one, in letters exchanged during the period of Amarna as in stories such as that of Wenamun and the one recorded in the Bentresh stela.

The Old Babylonian correspondence among Iawi-Ila, the king of Talhayum and Zimri-Lim proved indicative towards any movement of gods under the circumstances described above (Anbar 2003; Durand 1997-2000, letters 39; 160; 226; 232; 294-295; 303-304; 338; 606; 832; 1026; Meier 2007: 195). When the discussions towards the sealing of a vassalage agreement between Iawi-Ila and Zimri-Lim came to an agreement, a request for an oath in front of the gods of Talhayum in order the alliance being sealed was requested from Zimri-Lim (Meier 2007: 195). The response given from the later reflected the permission given on his behalf in order gods of the sovereign enter his territory and bless the agreement: “*Send me your gods so that I can take the oath*” (ARM 13.147 5-9).⁵⁰⁶

In EA 164, a letter exchanged between Aziru, the ruler of Amurru and Dudu, an Egyptian high official who was Aziru’s main contact in Amarna (Galan 1992: 287-288), a similar situation on a different context was reflected. Aziru requested an oath on behalf of the Pharaoh and the members of the Egyptian court in front of his gods and his messenger that he will receive no harm when he arrives in Egypt to give explanations towards his treacherous behavior: “*Tutu and the magnates of the king, my Lord, I would put under oath and then I will make the journey.*”⁵⁰⁷

The reassurance on behalf of Aziru, that the Pharaoh agreed in such a request came in accordance with the practices regulated the travel of gods from one domain to

⁵⁰⁶ Translation after Meier 2007: 195.

⁵⁰⁷ Translation after Moran 1992: 252.

another. On the one hand, a possible “*abandonment*” on behalf of the Pharaoh in taking an oath in front of the non-egyptianized foreign gods and the messenger of a vassal was reflected while on the other hand, the granting of permission in order foreign gods enter in the Egyptian domain revealed: “*We swear we will not devise anything regarding Aziru, that is not good*”.⁵⁰⁸ In other words, permission granted (Meier 2007: 195-197).

The same procedure was followed also in several parity and vassal-overlord treaties. There, gods of both parties acted as guarantors of agreements and permission as acceptance of gods needed in order one’s gods being able to penetrate to other’s realm and act as the ultimate judging authority (Meier 2007: 198). Despite the fact that theological factors such as the willingness of the gods to take the trip to another part’s domain in order to bless the agreement or the silence kept in matters relative with the travel of the deities to a foreign domain are not explicitly mentioned in such treaties, aspects such as the permission of entrance as the care of the divine statues seemed prerequisite (Meier 2007: 198). The very same requirement of permission in order a god became accepted in a foreign domain and treated adequately is reflected also in stories such as that of Wenamun (P. Moscow 120) as the one recorded in the Bentresh stele (Louvre C 284).

In a papyrus which was written at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty⁵⁰⁹, an Egyptian enterprise relative with the purchase of Lebanese timber was recorded (Simpson 2003: 117). The political situation of Egypt during the reign of Ramesses IX as the loss of the territories placed along the Syro-Palestinian coast made such a trip an unpredictable adventure (Lichtheim 1976, II: 224). The arrival, at the Levantine coast, of Wenamun together with the statue of Amun and the lack of any credentials towards their acceptance in a foreign domain caused a bad treatment on behalf of the ruler of Byblos. It was only with the demonstration of the necessary documentation where Wenamun and Amun became accepted in Byblian soil and treated with all the honors.

Similarly, in the Bentresh stelae (Louvre C 284) (Lichtheim 1980, III: 90; Simpson 2003: 361) it is the ruler of Bakhtan which asks for a specialist and a god to

⁵⁰⁸ Translation after Moran 1992: 252.

⁵⁰⁹ Or during the end of 21st Dynasty, see Simpson 2003: 116.

travel abroad in order to heal the sick princess, in other words is the host which gives permission for such a trip. The misbehavior demonstrated on behalf of the ruler of Bakhtan as the willingness of god to return home revealed that apart from social and political conditions, divine travel among political domains obeyed in several theological norms used in order to acquire prestige and explain unpleasant situations inwards.

Despite the aforementioned mechanisms of acquiring prestige (permission and passport), several aspects of abandonment of behalf of the Pharaoh as breaches of protocol recorded in the procedure of traveling gods. As analyzed in chapter 3, Egypt was for the Egyptians the dominant center of the world (Cornelius 2010: 324). Its gods and especially Amun were the ones which made conquest a primal duty for the Pharaoh and everything non egyptianized considered by the Egyptian intelligentsia as an instrument of chaos, an abomination needed to be expelled and destroyed (Allen 2003b: 23; Gordon 2001: 544). Nevertheless, in a realist world necessity for diplomatic relations of reciprocal and equivalent character dictated subsidences in order tools of diplomacy (diplomatic marriage, gift giving, etc.) being eulogized and acquired special significance (See chapter 4).

In order Egypt became possible to enter in the diplomatic formation shaped during the Late Bronze Age as equal among equals, ideological norms of supremacy needed to be abandoned. And exchange of gods, apart from an important tool of diplomacy revealed several aspects of abandonment of Pharaonic power such as:

- Obedience of the Pharaoh to the will of a foreign divinity expressed to travel abroad,
- acceptance of a blessing of a diplomatic agreement by non-Egyptianized gods belonged to a pantheon different than the Egyptian one,
- fear of the Pharaoh and the local priesthood for their unpredicted nature as
- reassurance that the host will do all the necessary actions to assist such travel and honor the foreign deity despite any differences in ideology and theology.

The very first sign of abandonment, on behalf of the Pharaoh, regarding the process of traveling gods in the Egyptian soil in order a diplomatic agreement being sealed was the fear towards their unpredicted nature. The abilities gods carried with them (love, wrath, anger, revenge, etc.) as their strong materialized existence, could be proved ominous for both the local community and even the host himself (Quack 2015: 255; Hornung 1996:143-196). What needed to be reassured was that any departure/arrival of a god needed to be controlled in order to be considered propitious (Meier 2007: 190).

A prior intent in order a god being able to enter in another realm as the proper preparation on behalf of the host in order to keep the god satisfied and turn the travel into a propitious one seemed necessary in order calamities, wrath and disorder being avoided. Such preparations placed the Pharaoh as the powerful gods of Egypt in a state of abandonment (Quack 2015: 255; Meier 2007: 200-203). Any uncontrolled departure/arrival of a god could be perceived as an ominous behavior on behalf of the god against the city/state he/she protected or the host. Furthermore, it could be perceived as a threat towards the *status quo* of the local priesthood (Meier 2007: 190). Hence, various procedures which guaranteed that any movement of god occurred because of his good will were instituted.

In the story of Wenamun, the name of the statue which accompanies Wenamun in his mission in Byblian soil was that of “*Amun of the Road*”, a manifestation of Amun meant to make such travels in order the departure of the god from Egypt not be considered as an ominous one (Lichtheim 1976, II: 224-230; Schipper 2005). Similarly, in Bentresh stela, it is one of the manifestations of Khon, that of the “*Khons the Provider*”, which made the trip to Bakhtan under the blessing of “*Khons in Thebes Neferhotep*” in order to cure the malady the princess had. Under the same fashion, in the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal it is Nergal who is able to take such trip, expressing a manifestation of a god which is meant to travel, and not the other gods (Meier 2007: 191). Correspondingly, in several letters exchanged between great kings of equal and reciprocal status, the forthcoming travel of a foreign divinity (i.e Shaushka on EA 19, EA 20-21, EA 23-24) caused explicit preparations on behalf of the host (Pharaoh) in order the divinity consider the trip to Egypt as joyful and felt welcome to “*a country that she loves*”. Under such perception, any departure/arrival

of the divine was presented inwards as a propitious action and not as abandonment, on behalf of the god, of the nation and its king while outwards, preparations on behalf of the host made the trip joyful for the divinity, revealing the same time signs of abandonment on behalf of the Pharaoh.

Another recourse which invented in order to provide to the god a feeling that his trip was more a returning home action than an excursion to a completely remote territory was the manufacturing of the aforementioned statues from materials originated from foreign lands. Indicative towards that direction was Tutankhamun's declaration that he had made a divine statue of his father Amun Re from "*gold from the booty of the might of his Majesty in the work of all the foreign lands*" (Urk. IV 2036). Such mechanism was invented in order to provoke the desire of gods to travel to a foreign country, another significant factor in order such travels being considered profitable. It was such a factor which revealed another aspect of abandonment on behalf of the Pharaoh, that of his surrender to the will of a foreign god. In the several letters which recorded the marriages among Amenhotep III and the daughters of Tusratta, king of Mitanni, such a desire was illustrated emphatically.

Placed in general in the context of political alliances and inter-dynastic marriages, letters such as EA 19, EA 20-21, EA 23-24 illustrate the need such marital agreement being blessed by the gods of both parties as to the desire the gods of Mitanni demonstrate to travel in Egypt. It was such an element which placed the power of the Pharaoh under the will of a foreign divinity and made him a willingly host for a foreign divinity.

In the aforementioned letters, the sealing of a diplomatic agreement through the well-known method of diplomatic marriage was recorded. Such an agreement was followed by the arrival of an entourage of gods in order the agreement being sealed, blessed and recognized by both parties. Such acceptance of the presence of foreign gods became eminent through phraseology⁵¹⁰ which reflected the wishes for blessings of such marriages, the blessing of the gods of the two states of such reciprocal relationship as the acceptance of such divine travel on behalf of the host (Pharaoh) which obeyed in the will of a foreign divinity (Shaushka) (Gestoso Singer 2016: 52; Smith 2010: 63-65).

⁵¹⁰ See EA 19:24; EA 20: 25-27; EA 21: 16-23.

In the communication recorded between Amenhotep II and Tusratta, it is the Goddess Shaushka which says to Tusratta that *“I want to go to Egypt, a country that I love, and then I want to return”*.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, it is the Pharaoh who made the proper preparations in order the goddess being accepted in Egypt and her unpredicted nature remained inactive. Similarly, in stories such as that of Wenamun it is the manifestation of *“Amun of the Road”* which states explicitly his desire to go to Byblos and assist Wenamun in his dangerous mission. The same emphatically explanation was given also in the episode recorded in the Bentresh stela. There, the manifestation of Khons, that of the *“Khons the Provider”* was allowed to travel in Bakhtan in order to cure the malady the princess had. Where the desire of the statue to return back in Egypt was not fulfilled, ominous dreams and disastrous visions appeared in Bakhtan’s ruler dreams and the illegal staying of Khons in Bakhtan perceived as an ominous one, an act revealing an effort on behalf of Egypt of acquiring prestige using the same tools inwards.

⁵¹¹ Translation after Moran 1992.

6] Conclusions

The diplomatic contacts maintained between Egypt and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age is arguably one of the most challenging themes, not only for Egyptology but generally for the history of the ancient Mediterranean. In several studies presented since the late '70s, multiple aspects of historical and political documentation related with issues of ethnicity, facets of adaptability, the adoption of diverse political and religious ideologies as to attitudes adopted towards foreigners approached. Moreover, aspects such as the several diplomatic procedures followed by the New Kingdom Egypt and its Near Eastern peers, the history and level of development of the participants in such a diplomatic system as various aspects of kingship, economy, and governance indissolubly connected with diplomacy, have been studied.⁵¹² Nevertheless, a comprehensive and interdisciplinary analysis of all relevant factors as towards primary and secondary sources is still lacking.

The approach these studies adopted towards such issues was, in their majority, centralized mainly to theological and/or ideological machinations New Kingdom Egypt used in order foreigners and their overflow in Egypt being considered profitable without Pharaoh and the local priesthood lost their power and prestige. As a result, crucial questions related to the innermost mechanisms involved in the mobilization of the Pharaonic institute and power towards the foreign rulers and hegemonies have not been properly investigated. In addition, aspects relative with the ways Egypt used in order to participate in the diplomatic system shaped in the Southeastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age as a latecomer examined under a swallow manner. Furthermore, aspects of abandonment of Pharaonic power and prestige in order such participation occurred either remained un-examined or examined under one-dimensional approaches.

Available data referred to contacts from both the Egyptian and the Near Eastern sides⁵¹³ were not mutually compared in the past. A contextually discussed framework in relation to the proposed divine nature of the Pharaoh, its acceptance

⁵¹² See for example the studies presented by Bahr, Kahn & Shirley 2011; Morris 2018, *Ibid.*, 2005; Cohen and Westbrook 2000; Spalinger 2005; Knoppers & Hirsch 2004; Murnane 2000; Ragioneri 2000; Redford 1992; Liverani 1990; Kitchen 1982; Sollberger 1980; Wenstein 1981; Bryce 1993; Van de Mierop 2010 and Kemp 1978 to name a few.

⁵¹³ Military documents, annals, peace treaties, marriage scarabs etc. as the letters from Amarna corpora.

from his Near Eastern peers as any ideological abandonment, on behalf of the Pharaoh, in the diplomatic field due to reasons of political adaptation is absent. Binding models of justification of political actions and decisions of the monarch inwards as the presentation of the same acts outwards differently for reasons of diplomacy through models making use of interdisciplinary theories are lacking analysis. In addition, any analysis of the several aspects of the diplomatic procedure maintained under the light of the most recent evidence as through modern approaches and interdisciplinary theories borrowed from a field such as that of international relations is not attempted.⁵¹⁴

The general framework of the Late Bronze Age, the creation of a diplomatic system similar with the one's states used nowadays, the differences in ideology and theology demonstrated by its participants as the level of development Egypt and its Near Eastern peers demonstrated, all of these factors made New Kingdom Egypt and its ways of participation in such a system as a latecomer a very interesting case study. Through the application of an interdisciplinary analysis making use of theories borrowed from the fields of politics, economics and international relations, interesting conclusions towards the ways Egypt took part in the diplomatic procedure of the Late Bronze Age as regarding several aspects of abandonment of power and prestige on behalf of the Pharaoh can be presented.

Just before 1500 B.C.E, the Southeastern Mediterranean was characterized by fragmented city-states economically declined, isolated one from another. That epoch was called by scholars as the “*dark age*”. During such a period, the entire region became politically fragmented. The regional system that tied the political powers of the area together disappeared and strong rulers with unchallenged authority, power and prestige vanished with their royal houses being pale reflections of a glorious past. It was during the same time where Egypt faced the so-called Second Intermediate Period, a period of foreign occupation by the Hyksos. What followed next was Late Bronze Age (1500-1100 B.C.E), an era of development and innovations in the ways Egypt interacted with the territorial empires of the Near East.

During the Late Bronze Age, Egypt created an empire with borders stretched from the fourth cataract in Nubia southwards (modern Sudan) to Levant northwards.

⁵¹⁴ The effort made by Meier (2000) is standing alone in a vast literature towards diplomatic contacts.

The same time, territorial states in the Near East emerged after centuries of decline and created empires such as these of the Hittites, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and Mitanni, extended in growth and power. It was during the Late Bronze Age where these empires started to communicate each-other in ways similar with the ones states used nowadays. In addition, signs of internationalism on its modern form were reflected for the first time in the history of mankind. Such signs were recorded on clay tablets discovered around 1870 A.C. in modern Tell el-Amarna, the former Akhetaten, capital of Egypt during the reign of Akhenaten.

The diplomatic system revealed in the Amarna Letters was not the oldest one as clay tablets from Mari and Boghazkoy testified. Nevertheless, aspects such as its geographical extension, the cosmopolitan character of the era, the political importance and military strength of the participants as the need for adaptation of means of interaction others than warfare in order for the maximum profit to be achieved with the minimum cost, made the system unique in character. In order Egypt being able to participate in such a system, doctrines different than the ones pinned in the Egyptian mindset for hundreds of years ago needed to be altered. In addition, pioneering approaches in the ways diplomatic contacts maintained, perceived and presented needed to be adapted by New Kingdom Egypt and its Pharaohs in order such participation considered profitable and successful.

Equivocal and reciprocal relationships among participants having the title of the “*Great King*”, participation in an artificial fraternity made by “*brothers*” equal in rank and prestige as acceptance of a language different than Egyptian (Akkadian) as the *lingua franca* of the era were some of the pioneering approaches used. Furthermore, the use of metaphors of “*love*”, “*brotherhood*” and “*fraternity*” among Pharaohs and their Near Eastern peers adapted in order communication in the higher diplomatic level to be achieved. Moreover, adaption of customs foreign to Egypt, participation in diplomatic marriages eulogized by foreign divinities, royal exchange of gifts and gods as changes in attitude in order political purposes being served with the minimum cost in resources and manpower created changes in the ways these contacts achieved, revealing the same time several aspects where the Pharaonic power and authority occurred breaches in prestige.

The policies Egypt followed during the Late Bronze Age in the Southeastern Mediterranean was a subject of constant change. From the birth of imperialist ambitions after the expulsion of the Hyksos and the application of a vast program of conquest directed northwards under reigns such as these of Ahmose, Thutmose I and III, Seti I and Ramesses II to the adaptation of policies fully complied with co-operational methods inside a diplomatic system characterized by equality and reciprocity during reigns such as these of Amenhotep I and III and Akhenaten, Egypt demonstrated a diverse political agenda and diplomatic abilities met in modern states. Such agenda perceived and presented the diplomatic contacts the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom had with the foreigners differently inwards and outwards. And the course followed towards such pioneering changes was not an easy-going process.

The changes the Hyksos conquest caused in the Egyptian grand strategy of the Old and Middle Kingdoms highlighted the two major goals the Pharaohs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty set: the unification of Egypt under the scepter of a strong monarch and the destruction of Hyksos strongholds above the northeastern borders of Egypt in order such an act of abomination (foreign occupation) never occurred again. A military frenzy, directed northwards and characterized by attacks, destruction, and transportation of thousands of foreigners, brought as live captives in order to serve Egypt and its temples, characterized the start of the New Kingdom Period. Pharaohs such as Kamose, Ahmose and Thutmose I proved capable of creating the bases for further expansion northwards and consolidate Egypt as a major military force of the Late Bronze Age. It was these successful campaigns which created imperialist ambitions and allowed further expansion northwards to the area of Levant.

During the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty though, internal changes in theological perspectives, alterations in the system of administration as the evolvement of institutions such as kingship created several alterations in attitudes towards foreigners and conquest. In addition, the economic impact the consecutive military campaigns had in the social web of New Kingdom Egypt created the need for alternative perspectives than the use of brute force. Hence, the need for communication with Egypt's Near Eastern peers in order diplomatic alliances vital for the sustainability of the empire maintained emerged. In addition, the need of the Egyptian empire for maximum profit with minimum cost as the necessity of exchange products and raw materials through well-known trade roads in order the Egyptian

economy of the New Kingdom being sustained, all of these factors caused the ambitious military activities directed northwards to halt for a while.

Pharaohs such as Hatshepsut, Amenhotep I and Thutmose II created the opportunities for Egypt to arise, consolidated stability and financial growth while diplomatic channels started to operate. The succession of warrior Pharaohs such as Thutmose III brought Egypt back to the warpath again with imperialist ambitions being on the front line once more while reigns such as these of Amenhotep III created diplomatic channels which caused changes in the ways Egypt perceived its Near Eastern peers. Problematic reigns such as these of Tutankhamun, theological changes that shocked the Egyptian world internally by creating theological conflicts and differences in the ways the Egyptians perceived the foreigners (Akhenaten) as return to the warpath once more by monarchs needed to divinize themselves for reasons of secure passage of kingship through ambiguous lineages (Seti I and Ramesses II), all of these changes created differences in the ways contacts and communication with foreigners perceived and presented inwards and outwards.

Inwards, the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners placed Egypt to the role of the supreme state in earthly and celestial levels. According to such notion, everything non Egyptian needed to be acculturated and conquered in order for archetypal stereotypes to be served. Foreigners were placed diachronically in the role of the instruments of *isft*. As such, they had to be eradicated and exterminated with the utmost severity by the king and the gods of Egypt. Such a notion was applied as well to foreigners who have not rebelled yet or even been under Egyptian dominion. As members of national groups of non-acculturated individuals, foreigners were perceived as the enemy of the universal harmony which needed to be annihilated.

Conquest and acculturation of everything foreign was a prerequisite in order monarchy to be consolidated in a way which reflected the golden era of Egypt, an era where gods ruled and stability maintained. Such dogmas dictated Pharaoh to conquer foreign territories in order to “*extend the boundaries of Egypt*” and carried them always forward. In addition, the aforementioned notions wanted the king to include under his scepter “*what the sun encircled*” in order for Egypt to be protected from its archetypal enemies and Pharaoh fulfill his duties, obligations even dictated through

divine command. Such perceptions, relative with the supremacy of the Egyptians over the foreigners, were boosted also by theological notions.

In theological notions deeply rooted in the Egyptian mindset, the political actions of the king as his own existence were indissolubly connected with the divine. It was such the significance of the aforementioned connection where the filial relationship the king had with the Sun god Re allowed his installation to the throne of Egypt. By being installed to the Egyptian throne by Re, the king inherited all of his duties by divine command. In addition, it was Re who granted Pharaoh any power and dominion over the foreigners. Dominating anything foreign was one of Pharaoh's primal duties in order Egypt being in a condition similar to that occurred in the celestial realm. Hence, Pharaoh's actions were considered as efforts towards the eternal maintenance of order in Egypt, obliged by divine commands given by Re, Atum and other divinities themselves.

The basic idea behind the political actions of the king was that of the eternal maintenance of the social order and might of Egypt against the forces of Isfet. Such occurred in a way similar to that of the daily repetition of the solar cycle. In such efforts, foreigners proved themselves a significant obstacle. Hence, destruction, exploitation, and subjugation of them by the king were considered by the Egyptian theology as one of the primal duties of the Pharaoh. That became possible through the use of an ideological scheme which was rendered on the theme of conquest/subjection of foreigners, the theme of the already accomplished universal rule over the foreigners as the development of the theology of conquest. Such ideological and theological notions, reflected vividly in a plentitude of textual and iconographic sources used for internal consumption, were served inwards through the application of a model which made use of imperial schemes of conquest, divinized and justified by the gods.

The model applied inwards combined ideology, theology and economy in order a) the imperialist ambitions demonstrated in the Levant by the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom being justified, b) political and economic sustainability of the empire maintained and c) upheavals in the several social stratum of the New Kingdom Egypt being avoided. Through the use of such a model, any contacts with the foreigners were presented inwards as an expression of submission on behalf of them to the will and might of the king and the gods, perfectly understandable and justified through

theological and ideological notions deeply rooted in the past. The same time, the economic sustainability of the empire was secured through the exploitation of foreign manpower and transportation of raw materials, barley and wealth brought as part of the loot from the expeditions conducted abroad.

The diverse imperialist activities Egypt applied during the course of the New Kingdom created a plethora of explanations towards the model followed inwards in order such actions being justified. The application of two different imperial policies in territories where Egypt had vital geopolitical and economic interests (Nubia and Levant), aspects relative with the level of settlement of Levant by the Egyptians, the consideration of economic return as primary factor as the role theology and ideology played towards the justification of such policies inwards, all of these gave birth to several theoretical models tried to explain the phenomenon through different prisms (ideological, theological, economically, militarily etc.). But the model the Egyptian mindset of the New Kingdom used in order to justify inwards the imperialist ambitions generated was a combination of all of these aspects, not a selection of one of them as several scholars tried unsuccessfully to demonstrate.⁵¹⁵

The Late Bronze Age world of the Southeastern Mediterranean was a multidimensional one: apart from territorial forces such as Egypt, Mitanni, Babylon, Hatti, Assyria, etc., it was consisted also by the so-called buffer states, city-states which created affiliations and alliances with the territorial forces of the period regarding their political and economic interests. Egypt had to adapt its ways of communication, from co-operation to the use of brute force, in order its economic and political interests in the area being served. Hence, balance among hegemonic control, allowance for controlled neutrality and autonomy as fierce reaction to any opposition needed in order interests being served with the most profitable way.

In the model Egypt used inwards, what empire appears to be is not one of the contiguous territories but one of scattered “*islands*” of territorial control through which political, military and economic advantage offset the cost of annexation. Under such a model, the Egyptian foreign policies followed in Western Asia can be explained as an effort towards the maximization of the extraction of resources with

⁵¹⁵ See the studies presented by Kemp 1978: 7-57; Frandsen 1979: 167-190; Smith 1991: 77-102; Higginbotham 1996; *Ibid.*, 1998; *Ibid.*, 2000; Morris 2018, *Ibid.*, 2005; Frandsen 1979: 171-181 to name a few and the analysis made on 2.3.

the minimum cost. That happened through an imperial relationship which took several forms through the course of the New Kingdom.

Inwards, a vast scale of military operations which had as their main goal to keep the trade routes open and to consolidate the position of the empire northwards occurred. Territories such as Nubia were annexed politically in order to present an economic base sufficient towards the expansion northwards. Furthermore, regions such as Syropalestine subjugated in a vassalage relationship in order to provide a solid base for further expansion northwards. In such an effort, ideology as justification through religion proved a significant tool towards the rationalization of the acts of the monarch inwards. Under such explanations, the campaigns the Pharaohs of the early Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties undertook in the Levant sanctified. Pharaoh as the guarantor of justice and the incarnation of Horus himself had to subjugate foreigners, expand the borders of Egypt and protect the country from the instruments of chaos.

Apart from the ideological and theological impact such explanations had inwards, they were also proved to be an ideological extension towards the ways the Egyptian economy functioned. Foreign lands and conquered populations worked favorably towards the Egyptian economy of the New Kingdom and had the role of one of the basic cogwheels of the Egyptian economy: exotic goods, raw materials such as alabastron, lapis lazuli, cedar etc., foreign manpower to cultivate fields belonged to the Pharaoh and the temples and worked as a sustainer of the Egyptian economy dictated such campaigns which were explained under the aforementioned perceptions. But this was not the only path Egypt followed during the New Kingdom Period.

The imperialist ambitions the extended program of conquest Egypt demonstrated in the Levant created significant drainage in resources and manpower. Despite the fact that strategic enterprises such as these Thutmose III conducted in Ardata, Eschelon, and Tunip created profitable conditions towards the sustenance of constant military expeditions abroad, the several military campaigns directed northwards in territories thousands of kilometers away from the capital proved extremely demanding. It was such the drainage in manpower and sources that extended campaigning could be proved as a possible threat to the maintenance of the

social web of the New Kingdom as towards the economic sustainability of the empire due to the demands created in sources.

Despite the fact that the flow of income increased, due to the revenue brought back as loot after successful expeditions, the expenses of military expeditions considered enormous. While new social strata such as the military men emerged, gaining respect, power, wealth and plots of land as a reward for their loyalty to the Pharaoh, the constant expeditions northwards created extended needs the empire could not support consequently. As a result, other methods of gaining income needed to be invented in order for sustainability being achieved. In addition, the entire framework of the Late Bronze Age favored changes in the ways states and empires communicated with each other.

The rise of cosmopolitanism during the reign of Pharaohs such as Amenhotep I and III, the growth of territorial states in the Near East, the political needs created under problematic reigns such as these of Akhenaten's and Tutankhamun's as the ever-changing geopolitical factors in the area created alterations in the ways Egypt interacted with its Near Eastern peers. In addition, the changes in theological perspectives during the Amarna Period as the creation of a system of diplomacy maintained under the rules of equality and reciprocity made Egypt reconsider its grand strategy in the area: if Egypt wanted to participate in such a system, its supreme leader had to change several aspects of his attitude towards foreigners.

The first glimpses of change noticed during the reign of Amenhotep III. It was during his reign where the elevation of Sun in the theological system of New Kingdom Egypt ensued. The same time the Egyptian empire demonstrated a more cosmopolitan character and adopted changes towards the way Egypt confronted foreigners: diplomatic means such as the exchange of artisans, messengers and personnel, diplomatic marriages between Pharaohs and princesses brought from the courts of the Near East as exchange of royal gifts and gods revealed a significant differentiation from the use of brute force selected in reigns such as Thutmose I-III or Ramesses II. The significance Sun god acquired in the Egyptian pantheon reached its peak during the reign of Akhenaten, the heretic Pharaoh. It was during his reign where radical changes brought in theological notions deeply rooted in the Egyptian mindset,

shocked the Egyptian world and created filial alterations towards the ways the Egyptians perceived foreigners.

The theological revolution Akhenaten ignited in Egypt contradicted with the classical theopolitical conception of the New Kingdom in many central points. According to the classical theological conception of the New Kingdom, the solar cycle gained political meaning and was connected with social order. The same time state perceived as a replica of the cosmic government on earth. Hence, social order and authoritative government were imposed by gods due to inability to be generated and persisted by themselves alone. Pharaoh, as the sustainer of order and due to the filial relationships he had with Sun God, inherited the duty to destroy foreigners and expel the forces of *isft* in order social order maintained eternally in a way similar with the way the solar cycle repeats itself every day by confronting enemies such as Apep. Such a political meaning of the solar cycle though was abrogated in the theological changes Akhenaten ignited.

The Amarna religion was characterized by what can be called as a positive cosmology. Instead of a constant struggle among the Sun god and the forces of evil, in the Amarna conception no enemy confronted Aten. Hence, the antagonistic forces which opposed against order disappeared, mankind became the partner of divine action and anthropocentrism replaced anthropomorphism. In such conceptions, Ma'at transformed from its classical sense of "*justice*" to theoretical meanings which implied "*truth*". Under such a perception, the way foreigners perceived inwards by the Egyptians changed during the Amarna Period. And theological changes were not the only ones which favored alterations towards the way Egypt perceived foreigners.

Apart from changes in theology during the Period of Amarna, the political realization, on behalf of Egypt, for the need of extended contacts with foreigners obliged changes in the ways Pharaohs communicated with their international peers. Such realization became prominent in several letters exchanged between Pharaohs and their Near Eastern peers, the so-called Amarna Letters. In such corpora, written in its majority in Accadic, a system of diplomacy compromised of commonly accepted rules of negotiation and communication revealed. Such a system was functional inside an artificial "*fraternity*" consisted of "*brothers*" which obeyed in bonds of blood and familial relationships.

The aforementioned fraternity of “*brothers*”, equivocal and reciprocal in character, functioned under patrimonialism, a system pinned in the governmental system of the Near East hundred years ago before the Late Bronze Age. Such a system placed “*father*” at the head of an artificial “*household*”. In order Egypt become able to be accepted to such a system of diplomacy as a latecomer by its international peers, it had to comply with the rules maintained long time ago. In order such participation achieved on behalf of Egypt though, several internal facets of ideology needed to be bypassed. In addition, the new *status quo* had to be accepted and the model Egypt used inwards in order to justify its imperialistic ambitions needed to be altered.

In order Egypt proves itself able to alter its imperialist ambitions, aspects of political realism needed to be applied in policies relative with its international peers. In a realist world, the consequences of political decisions obliged states to follow different paths in politics. The world is a place which is operating independently, taken no consideration of indigenous factors such as theological/ideological notions. What course will be followed by a state or a political leader (war or peaceful interaction) is solely a cognitive choice made after a careful analysis of several factors vital for sustenance. Hence, Egypt had to apply political realism on its policies in order participation on the diplomatic system maintained in the Southeastern Mediterranean being achieved in the higher Level. And the ever-changing world of Late Bronze Age favored such applications.

Factors such as the consideration of the costs of military expeditions, the acknowledgment of the geopolitical changes occurred during the Late Bronze Age, the need to participate in a system of diplomacy contained all the Near Eastern world, the distance several vassal states had from the core of the Egyptian influence, the system of governance used by its Near Eastern peers (Patrimonialism) or the difficulties and the significance Canaan region presented for Egypt were taken into serious consideration before a decision for a diplomatic alliance or a military expedition was received. Such considerations led to the change in attitude towards foreigners in order Egypt being able to participate in such a system.

Taken together, these considerations suggest that the international society reflected in the Amarna Letters was a realist one and the actions followed by the

states and their leaders were dictated by exogenous factors in a way similar with that the states and their leaders took decisions nowadays. In such a world, terms such as “*brotherhood*”, “*reciprocity*” and “*equality*” gained an elevated significance under the elevated role of a “*father*” as the leader of an extensive international “*household*”. It was the existence of a world functioned under such a system of patrimonialism and familial ethos which dictated such changes in attitudes and means of contact by Egypt. The participation, of Egypt in such a patrimonial system the Amarna Letters reflected proved a prerequisite in order channels of communication being invented.

The governmental prototype pinned in the core of the several territorial states developed in the Near East during the Late Bronze Age was that of patrimonialism. In such a societal archetypal, any sort of social order was derived directly from the ruler himself. According to patrimonialism, any relationships maintained inside the indigenous social strata as throughout any diplomatic network used were perceived as an extension of the ruler’s household. Hence, any notion of social order was compromised to dyadic relationships between “*father*” and “*son*”.

In such a societal model, the monarch was placed at the apex of hierarchy. Everyone else connected himself with the king by acquiring the role of the member of his extended household. Such “*membership*” was denoted through the use of metaphors such as “*son*” and “*brother*”. The members of such household were bound with filial bonds, obeying in a familial ethos derived from legitimate and sanctioned authority. In such participation though, no political/economic factors were favored over religious/ideological symbols. It was the concept of the “*family*” which was considered as the most fundamental unit inside society.

Due to the absence of modern jurisdiction frames during such remote ages, the application of patrimonialism was depended primarily on domestic law doctrines. Such doctrines made the participants of the international system developed during the Late Bronze Age to operate inside an agreed law system functioned under the rules of an extended household. The system existed before the Amarna Period was an interstate one, including lesser states and spread in a significantly smaller territory. Its transformation, during the Late Bronze Age, to a system which reflected common values, rules and interests of culturally distinct political entities brought in surface a

need for a rapid change: in order such a system proved itself stable, patterns of behavior were conducted with the rules of reciprocity, equality, and submission being pinned at its core. Hence, the expression of relationships maintained among the “*Great Powers*” in terms of domestic society through a “*familial*” context made the use of metaphors such as that of “*brotherhood*” unavoidable.

Through the establishment of fraternal relationships between the members of the “*Great Powers Club*” any sort of negotiation was embedded in a system which worked similarly with the institution of the family. In such a system, the Great Kings were bounded to each other by ideals which were originated from what is called as familial ethos with equality, harmony and mutual assistance being vital. In addition, terms such as “*love*”, “*brotherhood*” and “*friendship*” were used in the political sphere of negotiation in order to denote such bonds, reflecting on their turn aspects of patrimonialism. Egypt had to adapt to such changes in order participation being completed. In order such participation being achieved though, several aspects of abandonment of Pharaonic power and prestige occurred.

During the Late Bronze Age, negotiation in the higher level meant two things: equality in status and recognition of the right to belong to a private club of “*Great Powers*”. In order to belong to such a club though, several internal ideological facets as theological norms pinned in the core of the Egyptian intelligentsia needed to be abandoned. In order the commercial, hegemonic and strategic interests of the powers participated in such a system being satisfied, what was needed was the acceptance, on behalf of the participants, of practices foreign. And Egypt did not prove itself as an exception.

While fundamental aspects such as a) the use of metaphors such as “*brotherhood*”, “*love*” etc. as accepted communicational code among political entities of unequal value, b) the acceptance of reciprocity and equality as a solid base in order diplomatic contacts and negotiations being conducted as c) the existence of patrimonialism under which the whole diplomatic procedure was placed inside a theoretical family context having on its head the “*father*” occurred, several ideological retreats as many adoptions of customs foreign needed to be achieved in order Egypt being accepted as equal partner.

During the continuous process of evolution and political schematization of the diplomatic system of Amarna, values such as reciprocity, equality, brotherhood, and exchange held the whole construction together. In such a system, where the expression of unbounded love and esteem of one great king to another was vital in order a ruler being accepted as an equal member of the artificial fraternity of “*brothers*” shaped among kings of equal rank, several ways of expressing such feelings of chivalrousness needed to be invented. Aspects such as royal gift-giving, diplomatic marriage, and exchange of gods proved of great significance towards such a cause and Egypt had to participate and adapt their peculiarities in order to become an equal partner of its Near Eastern peers. It was in such facets though where several aspects of abandonment recorded on behalf of the Egyptian side.

Gift-giving exchange among kings was not an invention of the Late Bronze Age. While such a procedure was used since the epoch of Mari, as several textual sources indicated, the peculiarities presented as the differences occurred regarding the way the same act of exchange was presented inwards and outwards revealed aspects of abandonment on behalf of Egypt and its Pharaoh. In addition, it uncovered a tricky mean of diplomacy on which Pharaoh had to adapt in order to participate in the diplomatic system maintained during the Late Bronze Age.

In several textual sources meant for internal consumption, gift-giving procedure was presented to the Egyptian audience as an act of submission on behalf of the foreigners to the supremacy of the Pharaoh. The imperialist model used inwards wanted foreigners being partners of chaos, loyal instruments of *isft*. Under such perception, foreigners presented as chaotic hordes, destroyed by Pharaoh and the gods of Egypt. Hence, any act of exchange between them and the king was transformed internally by imperial mechanisms of propaganda to an act of delivering tribute and submission (*inw*). Under such a representation, foreigners were obliged to deliver an annual tribute to Egypt and its gods and to serve as servants in its temples. The way such act of exchange reproduced internally though, came to an antithesis to the way greeting-gifts presented in the Amarna correspondence.

In the majority of the Amarna letters, the representation of any acts of royal exchange differed fundamentally from what the Egyptian textual and pictorial record of the New Kingdom demonstrated. The international relations shaped among Egypt

and its Near Eastern peers during the Late Bronze Age were characterized mainly by positive interactions expressed inside a system which was functioned under the context of “*brotherhood*”, “*love*” and “*friendship*”. In order to be accepted in an international system which operated under the rules of an “*enlarged village*”, any great king had to adapt his ways of communication and bargaining. Hence, apart from accepted gifts, Pharaoh also delivered them through his messengers, following a procedure which reflected what can be called as a disguised state trading activity.

Such act of gift-giving by the Pharaoh himself revealed several breaches of protocol summarized in three basic principles reflected vividly in the Letters from Amarna: gifts cannot be asked for, gifts must be given from both sides and gifts must be reciprocated despite any mechanism of saving face invented from both sides. Apart from gift giving procedure, Pharaoh also took part in several diplomatic marriages conducted, following customs foreign to the Egyptian ideology. It was such a participation which revealed on its turn several aspects of abandonment of Pharaonic power and prestige.

Diplomatic marriage, “*the arranged marriage between the ruler of one state and the offspring of the royal house of another*” (cf. Schulman 1979:179), was not a practice applied solely during the Amarna Period. Already from the Third Millennium B.C., it was considered as a significant component of the political relations shaped among the several political entities located in the Near East. It was during the period of Amarna though, where such a practice took the form of a fundamentally acknowledged way of maintaining relations on the highest diplomatic level.

Fundamental differences in culture, theology, and ideology as alterations in perceptions relative with kingship, kinship, tolerance on everything foreign or even the language itself, all fundamental for the conduction of diplomatic alliances, made any attempt of generalization quite insecure. It was the innovations the diplomatic system of Amarna brought in the way communication conducted which made diplomatic marriage being considered as factor of unity. Nevertheless, the acceptance, on behalf of the participants, of diplomatic marriage as one of the corner stones of the system was not free of bonds.

A feeling of abandonment on behalf of Egypt, of fundamental ideological values as Pharaoh’s surrender of uniqueness in several cases of diplomatic marriages

recorded in the Amarna Letters exchanged between Great Kings. Such Letters highlighted the two major aspects of the system: the rules of international marriage game were set long time ago before New Kingdom Egypt participated in it while Egypt had to submit to foreign ways in order to become a qualified peer in the international arena as a latecomer. Under such a prism, several breaches of protocol as aspects of abandonment of Pharaonic power and prestige recorded.

Despite the gradual changes noticed in the Egyptian ideology towards foreigners during the course of the New Kingdom, deep on its core it remained Egyptocentric. Hence, any sort of acceptance of the foreign way of life by an Egyptian was perceived as barbarism. In addition, any allowance of a diplomatic marriage on which the direction of the bride would be the opposite one, from the Egyptian court to another royal court, was for the Egyptian ideology an act of abomination. That sort of interpretation of diplomatic marriage was applied mainly inwards, in times when Egypt held a powerful empire.

In certain periods of political, theological and economic transitions such as the Second Intermediate Period or the period of Amarna, the doctrine of realism dictated adjustment of the aforementioned notions. Hence, requests for Hittite princes by Egyptian Queens (Ankhesenamun) or several exceptions to Amenhotep's refusal for a native Egyptian bride to Babylonians on EA 4 appeared (Tany, Herit), recording a serious breach of protocol. And these were not the only cases where Pharaoh abandoned part of his power and prestige in order communication with his international peers conducted. Indicative towards that direction are the several Amarna Letters recorded diplomatic marriages between Pharaoh and brides brought in Egypt from the Hittite, Mittanian and Babylonian courts.

On a corpus consisted of 387 letters, 20 of them (5.16%) were relative with marriages or marriage proposals conducted among the Great Kings of the Near East and Egypt under terms of "*reciprocity*" and "*equality*". From the 42 Letters exchanged among Great Kings 47.6% of them (20) were relative with diplomatic marriage. In these letters marriage proposals, references to marriages already conducted, refusals, exchange of gifts and dowry, saving-face efforts, demands, complaints and gestures of reciprocity recorded on clay tablets which were written on their majority in Peripheral Accadian. It was in these letters where several aspects of

abandonment of power recorded with Egypt being itself quite receptive in foreign ways and customs. In such corpora, the first sign of Egypt's surrender of uniqueness was the acceptance of a language other than the Egyptian (Accadian) in order agreements regarding diplomatic marriages being conducted.

In the 20 letters relative with diplomatic marriages between Pharaohs and princesses from foreign royal courts, only 15% of them (2) were written in a language other than Peripheral Accadian (EA 31, EA 32). Egyptian was found nowhere in the agenda and Pharaoh himself corresponded in a language other than the Egyptian, an act of abomination for the Egyptian ideology. As the majority of the letters reveal, it was not the foreigners who learned the Egyptian standards. It was Egypt itself and Pharaoh who surrendered in the mechanisms of international communication by using a language other than the Egyptian, an action which reflected a public compromise of Egypt's image.

Language proved itself a strong indicator of Pharaoh's abandonment of prestige and power: in several of the Letters exchanged between Egypt and its Near Eastern peers, Pharaoh accepted the designation the Accadian lingua franca used also for the other Great Kings (LugalKur/Lugal Gal). Through such an acceptance, he downgraded himself to the level of the son-in-law and entered into a patrimonial system of relationships which was characterized by mutual obligations and agreements. Under this light, the Pharaoh accepted to become relative with second class humans, foreigners which were meant either for exploitation by Egypt and its gods when in peace or for annihilation when rebellious, with such a public compromise of his power and status underlining the transaction of Egypt from a unique power to a simple member of an elite club. Apart from use of a foreign language, the Amarna Letters revealed participation, on behalf of the Pharaoh, in customs foreign to Egyptian theology and ideology.

In the 24% of the letters relative with diplomatic marriage among Pharaohs and princesses from the courts of the Near East (EA 1, EA11, EA 24, EA 29, EA 31, EA 34), an Egyptian envoy appeared on foreign soil in order to pour oil upon the head of the future bride of the Pharaoh, an action which had no known precedent in the Egyptian sources. In addition, the entourage which brought the brides in the Egyptian court was followed by several foreign gods which blessed such a marital union

between the Pharaoh and a princess from a foreign court, an act which revealed several breaches of protocol once more. And foreign gods and their travel abroad in Egypt played an important role towards such breaches of protocol.

In several of the letters exchanged between Pharaoh and his Near Eastern peers (EA 19, EA 20-21, EA 23-24), foreign gods appeared to travel from one political domain to another in order to bless the sealing of a diplomatic marriage/agreement, help the host in several problems occurred (calamities, diseases etc.) or eulogize a diplomatic marriage. It was during such a procedure where several breaches in the Egyptian ideology as in Pharaonic power and prestige occurred.

As already seen, aspects such as ideology and theology held a significant role in order sustainability of the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom Period maintained. It was the needs of the Late Bronze Age though as the creation of a diplomatic system based on reciprocity and equality which dictated some sort of adjustment in several ideological-theological claims the counterparts of such a system had in order communication to the highest level being achieved.

Despite the fact that gods and their travel abroad were presented inwards through polarizing rhetoric of domination for reasons of propaganda, outwards, such mobilization of the divine was perceived as blessing, a prerequisite in order any agreement being sealed and fraternal relationships maintained among the great kings. Despite the existence of several mechanisms of acquiring prestige invented in order an arrival or a departure of a god seemed profitable, what can be said towards Pharaonic prestige and power is that several breaches occurred during such a procedure.

While Egypt was for the Egyptian ideology the dominant center of the world, in a realist world necessity for diplomatic relations of reciprocal and equivalent character dictated subsidences in order tools of diplomacy (diplomatic marriage, gift giving, etc.) being eulogized and acquired special significance. Hence, an acceptance, on behalf of the Pharaoh, of foreign divinities traveled abroad revealed several breaches of prestige and power. Any obedience of the Pharaoh to the will of a foreign divinity expressed to travel abroad, the acceptance of a blessing of a diplomatic agreement by non-Egyptianized gods belonged to a pantheon different than the Egyptian one, the fear of the Pharaoh and the local priesthood for their unpredicted

nature as reassurances provided that the host will do all the necessary actions to assist such travel and honor the foreign deity despite any differences in ideology and theology, all of these aspects underlined with the more emphatic way the need of the Pharaoh to abandon aspects of his power and divine nature in order diplomacy prevails.

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