José M. Galán
Victory and Border
Terminology related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty
José M. Galán
Victory and Border
José M. Galán

Victory and Border

Terminology related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty
To Aurora
Acknowledgements

The present study was originally my Ph.D. Dissertation, defended at The Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore), in June 1993. I am grateful to the Faculty of the Department of Near Eastern Studies for their teaching and stimulus. I am in especial dept to Professor Hans Goedicke, my advisor, for the generous attention he devoted to me during my six years as graduate student. He was a tireless and patient teacher, always ready to share his vast knowledge and always able to transmit his passion for Egyptian culture and for work. Professor Betsy M. Bryan offered most valuable insights when discussing my research. Dr. David Lorton read several drafts of the manuscript and provided me with numerous corrections and comments. A. Loprieno and S. Morschauser also made me useful remarks. I want to thank all of them for their advice and encouragement.

Thanks to an Alexander von Humbold-Stiftung Fellowship I was able to go over the manuscript once more during the summer of '94, at the Ägyptologisches Institut in Tübingen. I am deeply grateful to the Foundation and to the Faculty at Tübingen, especially to Professor W. Schenkel, K. Zibeuius-Chen and to R. Müller-Wollermann, with whom I discussed my research. I also had the opportunity to use the files of the Äkägyptisches Wörterbuch, for what I am grateful to W. Reineke and his staff in Berlin.

I want to thank the Alexander von Humbold-Stiftung for partially finance the publication of this book, and to the editors of the Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge for all their help and for offering me the publication of a border-stela now in the Pelizaeus-Museum.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements  
Table of Contents  
Abbreviations  

I Introduction  

II The term *nḥt* before the XVIIIth Dynasty  
I. Old Kingdom  
1. Private Inscriptions  
2. Annotations to tomb scenes  
3. Pyramid Texts  
II. First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom  
1. Private Inscriptions  
2. Literature  
3. Coffin Texts  
III. Second Intermediate Period  
1. Inscriptions  
Conclusion  

III *nḥt* in the XVIIIth Dynasty: (1) The King and the *nḥt*  
I. The *nḥt* king  
II. The king described as *nḥt*  
III. The *nḥt(u)* of the king  
IV. (*s)nḥt as divine action  
V. *nḥt* as a gift of a god to the king  
VI. *nḥt* directed against foreign lands  
VII. Purpose of the *nḥt*  
VIII. The outcome of the use of *nḥt*  
IX. *nḥt* as a description of a state or an action  
X. *nḥt(u)* and the king’s troops  
XI. *nḥt(w)* in reference to goods from abroad  
XII. *nḥt(w)* in reference to captives from abroad  
Conclusion  
Appendix: *Khepesb*
Other Abbreviations

CG       Catalogue général, Cairo
JE       Journal d'Entrée, Cairo
I Introduction

The term ‘empire’ has a broad variety of denotations and uses, and consequently, prompts different definitions: “Primarily, a state characterized by the dominion of a conquering over conquered peoples...” It refers to a permanent or periodic presence in a (previously) foreign land enabling decisions affecting it; requiring an implicit consensus between the speaker and the receptor concerning a minimum span of time and space.

‘Imperialism’ is also defined with a certain vagueness: “the policy, practice, or advocacy of seeking, or acquiescing in, the extension of the control, dominion or empire of a nation, by the acquisition of new territory or dependencies, esp. when lying outside the nation’s natural boundaries, or by the extension of its rule over other races of mankind.”

The qualifying ‘imperialism’ implies a conscious volition to extend one’s control. What the term does not specify is the nature and intensity of the control or the dependencies established abroad, nor the means used to achieve it.

In Egyptological historiography the term ‘empire’ is generally not used for the Middle Kingdom, despite the fact that kings of that period carried out a policy of building fortresses along the Nile valley in Lower Nubia, southward of Egypt’s natural boundary, the First Cataract. This might be, because these fortresses are seen as culturally isolated from the surrounding population (the so-called ‘C-group’). In the New Kingdom, on the other hand, the Egyptian presence in foreign lands is recognized as constituting the Egyptian empire, although the policies followed in the Levant and in Nubia were different from one another.


2 Webster, 1248.


4 For a description of the two models of empire that Egypt held over the Levant and over Nubia, see Kemp, op.cit.; Fransen, op.cit., 167-90; and more recently, S.T. Smith, “A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia” GM 122 (1991) 77-102.
Approaches and interpretations concerning the Egyptian empire and imperialism during the New Kingdom differ greatly. From the available sources, scholars have given overall interpretations, especially concerning Syria-Palestine, of which the most representative ones will be mentioned here. Helck suggested that the main incentive for Egypt's intervention in the Levant was political and military, and only secondarily the control of trade routes. Following Helck's line, Weinstein argued that the Levantine campaigns of the early XVIIIth Dynasty were directed to destroy the Hyskos cities in Palestine; later on, the conquest of Megiddo by Thutmose III opened a period of political and economic domination of the region, which needed a military occupation under the Ramesside to be maintained. Redford's opinion was that, until Thutmose III, the Levantine campaigns were extended razzias to obtain booty, meant also as the king's show of force. Kemp stated that the stimulus for the Egyptian effort abroad was not only economic gain, but also an aristocratic pursuit of glory, of power and the sense of power. Ahiyau concluded from a survey of Egyptian sources that the Egyptian economic interest in Canaan was very limited, and rather, its conquest was aimed to control the main trade routes from Mesopotamia and Lebanon. On the contrary, using the Amarna letters, Na'aman argued that the Egyptian burden on Canaan was heavy. Murmann pointed out, dealing with Egypt's relations with Hatti in the Amarna period, that Egypt was never an enthusiastic imperialist, and held a policy of limited involvement in Asiatic affairs.

The question that has not yet been addressed, and that will be the subject of the present study, is how the activity today referred to as imperialism was expressed in Egyptian texts; that is, what ideas do the Egyptian sources convey about their own actions in foreign territory.

In ancient Egypt, as for any literate society, the relationship between a written record and the reality to which it refers is conditioned by the author's knowledge of reality, the purpose of the writing, its hypothetical audience, etc. Therefore, the record of reality is unavoidably incomplete and selective, its degree being probably different for each statement. While an event or situation can never be totally reconstructed from a written record, the conceptual framework of a text's author on the particular segment of reality to which he refers is wholly expressed in his record of it. Political historians work in the former direction, i.e., the reconstruction of facts (historical reality) from the available evidence. The ideological historians take the latter direction, namely the reconstruction of an author's ideas (i.e., conceptual framework) about what he considers factual through how he refers to it in his writing. The ideology of an individual (or a group) is taken here not in its doctrinal sense, nor as the legitimation and support of a system or institution, but as the collection of ideas that he expresses consciously or not, as he refers to one or more phenomena of his social environment, defining these according to his own frame of reference. While the selective process by which an author refers to one aspect of reality leaves automatically a lacuna for a study of political history, the same selective process becomes the information core for an ideological approach. The ideological approach is also less vulnerable to the random nature of the documentation that has come down to us than the political or socio-economic historical approach.

The study of (ancient) ideas lies in the reconstruction of a communicative act backwards: from the message emitted and recorded to the idea that originated it. Among the elements that constitute a communicative act, the language (system of signs) is one of the best preserved and more accessible to the modern scholar, and thus it stands as the natural starting point for its reconstruction. The most debated question of the propagandistic nature of Egyptian inscriptions is not entailed in a search for the ideas communicated from the Monist 62 (1979) 36-59. See on the subject, D.B. Redford, "Egyptology and History," in K.R. Weeks (ed.), Egyptology and the Social Sciences (1979) 6.

The events of political history related to the empire have been reconstructed mostly from Egyptian monumental inscriptions, occasionally supported by circumstantial information, such as indirect references in other written sources (letters, graffiti, etc.) or the interpretation of material culture and other archaeological data. Kemp, op.cit., 19, 56, argues that studies on the nature of the Egyptian empire should not be based on formal texts of kingship or conquest. Indeed, when documents from two parties concerning a specific time and place have been preserved (referring to a specific event, or just describing a situation), the respective pictures do not match; e.g., the Amarna letters and the Histories version of the Battle of Kadesh stand against their contemporaries in Egyptian records. A warning on using literary texts for reconstructing political events can be found in G. Stroumian, "Egyptology and Historical Method" Oriens et Occidentes 13 (1964) 9-33.

These ideas were already expressed by M. Liverani, "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts" Or. 42 (1979) 79-94.

On the triangulation relation between event, ideology and account, see M. Liverani, Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C. (1990) 292-94. I do not entirely agree, however, with his equation of ideology and stereotyped convention, and reality and specific information, expressed on page 26.

M. L. Finley, Ancient History, Evidence and Models (1986) 4, "The barest bones of any historical narrative, the events selected and arranged in a temporal sequence, imply a value judgement (or judgements). The study and writing of history, in short, is a form of ideology."

N.-C. Génaud, "Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre" (1986) 5 uses the term 'propaganda' for pharaonic Egypt as a straightforward statement of facts: "Il ne correspond pas, en effet, à un souvenir de démonstration ou de conversion, puisque le 'discours' pharaonique s'adresse exclusivement à ceux qui participent du système qu'il décrit. Il s'agit, simplement, d'une présentation des faits selon une formulation qui ne cherche qu'à neutraliser l'acte de violence, mais, bien au contraire, à les restituer dans leur réalité essentielle." According to him,
through them, which concentrates on the texts themselves and not on their relationship to historical reality and to their audience.

Art historians have discussed the evolution of the König's Triumph scene (fig.2), where the king is shown ready to strike the heads of fallen foreign rulers, whom he holds tied up, as an expression of an aspect of kingship,²⁹ but they have not been much concerned with its meaning in the ideology of foreign affairs.

Concerning textual evidence, only a few impressions have been advanced, without the backing of a thorough study. For example, Redford²⁰ pointed out for the XXVIIIth Dynasty that, "at first Egyptians honestly viewed this military activity as retaliatory and preemptive (. . .) but, as time went on, and the campaigns against the Asians proved successful and profitable, military activity was justified on other grounds. Pharaoh led his army northwards 'in order to extend the frontiers of Egypt', a phrase that soon became the keynote of this type of imperialism." However, all the passages that he refers to belong to the reign of Thutmose III and after, and thus they do not support the time factor for the two different attitudes allegedly reflected on the texts. Bleiberg²¹ stated that "the only Egyptian expression which comes close to the modern word 'imperialism' is swfd .stamp, 'to widen the borders.'

Egyptian language does not have a term for 'empire' or 'imperialism', but there is neither a word for 'government' or 'religion'. The ancient Egyptians did not often feel the need to create terms for abstractions, and they rather used expressions that refer to their activity; hence the closest word for religion is ir.t bs, which refers specifically to cult activity.²² For lack of a term for 'empire' or 'imperialism', and of any treatise on the nature of the Egyptian presence and action in foreign lands, the search for recurrent words and expressions in the texts that might reveal the overall idea the Egyptians had of their own activity abroad, seems a sound starting point.

Two words stand out as those most frequently associated with Egyptian actions directed outward: nḥt and sō. Indeed, the word is the smallest meaningful unit of speech and language, and thus it seems logical that the study of ideology on written documents (i.e., propaganda manipulates facts, but specifically by arranging them within the ideological framework of the culture. He definition is quoted here since it completes the general contemporary understanding of the word 'propaganda,' expressed by Lefebvre, Prejudice and Interest, 239, as "the deliberate manipulation of reality on its account, to make it fit into ideology (i.e. the cultural and mental values concerning that reality)" also adopted by E. Bleiberg, "Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom" RES 7 (1986) 5-13.


of their author) through the language used for their composition must start with the meaning of the words used.

The term ḫnt is rendered in the Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache as "Kraft, Stärke, Sieg," its editors adding that "eine klare Kennzeichnung beider Bedeutungen ist nicht durchführbar."²³ In Faulkner's Concise Dictionary the term is translated as "strong, stiff, hard, victorious."²⁴ These meanings have been chosen as appropriate to specific contexts in which the word is used in the texts (i.e., "glossary level of lexical analysis").²⁵

However, if our purpose is the understanding of the meaning and use of a word in a foreign culture in order to understand what is being referred to by it,²⁶ the addition of qualifying comments and the identification of its basic meaning, aside from its specific submeanings, are of great relevance.²⁷ Indeed, the fact that one term is translated with three or four words reveals a conceptual disparity between the two cultures involved.²⁸

²³ Wb II 316, "Kraft" and "Stärke" are seen as one meaning.


²⁶ W. Frawley, Linguistic Semantics (1992) 17-55, distinguishes five approaches to meaning, and under "meaning as reference" he points out two ways to think about meaning, which are related to a political and an ideological approach to history respectively: "(a) as a relation between language and the world, or in terms of truth, (b) as a relation between language and its users, or in terms of understanding." (p.24). Truth, he continues, is subordinate to understanding because the world (i.e., reality) is a property or consequence of its users, of their projected world (i.e., conceptual framework).

²⁷ Ibid., 23, 55. Note the remarks on the Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache by A.H. Gardiner, "The first two pages of the Wörterbuch" JEA 34 (1948) 12, "So great a benefit has accrued from this gift that there is a serious risk lest the younger generation of Egyptologists may be led to believe that the last word has been said in Egyptian lexicography (....) A splendid beginning has been made, but no more." Discussing, as an example, the entry for the word sḥt in the dictionary, he argues that "Wb renders as Kraft and the exact meaning of which remains for us to determine (....) I believe, accordingly, that the proper meaning of sḥt is 'readiness to strike'" (p.14). He concludes pointing out that, "We are dealing with a non-traditional language, where meanings can be determined only through careful comparisons of the evidence and by prolonged argument." On lexicographical studies on ancient Near Eastern languages, see R. Bongen, Alterorientalische Lexikographie, Geschichte und Probleme, NAWG 2 (1984).

²⁸ The understanding of any aspect of a foreign culture expressed through language, ancient or modern, entails overcoming the problem of cultural relativism through an act of translation, which involves a comparison — or all too often, an approximation — between a foreign element and one from the investigator's framework. Mandell, "A Note on the Conceptual Relativism that Views each Language as Self Enclosed, rolling out the possibility of translating terms from one language to another, each term receiving its meaning solely through other expressions used within that language. However, he also pointed out that, once a translation has been decided upon, one is then in a position to compare lexicons, as a further step in the understanding of a language. For a theoretical background in Egyptology, see J. Baines, "Interpretations of Religion Logic, Discourse, Rationality" GM 76 (1984) 21-34, esp.32 f. On the problems entailed in translation, see E.A. Nida, Language, Structure and Translation (1975) 24-46; J. Lyons, Semantics, 1 (1977) 236-38; on translation and history, see M. Bloch, The Historian's Craft (1953) 156-75; and in anthropological studies, see R. Fiege, "Convention, Translation, and Understanding (1988) 1-51. For an specific problem of this kind in Egyptology, see E. Müller-Wolffmann, "Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tributen" GM 66 (1983) 81-93; W. Boeck, "Weitere Beziehungen zu den sogenannten Tributen" GM 71 (1984)
Even if, for convenience, a word is chosen as its semantic equivalent in a certain context and/or grammatical construction, the question of what that word meant for the Egyptians would remain open. For example, in the case of the expression *wrb₃ m(w) nḫt,* the most common reference in the XVIIIth Dynasty to Egyptian campaigns abroad, if it is translated as "expedition of victory," as it is usually done, one has to ask what was the ancient Egyptian idea of victory and how this translation of nḫt relates to other translations of the word in other contexts and syntactical constructions.

As for the word *ḏṣr,* it is rendered in the Wörterbuch as "Grenze," and only for the New Kingdom onwards as "Gerbeit, Gau." 33 Faulkner translates it as "boundary." 34 The Egyptian texts of the XVIIIth Dynasty refer to the purpose of the king's expeditions of nḫt abroad with the expression *swḥr(w)ḏṣr(w)* (to extend/make the border(s)). Even if the standard translation of *ḏṣr(w)* is accepted in the context of foreign affairs, one should question what "border" meant for the ancient Egyptians, what use they gave to it and to the expression "to extend/make the border(s)," and what its relationship was to the expedition(s) of victory.

Because the terms nḫt and *ḏṣr,* as it will be shown, do not refer to physical objects, but are abstract concepts, used in the texts to define or qualify qualitatively (not quantitatively) nouns and verbs, 60 the writer frequently specified, explained or described their use. Thus, the word's immediate context has been considered the most appropriate indicator of its meaning. 35 The 'immediate context' comprises what describes or develops a single differentiated idea within a text. This approach searches for the meaning of a word within a larger textual unit than lexicographical studies, which describe a word's meaning in its smallest syntactical constructions. 36 Indeed, while bilingual dictionaries provide translation devices, our aim is to understand an aspect of a foreign culture from the inside. The examination of the attestations of these two terms and their contexts, pointing out the different nuances and finding the common features that they share, seems the only way to approach what the Egyptians meant by nḫt and *ḏṣr.*

Concerning the Egyptian empire, perhaps just because of its recognized complexity and the vagueness of our concepts, very few studies on terminology related to it have been carried out. 37 Lorton set up a model with his *Juridical Terminology of International* 35


34 Ibid., 64 ff. He uses as examples the peculiar categorization that follow the terms used for colors and food. For a summary on meaning as conceptual structure, categorization being understood as the construction of mental sets and ideal types, see Trawley, op.cit., 50-55.

35 Ibid., 73. Quoting Liverani's words, op.cit., 18 ff., on "[ideal]'i history and anthropology 'the observer should not 'influence' the observed phenomenon but should keep his own culture, his own system of values, his own ideology apart from those under study which otherwise run the risk of being completely misunderstood."

36 While Weeks argues that the meaning of a word is in the common denominator that all its different uses have, O. Goeltner, Jr., "Wsd-sr and Lexicographical Method" (Studia Assyriaca 14 (1992) 214), states that words can change their meanings from context to context and over the course of time. Indeed, they are approaching "meaning" in two different ways. Week takes it as the basic or common idea behind the various uses of a word, and Goeltner as the various uses of a word under different circumstances to refer to different realities (and how they are translated). On semantic change, see for example H. Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics* (1997) 280-928, esp. 300 ff.

37 On terminology related to kingship, however, relevant studies have been published. H. Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich, AA 2 (1960), studied kingship in the Old Kingdom, elucidating the Egyptian idea of king through the terms used to refer to him. E. Blumenfeld, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königstitel des Mäßernen Reiches, 1 (1970), surveyed the Middle Kingdom evidence, focusing on the epithets with which the king was qualified and the roles and actions that he performed. This same model was followed for the New Kingdom by J. Molin, *Studien zum ägyptischen Königstitel im Neuen Reich (1983),* and especially by N.C. Grimes, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIIIe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre (1986). They collated, respectively, "royal dogma" and "royal propaganda" the expression of the ideas of kingship conveyed by the Egyptian sources. See recently, M. Schübel-Buch, *Zur Königsgedichte Anthologie III, IAS 32 (1992) D.A. Freidel, "Zur Königsgedichte der 26. Dynastie" SJE 20 (1993) 123-54.


40 Faulkner, op.cit., 294.

41 Nida, op.cit., 66-68, argues that "the semantic structures of language differ more conspicuously in the hierarchical structure than in the segmentation of phenomena on the level of specific vocabulary (...). As one ascends the scale of hierarchical structure differences between languages become proportionately greater."

42 The etymology of the word is considered of much less value for its understanding than the use made of it. cf. Bloch, op.cit., 170 f. Trawley, op.cit., 2 f. distinguishes an "applied meaning," which is "contextualized" and refers back to the intentions of the author, and a "literal meaning," which is decontextualized and is associated with the grammatical structure of language. As it will be seen below, this study is concerned with both types of meaning and their interrelation. On the question of meaning from an anthropological perspective, implying both explanation and description, see D. Parks (ed.), *Semantic Anthropology, Association of Social Anthropologists 22 (1982) XI-XVIII.*

Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII (1974), in which he discussed the terms most frequently used in the Egyptian sources referring to the relationships between Egypt and foreign lands. Although some of the terms studied are said to be metaphorical and pictorial in nature, they are seen as constituting a technical terminology.54 He argues that, despite the stereotyped nature of most Egyptian texts, they must have been meaningful to their authors. Ten years later, Bleiberg studied the terms *mny* and *kBwnt(ḥ)*, dealing with the question of "tribute" and the nature of the economic fruits of Egyptian imperialism.55

The study of the uses of the terms *mny* and *kBwnt* will begin by surveying their attestations prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty in their various contexts, in order to cover as much as possible their semantic fields.56 Chapter II will show that the term *mny* is used in a wide variety of texts and contexts, adopting for that matter different nuances. The term is not restricted to military circumstances, nor does it denote always a forcible action; the common denominator of the various nuances being the exert or achievement of supremacy or success over something or someone’s actions.

The present study stops at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty because it is when the terminology related to Egyptian imperialism was established. Evidence from the Ramesside period will be brought up in the discussions and in notes.57 Chapter III gathers together the uses and contexts of *mny* referring the king, his actions and their consequences in XVIIIth Dynasty sources. The common denominator in these passages is the portrayal of the king exercising his position of leader of society and lord of the land. He is above the rest of the population because his actions are never surpassed by others, as he is a “champion without equal.” In this capacity, he protects his subjects and brings them “life” in all its forms, and causes the chiefs of neighboring regions hand to him goods, acknowledging his status and expressing their intention not to challenge him. While the king is *mny* inside Egypt, among his followers, he makes use of his *mny* only against foreign lands.

Chapter IV will discuss the occasions and expeditions of *kBwnt(ḥ)* "victory" that the king carried out. As in the previous chapters, the qualifying term *mny* is not related to a specific type of action, but rather to a kind of outcome achieved by an action whatever this may be, referring ultimately to the king appearing as legitimate leader, holder of the highest social status. In the relationship that the king establishes with foreign chiefs through his *mny*, encompassing a broad variety of ties, the acquisition of goods by the

former from the latter is taken as a significant sign of the king’s *mny*, one to which the sources tend to give special attention.

In this vein, note Finley’s58 remarks on warfare in the classical world, "after we have listed all these varied motives, the hard fact remains that successful ancient wars produced profits, and that ancient political leaders were fully aware of that possibility. (. . .) In their accounts of ancient wars, modern historians fully acknowledge honour and fear, but too often not the profit motive. (. . .) with respect to consequences we are in a better position to comprehend the place of warfare and of particular wars in ancient society."

The king’s expeditions in foreign lands had as goal, according to the sources’ phraseology, the extension of Egypt’s or the king’s *kBwnt(ḥ)* “borders.” In Chapter V it will be argued that the term *kBwnt* refers to the area limits of someone’s authority or sphere of action. In Egypt’s territorial administration, adjacent *kBwnt* were at the same time part of wider ones following the administration hierarchy. Egypt’s borders encompassed Egypt proper (Km²) and the foreign lands reached by the king’s expedition(s) and whose chiefs established a relationship with Egypt’s king. Although this relationship implied a variety of aspects, its economic consequence, the acquisition of goods (either by trade or as tribute) was expressed in the Egyptian sources as the central issue and the sign for the location of Egypt’s borders.

The king defined the area of each administrator’s authority within Egypt, which was then fixed by stelae placed at the edge of each one’s territory (i.e., *kBwnt*), hence their denomination “border-stela.” On the other hand, as Chapter VI will argue, because the extension of the king’s sphere of influence or authority was not fixed by a royal command, but was the result of his policy towards foreign chieftains and neighboring powers, it could not be fixed by border-stela. Indeed, the stela that the Egyptian kings set up in foreign lands “extending the borders,” are not regarded in the sources as fixing Egypt’s borders, but as commemorative monuments of the king’s *mny*, placed as far as his “expedition of *mny*” had reached.

Studies on the meanings of words may not yield a complete picture of the ideology of Egyptian imperialism, yet again, it is a basis from where to start. Any historical approach is subordinate to the understanding of the meaning of words, since these are the consequence of the author’s projected world. The present study of the terms *mny* and *kBwnt* aims to be a modest contribution on how ancient Egyptians experienced and conceptualized the world around them, on their ideas and how they expressed them.59 At the same time, the author hopes that a description of how the Egyptians perceived their actions abroad will shed some light on the understanding of the so-called ‘imperialism’, its nature and its purpose during the XVIIIth Dynasty.

54 See also his remarks in, DE 23 (1992) 100-103.


56 Fawley, op.cit., 35, referring to “meaning as logical form,” argues that beginning with empirical semantics (versus a categorical view), making it considered marginal or anomalous, and that marginal cases can turn out to be very productive.

57 Note Redford’s remarks on his review of Lorton’s *Juridical Terminology*, in JEA 63 (1977) 384, “why must we moderns cut ourselves off from much of the relevant evidence by recognizing the artificial ‘Maehtobian’ boundary of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty?”

58 Finley, op.cit., 77, 78, 81, for each passage.

59 Nida, op.cit., 68 f., “in the semantic structure one finds the manner in which experience tends to be classified (…) and that this classification is indicative of the way in which people view experience, i.e., their world.” See also Fawley, op.cit., 50-55, for a summary of Jackendoff’s ideas on semantic structure being the same as conceptual structure. Note A.J. Greimas, *On Meaning, Theory and History of Literature* 38 (1987) 193, “Sociolinguistics would be the study of languages having social connotations.”
II The term nḥt before the XVIIIth Dynasty

The purpose of this chapter is to present, as completely as possible, the variety of genres, contexts and grammatical constructions in which the term nḥt was used prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty, and to show the different nuances (i.e., "submeanings") that it can adopt, as well as the basic meaning derived from its basic meaning. Therefore, this survey of the word in the earlier sources is intended to provide the background for its use in reference to Egypt’s activity outside her natural and historical limits during the New Kingdom.

nḥt is a qualitative term used to refer to or qualify a noun or a verb. In many of its attestations the writer subsequently specifies, explains or justifies its use within the range of possibilities derived from its basic meaning. Therefore, the word’s immediate context is considered here as the most appropriate indicator of its meaning.

The attestations of the word are first grouped according to historical periods (marked with roman numerals) which present a more or less coherent use of it. Then, they are classified according to the type of text or genre (first cardinal numeral). Finally, they are arranged into sections showing common features in the use of the term (second cardinal numeral). These sections are not hermetically sealed clusters, but are interrelated with each other, as will become clear through the passages quoted.

A commentary follows some of the examples when the immediate context is not clear enough, or a distinct aspect of nḥt needs to be pointed out. One or two meanings for the use of the word nḥt will be provided at the end of each section, attesting the lack of a single equivalent in a second (modern) language that suits all its contexts and uses. For that reason, a discussion and summary of the use of nḥt and its relationship with other words is also included for each section (marked with +). Our understanding of the ideas that the ancient Egyptians expressed through the word nḥt must come from a comprehensive analysis of its various uses and nuances together with a search for common and related features among them.

The structure of the study is meant to show how in a single period, within a particular genre, the term nḥt is applied to a number of realities and used in various contexts, thus expressing different nuances. In the conclusion of this chapter, it will be shown how these nuances are derived from a single underlying meaning.

I. Old Kingdom

1.1. Private inscriptions

1.1.1. To be nḥt of heart concerning something to do:

A.- “The heart of his majesty is nḥt concerning that which (I) did therein (in the entire land)” (Urk.I 85, 14). Sabu- Iesi.

B.- “The heart of his majesty is nḥt concerning everything which his majesty has commanded to do” (Urk.I 195, 5). Kagemi.

C.- “I was at the front of a numerous and powerful (warw) troop, being nḥtw of heart. My lord trusted me concerning every mission on which he sent me” (Urk.I 133, 16-134, 2). Pepinakht- Hekath.

D.- “It was greatly that his majesty praised me concerning that which his majesty had sent me for, as I was nḥt concerning everything to be done in every work, which his majesty had sent me for” (Urk.I 221, 4-5). Nekhebu.

+ In these passages, except for ex. D., the term nḥt qualifying "heart" seems to have the nuance of being "convinced" about (the positive outcome of) an action, as opposed to having double thoughts. When it refers to a past action, it acquires the nuance of being "proud" of something done; and when it concerns a prospective action, it seems to be in the direction of being "determined" about doing something, or "confident" that someone will do it (cf. sec.II.1.10). Both uses refer to an action of whose success there is no doubt. Example D has the same meaning despite the omission of the noun "heart." The contexts of these statements refer to the royal praising of the monument’s owner for the achievement of an administrative duty. Only the context of example C refers to military skills and achievements that lead to the completion of a royal mission, consisting of hacking up (Išš) Wawat and Iritej, and subduing (sobe) and bringing captive to the Residence.

1.1.2. To make someone nḥt by giving him property:

A.- “I was administrator of an estate belonging to the grain administration, of 203 acres of land [which] the majesty of my gave (to me) to make me nḥt” (Urk.I 145, 2-3). Ibi.

---

46 See K. Sethe, “Ein Prosysteile aus dem Alten Reich” ZAS 61 (1926) 76. Wb II 314, 17, translates nḥt in this passage as “vertrauen selt.” A. Puechillo, Le cœur dans les textes égyptiens (1930) 114, refers to this passage for the expression nḥt keb, which he translates “fert de cœur.” On Saba, see K. Baer, Rank and Titles in the Old Kingdom (1960) 121 (n.421).
48 Wb II 314, 16, translates nḥt in this passage as “munit seuil.”
49 See M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom, OBO 84 (1988) 15; E. Roccato, Littérature, 208-211; J. Janssen, De traditionelle egyptische Autobiografie vor de eerste Rijk (1946) 26 (n.2); Baer, op.cit., 71 (n.136).
51 N. Shappak, “Some idioms connected with the concept of ‘Heart’ in Egypt and the Bible,” in S. Israeli-Groll (ed.), Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity (1985) 206 ff.
52 N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebel chain, I (1902) 22, pl.7; Baer, op.cit., 56 (n.32). See A.H. Gardiner - K. Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead (1928) 15, who translate sže as “to enrich.”
B. "Wabut has come with Isis, (They) have devastated your house, and she has taken away everything that was in it in order to make nefy Isis, they wishing to impoverish (mstf) your son by making nefty the son of Isis." 103 Iriti, widow of Senkankenhath. This is part of a woman's letter addressed to her deceased husband, asking him to intervene in the defense of her son's claim to his inheritance.

+ The term nefty in its causative inflection, snfty, is in these two passages related to the acquisition and possession of property. It is not used to refer to the action itself, which in the second example is a violent one, but it refers to someone's condition derived from an action. Thus, someone is in nefty not because of what he does or how he does it, but because of his profit from a situation that himself, or even someone else, had created. It must be noted that the means for the acquisition of property are different in each case, and thus, not relevant for the use of the term nefty, which points out the effect on the person who got the property. In the second example, nefty is opposed to mstf. Their rendering as rich and poor should be understood not only as an economic category, but also as a social category, i.e., property holder with the sense of being powerful versus defenseless, as will appear again in examples from the next period (cf. seecc.II.1.7., II.2.1).

1.2. Annotations to tomb scenes

1.2.1. Physical strength:
A. "Your arm is much more nefty than his. Do not submit to him." *My group is more nefty than yours. Hold on with them, O my fellows!" 104 Mereruka. Two groups of young men holding on to one another are confronted in line, pulling in opposite directions. The leaders encourage their teams, exhorting them to continue pulling. 105 Nefty refers here to a superior physical strength compared to the opponent's.
B. "Bring it to you nefty, comrade!" 106 Senedjemib called Inti. Butler scene in which the man who is holding the knife asks his assistant to pull on the ox's leg that he is ready to cut off. Nefty is here an adverb referring to the overcoming of an obstacle, i.e., the ox's limited flexibility.
C. "Seize nefty." 107 Hetepheresakhti. Agricultural scene, in which a man is shouting to two oxen pulling a plough. Nefty is here too an adverb, in this case the opposition to be overcome is the ground.

103 Cairo JE 25975: Gardner - Sethes, op.cit., pl. I (4-6); nefty is translated as to aggrieve' on p.1.
105 These athletic games have been understood as part of the initiation to become a member of a phyle, see A.M. Roth, Egyptian P Kyle in the Old Kingdom, SAOC 48 (1991) 70.
106 LD III 78 c; PM III 85 (G 2370). Read, in r k rt nefty, cf. Erman, op.cit., 12.
107 W 9 II 316, 4, translates as tainting.
108 HD 30, 1943 (1943) 79 f.; fig.45; A. Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire (1889) 346 (D.60); Erman, op.cit., 21; PM III 593 f.
each other. Between them, a herdsman holds a stick to the face of a bull. Behind the other bull, there is a second herdsman with a stick.

E. "Charge, ngt k3-bull!" Tomb of Djehutihotep. A bull is lifting another with his horns into its rival’s front thigh. A herdsman is behind the former, raising a stick and addressing it.

During the Vth Dynasty, a new scene is included in the decoration repertoire of local officials’ tombs: the confrontation and fight between two bulls. In this same context, its representation continued through the Middle Kingdom and even into the reign of Thutmose III. A fighting contest between two bulls was arranged by two herders, placing the bulls facing each other (up). They proceeded to hit them with a stick on the horns to provoke the violent engagement (sgf). Then, they moved aside and cheered them from behind. In several of these scenes, the term sgf is used in the annotating text as an adjective for one of the two bulls. Although examples C, D and E belong to the Xth Dynasty, they have been included here to form a coherent group of attestations of the use of the term sgf in this context.

The purpose of the arrangement of bullfights was the selection of the best bull for breeding. This is suggested by the presence of a cow next to the arena and a couple

mating, and references to the genitals during the fight. Blackman argued in Meir II, p.25 ff. that the bull-fight represented on Ukhhotep son of Senbi’s tomb was related to the Hathor cult and the search for a bull-consort, citing textual evidence for this practice. However, by looking at the context of similar scenes, the festive occasion was rather related to the temple: the inspection (m3f) of the cattle and field labor by the tomb owner. Some representations of bulls engaged in a fight lack the presence of herders, which might allude to the natural origin for their disputes.

The meaning of the bullfight scene within the tomb decoration program can be found in contemporaneous religious-funerary texts. In a funerary context, "k3-bull" not only identifies the bulls entangled in a fight, as has already been seen, but also is an epithet of deities and of the deceased himself after having been identified with Osiris. The context for the use of the epithet refers to the power of defeating the enemies, and getting to eat the right food (the five rations of the temple of Helios), to procreate and, thus, becoming the foremost of those in the Netherworld.

Concerning ex. C and its identification of a "ngt k3-bull" with an "Apis-bull whom Heresat has suckled," it must be pointed out that in Spell 204 of the Coffins Texts (CT III 140 e-f) the deceased is identified with the "Apis-bull who is in heaven," high of more. Moreover, in Spell 343 (CT IV 350 a-351 d) the deceased is said to be one whom Heresat has suckled," and continues, "he is the senor of those whose seats endure in heaven to whom those who are lying in the earth are assigned." For snakes, crocodile or baboon in the Coffins Texts. The term k3-bull not only has a sexual connotation, but also refers to a hierarchical position within a group, as it becomes clear when the term is used to refer to Osiris’ dignity (m3f) in the West; see CT I 100 a; 102 a;110 c-111 b; 140 d-e; 151 b.

Concerning ex. C and its identification of a "ngt k3-bull" with an "Apis-bull whom Heresat has suckled," it must be pointed out that in Spell 204 of the Coffins Texts (CT III 140 e-f) the deceased is identified with the "Apis-bull who is in heaven," high of more. Moreover, in Spell 343 (CT IV 350 a-351 d) the deceased is said to be one whom Heresat has suckled," and continues, "he is the senor of those whose seats endure in heaven to whom those who are lying in the earth are assigned." For snakes, crocodile or baboon in the Coffins Texts. The term k3-bull not only has a sexual connotation, but also refers to a hierarchical position within a group, as it becomes clear when the term is used to refer to Osiris’ dignity (m3f) in the West; see CT I 100 a; 102 a;110 c-111 b; 140 d-e; 151 b.

Concerning ex. C and its identification of a "ngt k3-bull" with an "Apis-bull whom Heresat has suckled," it must be pointed out that in Spell 204 of the Coffins Texts (CT III 140 e-f) the deceased is identified with the "Apis-bull who is in heaven," high of more. Moreover, in Spell 343 (CT IV 350 a-351 d) the deceased is said to be one whom Heresat has suckled," and continues, "he is the senor of those whose seats endure in heaven to whom those who are lying in the earth are assigned." For snakes, crocodile or baboon in the Coffins Texts. The term k3-bull not only has a sexual connotation, but also refers to a hierarchical position within a group, as it becomes clear when the term is used to refer to Osiris’ dignity (m3f) in the West; see CT I 100 a; 102 a;110 c-111 b; 140 d-e; 151 b.

Concerning ex. C and its identification of a "ngt k3-bull" with an "Apis-bull whom Heresat has suckled," it must be pointed out that in Spell 204 of the Coffins Texts (CT III 140 e-f) the deceased is identified with the "Apis-bull who is in heaven," high of more. Moreover, in Spell 343 (CT IV 350 a-351 d) the deceased is said to be one whom Heresat has suckled," and continues, "he is the senor of those whose seats endure in heaven to whom those who are lying in the earth are assigned." For snakes, crocodile or baboon in the Coffins Texts. The term k3-bull not only has a sexual connotation, but also refers to a hierarchical position within a group, as it becomes clear when the term is used to refer to Osiris’ dignity (m3f) in the West; see CT I 100 a; 102 a;110 c-111 b; 140 d-e; 151 b.
the "black painted" k3-bull, the deceased is referred to as "the son of the k3-bull of heaven, the k3-bull of the black painted bulls, the lord of the West" (CT VI 232 i, Spell 619).5

Through the connection between the bullfight scene on the tomb walls and the references to it in religious-funerary texts, it can be pointed out that the term "k3-bull" is adopted for the deceased and gods as a metaphor to refer to their highest hierarchical position within a group.44 The deceased is identified with a k3-bull when his status as leader, which he holds on earth as governor of his province, is questioned by the challenge of an equal, another leader k3-bull.

The deceased has to overcome this confrontation in order to maintain his leadership over his group and remain lord of his domain, now in the Netherworld. While k3 is the term used to identify and to describe the two fighters in the contest, nfr is only applied to one of them as an anticipated qualifier, pending on its favorable final result in the confrontation. Now, going back to the wall representations, the larger scene within which the bullfight is shown refers to the successful outcome of the confrontation: the deceased, now with a human appearance, is inspecting the production of the fields as head of his estate in the Afterlife.

In this context, qualifying one of the two contestant k3-bulls, nfr can be rendered as "victorious," anticipating its successful outcome in the dispute. It is important to note for the meaning of nfr, that the rivals are referred to as having the same status, and that they confront each other and dispute for the group's leadership and the right over the property and territory associated with it.

L.3. Pyramid Texts53

3.1. Associated with being protected, overcoming obstacles and prevailing over rivals: A.- "O those who are above the (day)hours before Re" (i.e., sunrise), make way for him!46 May he pass through the circuit of the fighting-face now that he is bound to this seat of his, foremost of the seats behind the god. Put the head, O (you) equipped of a pointed nfr horn, under a pointed knife which cuts throats. What surrounds the head of the k3-bull is cut off, and those who are in the darkness are caused to quiver. The powerful (uwt) horn is (now) around the great god, (as) he has subdued the burnt ones, he has smitten their foreheads, his claim not having any opposition in the horizon." 79 Pyr. 269 a-271 b.

44 See also CT V 384 a-385 b.
45 See P. Deschamps, "Babon, le dieu et les mythes" Rl 59 (1952) 26 n.5, with bibliography.
47 Royal and personal names in religious compositions have been rendered with the 3rd person singular pronoun for convenience.
48 (n.251). Speelers, op.cit., 42 f., translates this spell in the following way, "O Chefs of the heavens devant Ra, faîtes la voie à W, pour que W. passe au milieu du cercle/region de Ceux qui combattent."
49 ‘His power (uwt) is the power of the Eye of Tebi, his nfr is the nfr of the Eye of Tebi, (as) he defends himself from those who do these things against him; who take away from him his sustenance as it existed, who take away from him his evening meal as it existed, who take away the breath from his nose, who stop his days of life. He is more nfr than they, he is who appears in glory (hr) on his shore." Pyr. 290 a-291 b.
50 "Now, his defense is his Eye, his protection is (his) Eye, his nfr is his Eye, his power (uwt) is his Eye," 80 Pyr. 320 a-b.
51 "He has succeeded Geb, he has succeeded Geb! As he (the deceased)92 has succeeded Atum, he is on the throne of Horus-the-elder; his Eye is his nfr, his protection is that which is done concerning him." Pyr. 301 a-c.
52 "He is that Eye of Horus, which is more powerful (uwt) than men's, more nfr than gods." 81 Pyr. 1147 b-c.
53 The deceased faces opposition on his way to his claimed seat as leader in the Netherworld. In ex A's spell, the confrontation takes the metaphoric form of a fight between two k3-bulls. The deceased overcomes his rival thanks to his pointed/efficacious79 and nfr horn. The metaphor of the bullfight connects the heavenly and earthly eschatologies, since the "horn" is also related to Re's radiance in the

W. vient vers son trône, devant les trônes, derrière le dieu à tête inclinée, ochent de khent qui est puissamment équipé, pouvant un couteau aigü qui coupe la george (ess) séparée (ess) qui enveloppe la tête du taureau, qui prêvent l'attaque de Ceux qui sont dans l'obscurité, qui possèdent foue (ess) derrière le grand dieu." Faulkner, op.cit., 62, "O you who are over the hours, who are before Re, prepare a way for me so that I may pass within the patrol of those with warlike faces, for I am bound for this throne of mine, (even if) the pre-eminent of thrones who are behind the great god, whose head is set in place, who has assumed a sharp strong horn as one who bears a sharp knife which cuts throats. That which removes trouble from before the Ball, which causes those who are in the darkness to quiver, is the strong horn which is behind the great god." For other translations, see A. Piankoff, The Pyramid of Unas, Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, Rilagen Seräs 40S (1968) 29 i; J. Spiegel, Das Auftordnungsrational des Unas-Pyramid, AA 23 (1971) 413-17; H. Altenmüller, Die Texte zum begräbnisritual in den pyramiden des alten reiches, AA 24 (1972) 79, 195; E. Goodall, "The Morning of the Burial, Pyramid Spell 231." VA 8 (1992) 7-16.
54 For the double meaning of pr 'eye' and 'action,' see E. Goodall, "An Egyptian Claim to Asia" JARCE 8 (1969-70) 23 n.83. The following passage, ex. C, is preceded by the statement, "He desires his legitimization (mfr-nfr) by means of which he has done" (Pyr. 316 d), making the parallelism between the 'Eye of Horus' and 'what is done concerning him,' namely, what Horus does to Osiris (i.e., the deceased king).

55 In one of the versions it is written nfrw.
57 (s.260). Faulkner, op.cit., 69; Speelers, op.cit., 49; Piankoff, op.cit., 37; Spiegel, op.cit., 238; Altenmüller, op.cit., 196.
58 The antecedent for the third person singular pronoun is more likely to be the deceased than Geb, since Geb is regarded as being of an earlier generation than Horus-the-elder.
59 (s.256). Faulkner, op.cit., 66; Speelers, op.cit., 46.
60 (s.510). Faulkner, op.cit., 136; Speelers, op.cit., 142. One of the three versions, partially reconstructed, starts with an independent pronoun, which will point to a possessive rendering, "His is that Eye of Horus." See G. Guichard, "About an early use of the Emphatic Possessive Expression" VA 6 (1999) 139-51. Note that WÖ II 314, 12, uses this passage to refer to nfr applied to person(s).
61 Spd has the substance of "wirkungswoll," as pointed out in WÖ IV 198, 15 ff.
horizon and it is a way for the deceased to ascend to heaven or descend to earth. The adjectives *pt* "pointed" and *ptj* that qualify "horn" are not uncommon for the sun’s ray in the western horizon. The use of the "horn" by the deceased implies that, by travelling with Re, he has been able to acquire or use Re’s powers to prevail over his opponent. To emulate the deceased in the afterlife, a slaughtering ritual might have been performed connected with the sun in the horizon, which would account for the reference to the knife which cuts thoughts.

These passages make the "Eye of Horus" the source for the deceased’s protection against his opponents, the source of his "power" (writ) and his *nfr* to prevail over them. According to Gooden, the "Eye" has to be understood as a pun between the participial form of the verb *wrt* "to do, act" and the noun *wrt* "eye." The deceased king is identified with the god Osiris, lord of the Netherworld, and his successor adopts the mythological role of Horus. Thus, the "Eye of Horus" refers to the ritual actions that the successor, or a priest on his behalf, performs for the deceased king at his funeral so that the latter will achieve a meaningful afterlife, as the final statement of ex. D points out.

These passages use *nfr* together with *wrt* "power" as an attribute to refer to the deceased’s ability to prevail over any opposition in his way to his claimed leadership in the Afterlife. Being synonyms, the two terms form expressions with the same nouns (heart, arm, etc.). However, the consistency in the use of this pair and the order in which they are mentioned imply distinct nuances. Through ex. A, in which both terms are used to qualify "horn," it can be distinguished that the *nfr* term is referred to as able to perform an action, to cut throats, while the *wrt* term is described as static, being around the great god (cf. sec. II.2.1; II.3.1.2).

---

104 One of the versions has "your foot will not be stopped in heaven."
105 On the notion of By, see G. Englund, Ahk, une religion religieuse dans l’Egypte pharaonique (1978), esp. 45-46. By is said to be a divine power which the deceased king also acquires. Its domain is mainly heaven. See below section III.3.3. See also R. K. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice, SARC 54 (1993) 30 ff.
106 (s.365). Faulkner, op.cit., 120. Spelz, op.cit., 86 f., referring to Pyr. 623, says: "Il est probable que le mot nfr force, indique un objet sur lequel R. s’appuie, cf. 80 2112, 2116," while Faulkner translates the proposition as "because."
107 (s.690). Faulkner, op.cit., 299; Spelz, op.cit., 226.
108 (s.523). Faulkner, op.cit., 196; Spelz, op.cit., 151. One version equates By with the "indestructible stars" (dpw-abu).
109 See II.3.14.5.
110 See A. H. Gardner, Egyptian Grammar (1957), sign-list, A 1435-54,55.
111 There is a passage in which scholars have identified another attestation of the word *nfr*, Pyr.1237 a-c (s.524). However, from its orthography, it seems one should read *nfr* to be the bilateral sign for the following By and it is not standing between By and these two it appears consistently in all the attestations of the word *nfr*. See Sehler, Kommentar, V, 159, Faulkner, op.cit., 196; Spelz, op.cit., 151.
translated here as "power," but not so much in a physical sense (although this can be inferred through his actions), but rather in a hierarchical sense in accordance with the specifically royal context.

In example C, ḥbwt is a causative verbal form, referring to a quality of sunlight that makes it prevail over darkness at dawn and help the deceased to ascend to heaven (cf. ex.f.3.1.A).

II. First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom

II.1. Private inscriptions

II.1.1. Qualifying troops:
A. "I sailed southward to demolish their fortress with ṭꜣḥt troops of Hefat."111 Tomb of Ankhfiti.
B. "Now, after I have sailed northwards with ṭꜣḥt soldiers of my trust (ḫꜣḥ-pꜣ.t) (. . .) Now, these ṭꜣḥt soldiers, trustworthiest ones..."112 Ibid.
C. "[. . .] ṭꜣḥt troop. I caused that it sees [. . .] I caused that Edfu fights at the front of the land, which did not happen since the times of Re", by means of ṭꜣḥt Levantines(?) (šꜣḥ-mr) of my trust."113 Ibid.
D. "[. . .] ṭꜣḥt (troops) 2 of my recruiting. His flames have fallen among the foreign lands [. . .]114 Block from Dier el Ballas.

+ ṭꜣḥt is used as an adjective to qualify troops, pointing out one of the two characteristics appreciated in a group of soldiers. One is their trustworthiness, the other, ṭꜣḥt, must refer to a characteristic related to their performance, such as "strong" or "valiant," or anticipating their success, "victorious."

111 [ln. 6]. J. Vander, Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhfiti et la tombe de Sékheshetept, BIFAR 18 (1950) 198; W. Schenkel, Memphis, Hierakonpolis, Theben, ÄA 12 (1965) 45-57. Vander and Schenkel (p.49) took ṭꜣḥt as an adjective modifying ḫt "troops," an option which has been followed here; but it might be qualifying Hefat, as is the case with other locations (cf. sec. III.2.4; III.1.4; and Wb II 314, 23).

112 [ln. 7]. Vander, Mo'alla, 202 f.

113 Vander transcribes the word as ḫy (p.256), translating "grâce à la force des soldats et vaillants (concr.)" (p.253a) and Schenkel, "mit der Kraft eines starken Liššens" (p.56). Goodics suggested to me that it rather looks like a phonetic writing for ḫm-wt "Assyrian," cf. Wb I 167, 20. The construction of this sentence is parallel to that of ex. B above, which refers to ḥm-wt.


II.1.2. Associated with troops:
A. "[. . .] ṭꜣḥt of troops,"115 mistrees of plan(s) and successful occasions wherever there is a fight for the king [. . .]116 Tomb of Iri-ib.
B. "ṭꜣḥt of troops, who fights against the southern provinces with Horus' command, on the day of valor."117 Tomb of Khety.
C. "ḥbwt of temple magistrates (ḥbwt nṯt nbt-ḥbwt), whose god(des) gladdens him as she (Nekhet) promotes his place in her temple (of El-Khab)."118 Stela from Hierakonpolis.

+ ṭꜣḥt is in these passages a noun, qualified by a genitive referring to men. It is used to refer to a person who is "possessor" or "leader" of a group of people, a "socially powerful" man. Example C shows that the term is not exclusively military or associated with fighting.

II.1.3. Foremost among equals:
A. "Senior (ḫw.t) in his town, ṭꜣḥt among his citizens,"119 Iri-ib's coffin.
B. "Senior in his town, ṭꜣḥt among his citizens (. . .) Beloved of his town, ṭꜣḥt among citizens(?)(. . .) ṭꜣḥt of his town, who protects the entire land,"120 Iri-ib's coffin.
C. "Exalted one (ḥ kbty) in his town, ṭꜣḥt among his citizens."121 Anu's coffin.

+ These passages use the term ṭꜣḥt to define someone's position in society. Its parallelism to "senior" and "to be exalted," being followed by the preposition "among," points

114 The spelling of the word ends with a double t, which can be a feminine ending, and the ideogram shows a standing man with a shield and a stick. In the tomb of Khety, see B, below, the term ṭꜣḥt appears followed by two ideograms, showing a man holding a shield (and a stick) and another man holding a bow, and plural staves. See F.L. Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siut and Dér Râfî (1889) pl.14 (f.48); H. Brunner, "Die Texte aus den Grabmälern der Herrscherpolizeiern von Siut, ÄA 5 (1957) 29, 58, Schenkel, MiE 85 n.C. E. Edel, Die Inschriften der Grabstätten der Star-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herrscherpolizeiern (1984) 73 f., argue that these two writings from the tombs of Iri-ib and Khety are to be read ṭꜣḥt nbt-ḥbwt.

115 Griffith, Siut, pl.14 (f.34); P. Monet, "Les tombes de Siout et de Dér Râfî" Kemi 3 (1930-33) 39; H. Brunner, Siout, 14, 47; Schenkel, MiE 85. Edel, Inschriften, 28. The antecedent for ṭꜣḥt "mistress" is probably the goddess Henret-see Kemi, Inschriften, 81-83.

116 Griffith, Siut, pl.14 (f.48); Monet, Kemi 3, 104; Brunner, Siout, 29, 58; Schenkel, MiE 85. Edel, Inschriften, 68 f., 73-76, esp. p.75 for a new reading of the inscription, which is followed in this translation.


118 The word ṭꜣḥt is translated as "commander" or "citizen," as opposed to "official" (cf.); see H. Goodics, "Tax Deduction for Religious Donations" JARCE 9 (1971-72) 73. In Nen-montu's stela (ex. 1), as well as in several inscriptions in Hatnub, the author distinguishes himself by the qualification nbt-ḥbwt of R. Anken, Die Paläographische von Hatnub, UAGA 9 (1928) 35 ff. (L.2-3), 38 ff. (L.9-10), 42 ff. (L.5), etc. Nbt could also be qualified by ṭꜣḥt, as shown by J. Poldotsky, Zum Inschriften der Ti-Dynastie, UAGA 11 (1929) 34; Jansen, Autobiografie, 3 n.15 ff.

119 E. Chassinat - Ch. Palanque, Une campagne de fossiles dans la nécropole d'Assiout, MIAO 24 (1911) 191; Jansen, Autobiografie, 26 (n.4).

120 H. Gautier - G. Leflèvre, "Sarcophages du Moyen Empire provenant de la nécropole d'Assiout" ASAE 23 (1923) 21 f.; Jansen, Autobiografie, 26 n.5-11.

121 M. Kamal, "Trois sarcophages du Moyen Empire provenant de la nécropole d'Assiout" ASAE 34 (1934) 52; Jansen, Autobiografie, 26 n.12.
to an individual who stands out from the rest of the members of his group. This social position implies that such a person is "beloved/chosen" by the group, and on the other hand, that he is responsible for the protection of the territory, as ex. B makes explicit. Thus, the term can be translated here as "the powerful one" within the society, i.e., "high-ranked."

II.1.4. Associated with arm:
A. "Men who were nbt of arm say: 'I have come to bring it (a colossal statue)' (. . .) those of arm in the company of dressed ones (etatu), their resolve has been formed, their arms are nbt, each one performing the strength (detu) of a thousand men."124 Tomb of Djehuty-Hopet II.
B. "[. . .] great fear among those of Siuat, nbt of arms, who carries off (nbtm) [. . .]"125 Tomb at Deir Rife.
C. "I have gone forth from my house, I have descended into my tomb. My house is established, my heir's arm being nbt."126 Stela of Heka-ib.
D. "I have decorated his tomb, I have made stand his images, like an excellent heir, beloved one of his father, who buries his father, shall do; his arm being nbt."127 Tomb of Mery I.
E. "[. . .] until her son had become a nbt of arm [. . .]"128 Tomb of Khenti.
F. "I am one of the land, quick to go, to move . . ."129 running of movements, an excellent citizen in combat. I have led(?) troops in attack: 'at dawn, the town will be peaceful to me, after I have grasped the head of the bow and conducted the fight for the Two Lands'. I am nbt, my arms act so that I place (them) to the ground after I have shattered the enemies, after I have overthrown the opponents of my lord. No one else can say likewise."130 Stela of Nesu-montu.

125 Griffith, Sātāt, pl.19 (I.45); Jansen, Autobiographie, 26 n.8.
126 J. Polotsky, "The Stela of Heka-Isy" JEA 16 (1930) 194-199. He takes the last statement as meaning "adult of a certain degree" (p.199). For the last two sentences together, see Polotsky, Inschriften, 2729.
127 Petrie, Abirbia, pl.46; Polotsky, JEA 16, 199.
128 Brunner, Sātāt, 12, 15, 68; Polotsky, JEA 16, 199; Schending. MFIT, 70, translates "reichsfähig(?)."
129 The verb usw is taken as a participial, with the meaning pointed out in Wb 6 1313, 10 f., parallel to "us" to "catch."
130 The logogram of a sitting dog is commonly read pmt, a verb whose meaning does not quite fit in this sentence. The pose of the animal is closer to that adopted by Seth, but the word sdt would have also an unclear meaning here, although it is attested as verb (Wb IV 345, 7; 299, 17). Because the verb is related to "bearing," "schlagen," and the fighting is mentioned as finished already at dawn, the main verb might refer to garrick attacks of the type Levensanien are said to carry out in Egyptian literary compositions, as in W. Helck, Die Lehre für König Meresnak (1977) 59-57, what will somehow explain the Seth sign for it. On the relation between Seth and foreign lands in this context, see H. Te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (1967) 111. A similar situation to this passage is described in Urk.1 149, 1-3, where the verb used is sr to announce. The question if the seated dog is a corruption for the giraffe sign of the verb sr is also unclear, but note certain ambiguous attestations of sr in J. Yoyotte, "Une épitaphe de Min comme explorateur des régions orientales" R&H 9 (1952/3) 130.

In ex. A, B, E nbt forms a compound noun132 with "arm." In the last example, the meaning of the term is clarified by referring to one's arms/actions. The second instance of nbt in ex. F is a stative verbal form, nbt, which stands parallel to the nominal sentence not nbt. Also in ex. C and D it is a stative, "of nbt.

The term refers here to someone's ability to act successfully. In ex. B, "nbt of arm" is used parallel to being fearsome. The last example relates being nbt to being "an excellent citizen in combat." Although at first sight nbt seems to point out to a physical characteristic of the owner, in ex. A, its contrast to sdt-re-men (derived from sdt "cloth")133 seems to indicate also a group distinction: nbt are those who carry out the actions while the sdt-re-men seem to be the ones who direct it. In ex. C it is related to having the house established, well provided (ggr), and together with ex. D and E, the "nbt of arm" is the heir, who has to take care of his father's burial (having received the means for it). In these passages nbt is used to define a group or an individual who stands out for the results of his action, appearing within the society as "a strong," "powerful one."

II.1.5. Associated with a bow:
A. "I have acted as a speaker to troops in Hefat, in every difficult place which I charged against; never did anything (bad) come therein, by means of my nbt bow and my excellent (sbt) plan."134 Tomb of Anchentirka.
B. "[. . .] I am nbt of bow, a courageous one (hnu) with his khepesh,"135 great of respect among his neighbors.136 I have recruited troops [. . .]137 Tomb of Khety I.

The bow was one of the most important individual means of action in a fight. At the same time, it can be used as sarrs pro toto for the light infantry, the basic military unit.138 In ex. A, the leader is described as having two qualities which complement each other: being "nbt of bow" and "excellent of plans." The former refers to his disposition for action, the latter to his knowledge of how to carry out the action and succeed. Associated with "bow," nbt can be translated as "victorious" in a military engagement.

The distinction between nbt and snt and their relation to khepesh will become clear in XVIIIth dynasty sources, but see also ex. II.2.3.E.

125 Griffith, Sātāt, pl.19 (I.45); Jansen, Autobiographie, 26 n.8.
126 J. Polotsky, "The Stela of Heka-Isy" JEA 16 (1930) 194-199. He takes the last statement as meaning "adult of a certain degree" (p.199). For the last two sentences together, see Polotsky, Inschriften, 2729.
127 Petrie, Abirbia, pl.46; Polotsky, JEA 16, 199.
128 Brunner, Sātāt, 12, 15, 68; Polotsky, JEA 16, 199; Schending, MFIT, 70, translates "reichsfähig(?)."
129 The verb usw is taken as a participial, with the meaning pointed out in Wb 6 1313, 10 f., parallel to "us" to "catch."
130 The logogram of a sitting dog is commonly read pmt, a verb whose meaning does not quite fit in this sentence. The pose of the animal is closer to that adopted by Seth, but the word sdt would have also an unclear meaning here, although it is attested as verb (Wb IV 345, 7; 299, 17). Because the verb is related to "bearing," "schlagen," and the fighting is mentioned as finished already at dawn, the main verb might refer to garrick attacks of the type Levensanien are said to carry out in Egyptian literary compositions, as in W. Helck, Die Lehre für König Meresnak (1977) 59-57, what will somehow explain the Seth sign for it. On the relation between Seth and foreign lands in this context, see H. Te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (1967) 111. A similar situation to this passage is described in Urk.1 149, 1-3, where the verb used is sr to announce. The question if the seated dog is a corruption for the giraffe sign of the verb sr is also unclear, but note certain ambiguous attestations of sr in J. Yoyotte, "Une épitaphe de Min comme explorateur des régions orientales" R&H 9 (1952/3) 130.
132 See Gardiner, Grammar, 961, 82, 95; in German this construction is called "Limitation," see W. Schenkel, Türaheimer Einführung in die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift (1991) 123.
133 Wb IV 365, 1-5.
134 (lit. 13); Vander, Ma'adi, 242.
135 On the term khepesh, see the Appendix to Chapter III.
136 In this context the word gnuy "neighbors" may have a military connotation, as argued by Edel, Inschriften, 81 f.
137 Griffith, Sātāt, pl.15 (16-17); Monnet, Khemi 3, 109; Brunner, Sātāt, 66; Schenkel, MFIT, 73; Lichtlein, Autobiographie, 28 f.; Jansen, Autobiographie, 26 (n.3); Polotsky, Inschriften, 43.
138 A. Schelman, Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom, MÄS 6 (1964) 30.
II.1.6. Military campaign:
A. "Upon building this stronghold, Nebesyl in Wawat were subdued. When I had sailed downstream in nef, killing the Nebesyl in his river-bank, I then sailed upstream wasting their grain, cutting down their trees. I set fire to their houses, as the action (to be carried out) against the disobedients of the king."139 Intefekir's rock-inscription at Nág el Girgawi.

Nef is here part of an adversarial clause modifying a verb of movement, in this case referring to a military campaign into Nubia under the reign of Amenemhet I. This construction will be common in XVIIIth Dynasty texts, with the nuance of "successfully."140

II.1.7. Associated with bringing in goods and with territorial domain:
A. "He has made endowments for Montu, he has satisfied Amun with goods of the South, which he brought with his nefrew [...]. He is the son of Nut is my lord. He has seized his Two Lands with his nefrew, he has established everlasting commands (usheb),"141 and has punished his enemies.142 Owner unknown.

B. "(Wepwawet) Pointed of arrows, Lord of Siut, chief of the seats of Atum, more nefrew and powerful (usheb) than the other gods, who seized the Two Lands legitimately (usheb-nefrew),"143 Tomb of Hapišefatii.

C. "(Sesostris III) My majesty has commanded to cause that you sail upstream to Abydos, to make a monument for my father Osiris-Khaitamouty, to embellish his secret image144 with fine gold, which he had caused that my majesty bring from southern Nubia, in nefrew and legitimacy (usheb-nefrew)."145 Stela of Ikerhenenefret.

140 The context does not make it clear if it refers to border-stelas, or to donation-stelas, as seems to be the case in a statement in the Berlin Leiper Relief referred to in E. Blumenthal, Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königreich des Mittleren Reiches (1970) 129 (C.3.4). As it will be shown below in Chapter VI, the two are closely related.
141 Turin Suppl.1310 (8-9). J. Vandier, "Une inscription historique de la première période intermédiaire," in H.B. Saintfrais (ed.), Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in honour of H.B. Poletti (1964) 9-36, pl.1. Vandier restores Horus as the god equated with "the son of Nut," of which the falcon determinative remains. However, Seth seems more likely to be the one referred to as Nut's son, the divine determinative of a falcon being consistent with that used for other deities mentioned in the inscription. For the epithet "son of Nut" referring to Seth, see T. Vallois, op.cit., 28. The inscription is dated to the reign of Ptolemy I, probably from the Theban region, because of its similarities with Ankhkhhuf's of Moa'ila. See also Blumenthal, Königreich, 173 (E.11), 254 (F.5.11).
142 Griffith, Stela, pl.5 (II.22-33); Montet, 3a. 4, 8, 4, Uk. VII. 55, 63-15; Franka, op.cit., 447 (n.777).
143 Read hasu, see Uk. VII. 57, 5.
144 Berlin 1204 (I.3-4). See Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Meters zu Berlin, I (1913) 169-173; Sethe, Lesebücher, 70 (16-18); Simpson, op.cit., ANOC II.1, pl.1; Lichtheim, Autobiografien, 98-100; idem, Ancient Egyptian Literature, I (1973) 123-25. Although leaving aside the first lines, the inscription has also been studied concerning cultic practices by W. Haffner, "Die Herkunft des abydischen Osirisreiters" Ähr 20 (1952) 72-85; R. Anthes, "Die Berichte des Nebennerts und des Ikerhenret über das Osirisfestival in Abydos" in Postscript zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums (1974) 15-49; R. Leprohon, "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae" JARCE 15 (1978) 33-38. See also Blumenthal, Königreich, 218 (F.2.11); Franka, op.cit., 36 (n.27).
145 D. "Words said by Khnum to Satis, mistress of Elephantine: 'I assign to him (Montuhotep) I power (usheb) and nefrew [...]. every foreign land is under his feet."146 Graffito on Konosso island.

The verb "to seize" (usheb), mentioned in ex. A and B, refers to the action of taking hold or possession of property and/or territory, in this case the Two Lands.147 In the same way as the action of "bringing" goods in ex. A and C, the two actions are the positive consequence of a previous one, which is left implicit in the text.

It is not clear in ex. A and C if the construction m nefrew, the instrument through which the action was accomplished, refers to the troops of the unnamed king to his actions, or if it refers to his character. Still, it can be said that nefrew is presented as the means through which a king brought goods, later directed to the temples, and through which he seized the country, defeating his opponents.

The terms nefrew and m usheb are used to qualify the king's actions of seizing the country and of bringing goods from abroad in ex. B. C. while the former points out the success in obtaining a claim (being morally neutral), the latter refers to the righteous character of a claim already obtained.148 Although the terms nefrew and m usheb are frequently used in a military context, they do not refer to the action performed, but to its outcome. In this way, their use here does not necessarily imply a violent action,149 and the translation as "victory" for nefrew is close to "success." The pair nefrew and usheb is mentioned in examples B and D as the necessary qualities to be lord and chief over people. The king receives nefrew and usheb from the divine in ex. D, and its consequence is his superimposition on foreign lands. Here, their contexts do not allow to shade two different meanings for them (cf. sec. II.2.1; II.3.1, 2). War, however, is not commonly bestowed on the king by a deity, as it is nefrew and usheb "courage."

II.1.8. Used as title for an inscription:
A. "I have taught the South to fight, I have taught this land to close its heart; now, I have placed (i.e. carved) my proclamation (snw施肥) on the doors, my nefrew on [the doors and] the coffins."150 Tomb of Ankhkhuf.
The owner of the tomb refers to the account of his military actions in defense of his territory, recorded as a memorial, with the term nfr (cf. ex. III.1.5.B). This same title, which can be translated as "achievement(s)" or "victory", will be used in the New Kingdom for certain royal inscriptions.

II.1.9. Associated with knowledge:
A. "I am a son of a man, nfr, who always watches for his town and sets it on the road of success." Kay's inscription at Hattu. B. "I am a nfr who knows more than the learned ones concerning matters of the living and the dead ones, who knows that which happens," Stela of Intef son of Ka.

+ These two examples put together the qualities nfr and knowledge/experience in the person of a leader (cf. ex. II.1.5.A). The former passage refers nfr with the protection of the leader's town, and knowledge with his good policy; the latter combines being nfr with knowing what will happen. This association reminds of the pair nfr and war, since in the Coffin Texts usw is twice associated with knowledge (cf. ex. II.3.1.D; II.3.2.B). The term is used to refer to someone "powerful," who stands out from the rest.

II.1.10. Associated with heart:
A. "My majesty sends you, since my heart is nfr that you will do everything to please the heart of my majesty," Stela of Ikherneferet.

This is the same expression used in Old Kingdom private inscriptions seen above, sec. I.1.1, which is close to the idea of being "convincing," "confident" about the success of an action.

II.1.11. Associated with a k3-bull:
A. "[I, . ] nfr k3-bull. A man does excellent things for him who [made?] him. A leader of troops [. ]"

Tomb of li-tb. This fragmentary passage may be the earliest attestation found of the use of the expression "nfr k3-bull" out of an immediate religious funerary context referring to a living person(s). Both the noun nfr and the noun k3-bull had been used before to refer to someone outstanding, although they had never been used together. The connection

110 For this expression meaning a wellborn person, see for instance H.G. Fischer, "A Daughter of the Overlords of Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period" JEA 26.9 (1956) 103 n.3.
111 Anthes, Felonimnchnos, pl.24, p. 54 if (I.1); Griffith - Newberry, El Bersheh, pl.22 n.8, p.51 f; Janssen, Autobiographie, 26 a.5.
113 Berlin 1204 (I.5-6). Sethe, Lesestücke, 70 (20); idem, ZAS 61, 76; Blumenthal, Königstum, 401 (G 8, 37).
114 Griffith, Staat, pl.11 (I.26); Montet, Rom 3, 93; Brunner, Staat, 18, 46; Schende, MIFT, 80. Compare with Nesen-enetre's self identification: "I am one k3-bull of Montu, whose lord prays every day," Sethe, Lesestücke, 81 (I.19-20).

between the use of this expression in this passage and the bullfight scenes represented in local officials' tombs where it is used (sec. L.2.3) is uncertain; nevertheless, the term can also be translated here as "victorious." This combination will be used frequently to refer to New Kingdom kings (cf. Chapter III, sec. L.1).

II.1.12. The outcome of someone's might:
A. "(Amenemhet III) He is Re', he who is seen through his rays, as he illuminates the Two Lands more than the sun-disc, he regenerates more than the great inundation. He has filled the Two Lands with nfr and life: noses are blocked when he starts to rage, (but) when he is peaceful they breathe air; he gives succorsance to those who follow him, he provides food to those who are on his road (i.e., loyal to him)." Stela of Sheshetepibre.

The king is portrayed in this passage in his capacity of effecting nfr and "life" (cf. ex. III.1.1.B). The former is specified as his power to determine whether others should live or not, to give life or hold it back in a political, legal sense. Nfr is what enables the king to punish his opponents and to grant vassalage ties, which are perceived as beneficial (thus, to grant "life") for his subordinates; thus, "victory." The latter, "life," refers to his role as sustainer of his subordinates and followers (after his victory over his opponents).

II.1.13. Associated with making one's border:
A. "I am weighty among the officials, diplomatic (in) the moment of conflict, who says: 'Approach me, Khety! (or) I shall make a storm over the province. My rule is nfr after I have made my border as far as wadi Hesy.' Djarti.

The owner of the stela acted as commissioner for king Intef of Thebes. The latter sent him to king Khety of Herakleopolis for grain after they had fought a battle at the west of Thinis and Intef had been "victorious." This passage is the first to associate a nfr ruler with the making of a border, which occurs frequently in New Kingdom inscriptions.


This double action from the part of the king is later expressed in statements such as: "(Thutmose III) proceeding to the land of Djaht, to smite the disobedient there and to give things to those loyal to him" (UR IV 1246, 6-8); and "Proceeding his majesty (Amenophis III) to Regetas, on his first expedition of nfr, to extend his borders, to give things to those who were loyal to him" (UR IV 1301, 15-16); see Chapter IV ex. L.3.0 and concluding remarks for that section.

117 Cairo JE 41437 (I.5-6). See W.M.F. Petrie, Qarneck (1909) 17, pl.3; Clerc - Vandel, 7977; 14; Schende, MIFT, 99-100; E. Gonnaz, Égyptien pendant les États Intermédiaire, TAVG 27 (1960) 151; Lichtenth, Autographes, 80 f. There are uncertainties in the translation of this passage.
II.2. Literature

II.2.1. Associated with arm:
A. "(Sesostries I) your majesty is a Horus who seizes," your arms are not towards every land," 169 The Story of Sinuhe.
This passage relates the king’s arms/actions being not with the action of seizing land. The Ashmolean Ostracon version is, however, different: "you are not of your subjects (misitryos) of every land." 170 The two versions refer to the king as being "powerful" abroad, the former through his actions, the latter by possessing subjects in foreign lands (cf. sec. II.1.2).
B. "(the sailors) Each one of them was more brave (mnW3) of his heart and not of his arm than his mate. There was no incompetent among them," 171 The Shipwrecked Sailor.
C. "Behold, you are not and powerful (uswr), your arm/action is aggressive, your heart being greedy (frwt), 172 respect (r3) has passed you by. How miserable is the weak (mnfr) whom you attack," 173 The Elloquent Peasant.
This passage refers to an official who is being accused of misusing his position to abuse someone of lesser social status.
D. "Behold, Egypt has stopped pouring water. When the water is thrown to the ground (and this action has been abandoned), the not of arm takes for himself from the weak." 174 Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage.

169 For the relations between "Horus (q3n)" and "Horus (frwt)," see A.H. Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe (1916) 84; Blumenthal, Königinn, 106 (B.2.20).
170 (B 217-18). A.M. Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, Bn 2 (1932); J.W.B. Barns, The Ashmolean Ostraca of Sinuhe (1952); R. Koch, Die Erzählung des Sinuhe, Bn 17 (1990). See also Seshe, Lesertesten, 3-17; Gardiner, op.cit.; H. Grapow, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik I, der stilistische Bau der Geschichte des Sinuhe, VEO 10 (1932); J.L. Foster, Thought Captives in the Tale of Sinuhe, Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen 3 (1993).
171 On this passage, see Barns, op.cit., I.30, p.30; H. Goedicke, "Sinuhe’s Reply to the King’s Letter," JEA 51 (1965) 37; Koch, op.cit., 66. This statement is similar to not n m nrn/w, "not among his citizens," included in sec. II.1.3. Note also the statement in ex. II.1.3.B, "not of his town, who protects the entire land." On the latter, see Blumenthal, Königinn, 218 (F.2.13).
173 See G. Fecht, Der Haltungsgriff und die Maat in der Lehre des Prashubtet, ADAIK 1 (1958).
175 (75) This passage is still unclear, as Faulkner explicitly pointed out in W.K. Simpson (ed.), The Literature of Ancient Egypt (1972) 239. A.H. Gardiner, Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage (1909) 55, translates this passage as, "He who poured water on the ground, he has captured the strong man in misery?" See also R.O. Faulkner, "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" JEA 51 (1965) 57; Lichtheim, Literature, I, 156. Gardiner relates the action of pouring water to an offering, which could have been regarded as a servile action. Lichtheim, in n.155, relates it to a passage in

The context of this passage describes a time of disrespect for religious matters and for social order. The action of pouring water has a religious significance, and its abandonment leads to, or comes together with, the rise of social disorder.

+ The expression "not of arm" is associated with the action of seizing in example A and D (cf. sec. II.1.7). It is presented as the complement to the heart’s character in ex. B. Example C puts together mnfr and uswr to refer to an individual: the former is located in the arm and thus, is associated with action; the latter is located in the heart and, thus, is associated with someone’s character. This distinction will be seen repeated in examples from the Coffin Texts (sec. II.3.2.)
When someone mnfr acts outside the established order, as in ex. C and D (versus A and B), his intention is regarded as greedy, and his action as aggressive and abusive, directed against "weak." The latter term is used to indicate someone of lesser status than a mnfr, someone unprotected, defenseless against him (cf. I.1.2).
Example B, referring to sailors, is in the line of "physical strength" and "determined action," while the rest of the examples point to "being powerful" of action within society (cf. sec. II.1.4).

II.2.2. Associated with face:
A. "If you hide your face from the not of face of who will then oppose wrongdoing?" 166 The Elloquent Peasant.
B. "A not of face overcomes (kr3n) everybody, a man strikes his maternal brother," 167 Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage.
C. "To whom can I speak today? As the hearts are greedy (frwt), everybody taking away the property of his brother; as respect (r3) has perished and a not of face overcomes (kr3n) everybody. To whom can I speak today? As a peaceful of face is evil, he abandons goodness everywhere." 168 The Dispute of a man with his Ba.
D. "Respect the owner of the goods, and be not to the criminal (gpr)." Assemble the seized goods for the one who is (now) without his property. That the property is
stolen by the criminal is something evil, which shall not be free of punishment. ”170 The Eloquent Peasant.

While "arm" refers to the actual action, "face" in this compound refers to someone's behavior, to the sign of an action that will follow in view of previous actions. The expression "nft of face," gives to the term nft a pejorative connotation, "aggressive." They all center the action within Egypt, Egyptians versus Egyptians, brothers versus brothers, so that nft takes on the connotation of abuse, as seen above in ex. II.2.1.C, D. In example C, it is related to being greedy and taking away someone else's property; the opposite attitude of being peaceful (of face). In parallelism with "to overcome someone," it acquires the character of injustice when the action is not carried out by the king (or a royal official) against his enemies, i.e., against those of his same hierarchical status outside his group. Note that the verb used, h5 "to charge down" upon someone, is also used in the fighting scenes between two k5-bulls, referred to above (cf. ex. I.2.3.D).
The expression "to be nft of face," with the same meaning, has its parallel in Akkadian, rendered daanni ina ānān. "Because the (local) chiefs have not opposed them (the sons of Abdil-Ashrita), they are strong (daanni). The arm furnishes whatever they need, and so they are not afraid of the (Egyptian) officials. Because they have taken the horses (and chariots from the king), they are abusers (daanni ina pantanaa)" (EA 108: 34.45).

Example D is included in this section since the action associated with being nft is also carried out among Egyptians. This time, however, the law, i.e., the established order, backs up the action and its recipient is referred to as a criminal. To be nft is opposed to "being respectful," "gentle," and it implies two actions: punishing the evil doer and taking away property from him, as he is not its legitimate owner.

II.2.3. Associated with having control:
A. "(Sinuhæ) I spent (so many years there), that my children (already) had become nftu, each one being the authority (d5r) of his tribe." 171 The Story of Sinuhe.
B. "The coming of a nft of Retene: he challenged me as I was in my tent. He was one who steps forward without his peer, who had authority (d5r) over it (Retene) entirely."

170 (B 1,121-22) Parkinson, Eloquent Peasant, 25. Vögelesang, Kommentar, 111 ff., translates "Einen gewaltstüchtigen Herrn von fremden Sachen hat der Bettler," Gadeker, (EA 9, 12, "He who has bread?) should be(?) mercified, the criminal may be(? hard," Says, Föllah, 86 ff., "La violence du bandit ressemble aux lacsins du paureau," Lehricher, Literatur, 1, 174, "The wealthy should be mercified; violence is for the criminal." See also D. Fecht, "Der Totentrief von Nag ed-Der," MDAIK 24 (1969) 127.

171 W.L. Moran, The Amarna Letters (1992, English ed. of the original in French, 1987) 182 n.7, expresses the expression as "bold," depriving the term of the pejorative connotation that the original Egyptian has, i.e., a violent action out of the established order. Not being aware of the Egyptian attestations, Moran states that it "reflects a Canaanite idiom." It must be noted that in the Amarna correspondence the term donu "strong" is used much in the line of nft in the Egyptian sources; see Chapter III sec. DN's remarks, and the Appendix in the author's article, "Who is he, the dog?" Unters-Forschungen 23 (1993) 179f.

172 (B 93).

He said he would fight with me, he intended to hit me, he planned to plunder my cattle."173 Ibid.
D. "Is there another nft who can fight him?" 174 Ibid.
E. "(Sesostris II) He was the authority (d5r) of foreign lands, when his father was in his residence; he reported (back to him) that which he had commanded to happen." 175 He is a nft, one who acts with his khepesh, 176 a champion without his equal. 177 Ibid.
E. "May the skill with words be your nft. The khepesh of the king is his tongue: words are more courageous (bnu) than any fight, since one is not able to come after one skillful of heart." 178 Teachings for King Merikare.

To become nft seems to be used in ex. A to define a category within the social hierarchy, not just acquired by ageing, but through the exercise of d5r, implying no violence but the "control," "authority" over a group; see ex. II.1.4.C, D, E, where the expression "nft of arm" is used to refer to the heir.

In the Story of Sinuhe, ex. B, C, the identification of this person from Retene as nft can be equated, through the description of his character and intentions, with being a social leader and lord of a territory, the foremost of his group. This hierarchical superiority gives him authority over his fellows, and it makes him the one who may challenge other leaders in order to bring in goods to the group with his victories. The leaders confronted each other and the whole group was entitled to take possession of the property and followers of the defeated one. Sinuhe himself is described as a leader just before the issuing of the challenge by the nft of Retene: "Every land I marched against I

173 (B 109-113) See G. Fecht, "Sinuhaes Zweikampf als Handlungserkern des dritten Kapitels des Sinuha-

174 (B 133-34) See D.P. Silverman, Interrogative Constructions with "NI" and "N5F-IW" in Old and Middle Egyptian (1980) 29 ex. 37; C. Cannuyer, "Noce à propos de Sinouhé B 133-134" GEM 88 (1985) 11-13, who translates, "I l'ai trouvé un autre dont qui soit plus fort que lui armé?"

175 See Blumenthal, Königsm. 133 (5.1.19).

176 Ibid., 217 (F 140).

177 (B 20-2). On this passage, see H. Goedicke, "The Encomium of Sesostris I" SAK 12 (1985) 7 f.

178 W. Helck, Die Lehre für König Merikare (1977) IX, p.17. The first statement is partially lost and cannot only be reconstructed by putting together the Petersburger and Moscow papyri. The verb hmu mnh "to save," "skill," has been generally taken as an imperative or conditional form, and nft as a prospective umdj form; Helck, p.18 "Sie kun dig der Rede, daß du Mächtiger seiest!" J.P. Quack, Studien zur Lehre für Merikare (1925) 22; Liebscher, Literatur, I, 99, "if you are skilled in speech, you will win." A. Erman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians (1971, translated from the 1927 edition) 75; Faulkner, in Simpson's Literature, 181; Blumenthal, Königsm. 391 (G 8.6). Although most of the headings of this literary composition take the imperative or the conditional form, this is not always the case and, thus, it cannot be used as a conclusive argument. I have taken the statement as a non-verbal clause, being reluctant to take nft as a umdj form, which is a rare construction with nft. The statement is a reversed parallel of the one that follows in the instrument that words use to come about the tongue, in the same way that nft needs the khepesh to turn into action. The noun "skill of words" is substituted below in this passage by "skill of heart" to avoid repetition, being the action of speaking and the heart closely related; cf. N. Shapak, Where can Wisdom be found? OBO 130 (1993) 280-85.

Quack gently pointed out to me the resemblance of this passage with one in the Old Aramaic composition of Achshar, found in Egypt, cf. J. Kottiesper, "Die Geschichte und die Sprache des Weisen Achshaer" in G. Barkerd, et al. (ed.), Weisheitsertexte, Mythen und Epoden, II (1991) 336.
subdued it, killing off pastures and its wells, I plundered its cattle, took its subjects, seized their food and killed people there by my khepeshep, my bow, my movements and my excellent plans" (B 101-06). In relation to this passage from Simbu in the Execution Texts there is a mention to Levantine inscriptions of a great group whose holder steps out and acts on its behalf; thus, it can be translated as "holder/ leadership." The actions related with the use of the term are not necessarily violent, as for instance ex. E, where khepeshep refers to someone's oratorical skills, or examples A, B and D, where it is associated with the verb sin, with the nuance of "having control," "authority" over a group of people. In example E, the future king is advised about the power of speech. The khepeshep refers to the means of action, like the arm in other passages seen above. The words, that is, the elements for the action of speaking, are referred to as khepeshep. Nf't refers to the "success" achieved by the actor as a result of his action. It is important to note the different nuances of the terms khepeshep and nfr, which will frequently appear together in a military context in New Kingdom inscriptions: khepeshep refers to the individual components of an action, which in warfare can be the soldiers (cf. ex. III.1.1.C) or the various events that integrate the overall action; nfr refers to the capacity for success, or the success itself, of the overall action and actor.

II.2.4. Referring to a geographical area:
A. - "Egypt shall not be given (to) the sand(dwellers?), it is nfr upon [its] limit(s) [...]" 188 Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage.
This passage is fragmentary and its reading is uncertain. Still, it seems that nfr is applied to a geographical area with the nuance of having a certain number of people and being protected, "strong:" this could well imply the stationing of border garrisons. See ex. II.1.1.A, III.1.4 and VI.2 314, 23.

II.3. Coffin Texts 189
II.3.1. Combined with usur
A. - "Her nfr is the nfr of Tebi, her power (usur) is the power of Tebi. She is protected from one who does this to her, from a brawler: there is nobody who takes away her main meal from her; who takes away her evening meal." 186 CT VI 238 k-q.
B. - "(Title: becoming Khonsu in the cemetery) It is his nfr that created his power (usur), it is his power (usur) that created his nfr." 187 He is powerful (usur) compared to the one who cuts off heads, the flame from his mouth is pointed compared to the knives of those before Sakheret. 188 CT IV 67 h-i.
C. - "O radiant one, pointed and strong (3) my strength (3) is towards heaven, my slaughter is towards the earth to me belongs heaven and earth. It is my power (usur) that created my nfr, and nfr versus. 186 CT VI 240 c-d.
D. - "I am more powerful (usur) than the forefathers, I am more nfr than the senior, (since) I am equipped with all they know, the gods who are before me. I have seized their powers (nfr)," 187 CT VII 236 m-p.
E. - "He has tied his hornament (ub) to his neck. The red crown is his nfr." 189 CT VI 281 m-n.

4 The association between nfr and usur, already shown in several Pyramid Texts (sec. 1.3.1), is expressed in these passages as a complementary and reciprocal relation between the two. While usur points to a static power, similar to someone's high(est) status, the term nfr refers to the "power" of carrying out the action which causes and derives from that high(est) status. Both terms are related to the protection of one's own belongings, overcoming any challenger who pretends to take them away from him.

II.3.2. Located in the arm:
A. - "My hs has seized all in excess (hub) what. I bring my terror in my body, my dignity in my lips, my powers (usur) in my throat, my greatness in my heart, my respect in my flesh, my nfr in my arms, my authority in my legs. I am a god whose arms rule, who is powerful (usur) with his heart." 190 CT V 392 d-i.
B. - "(Pronouncement (Hu) is in his body, terror in his heart, Cognition (Sib) in his heart (- -) his dignity is in his lips, his powers (usur) in his throat, his respect in his flesh, his nfr in his arm, his authority in his legs. He is a god who rules with his arm, power (usur) being in his heart. He has seized every god's knowledge (ub), which he has placed in his body," 191 CT VI 320 h-j, 0-s.

188 Compare with CT VI 240 g (ex.C).
189 (s.311). Faulkner, op.cit., III, 228, translates the last section, "... I am strong enough to cut off heads, and sharp is the knife which is on my mouth against the knives which are in the hands of the..." Barguet, op.cit., 332 f. Note the vocative in CT III 340 c. "O eyes, O knife, you nfr of Eye.
190 For the term Hs, see A.H. Gardiner, "The first two pages of the Werterbuch" JEA 34 (1948) 13-15, who gives for it the meaning "readiness to strike."
192 (s.1017). Faulkner, op.cit., III, 117; Barguet, op.cit., 497.
193 See s.90 above.
194 (s.660). Faulkner, op.cit., II, 230; Barguet, op.cit., 408.
196 (s.689). Faulkner, op.cit., II, 234; Barguet, op.cit., 500. This passage, together with CT V 392 d-i (s.469), quoted in ex. A, is related with the personalisation of "3s knowledge" and "3s authority," acquired by the deceased in their superlative (feminine) form, to seize the powers (usur) of the other powerful beings (3b3d in the Netherworld (see CT V 391 d-392 b).
C. "(Title) For a man to have authority (ṣḥn) over his opponent. He has represented the strength (ḥs) of Amen, he has stood up as Horus, he has stood up as Ptah, he has been ṣḥn as Thoth. Now, he goes (with) his ṣḥn in his possession/arm, his powers (uswr) in his mouth. He has seized the powers (uswr) of Amen. Now, he goes on his feet (with) his word in his mouth, as he persecutes his opponent." 192 CT VI 168 a-169 c.

* As in the previous section, a distinction is made between the location of ṣḥn and ʿrs. ṣḥn is placed in the arm, which is the means for ruling, that is, for acting. It can refer to the pre-condition for acting, and thus translated as "strength," or it can refer to the expected outcome of the action, and thus "success." ʿrs is located in the throat/mouth and heart, and is associated with speech and knowledge respectively, having been seized from other gods (cf. sec. 2.2.1).

II.3.3. Associated with ṣḥn
A. "(Title: To oppose a nemen snake, to oppose crocodiles [. . .]) This your kḥbpesḥ is in the realm of Atum. Take for yourself your weapon. Behold, as I speak on behalf of Re, may Re speak on behalf of me and you. Smite this killer and destroyer of his (Re's) ka with these your ṣḥn e, your powers (uswr) and with these your powers (ṣḥn)." 193 CT VI 207 b-n.
B. "Your legitimacy (mḥn-ḥm) is your protection, the powers (ḥms) of Re are your ṣḥn. 194 CT I 194 c-d.

These words are addressed to the deceased, who has here already gone successfully through the Final Judgment. 195

C. "Thus, I speak with my heart: How powerful (ḥms) am I; how ṣḥn is my ka? I shall turn against his family (my enemy's) [...]. The Eye of Horus is my leader. My powers (ḥms) are my ṣḥn which had accompanied me from the island of fire, from the domain of Osiris. I shall subdue those who are and surpass those who are not, so that there is no opponent coming against me, no one who may act evilly against me." 196 CT II 242 b-d, 251 f-252 h.

*The word ṣḥn has been translated intentionally in the same way as ʿrs, "powerful," since the distinction between the two, according to an ancient Egyptian recitation, is

192 (s.569). The versions of this spell are quite different from one another. Faulkner, op.cit., II, 172 f., translates: "... My champion in Thoth, his strength is in my arm." Barquet, op.cit., 108, follows 190 C, and translates: "... ma vaillance est [celle de] Thot."

193 (s.566). Faulkner, op.cit., II, 188 f; Barquet, op.cit., 301.

194 (a.45). Faulkner, op.cit., I, 39; Barquet, op.cit., 187. See also Englund, Ahh, 120, for the relation between ṣḥn and mḥn-ḥm.

195 See Antich, JNES 13, 21-51.

196 Barquet, op.cit., 437, translates in this passage ṣḥn by "les incantations magiques."

197 (a.149). This translation corresponds to versions 32P and 31P. Faulkner, op.cit., I, 127 a-14, followed version 52C, and translates: "the strength of my soul protects me, (even) that which turns me away from his family (...) my magic powers are my strength, (even) those which come after me from the island of fire (...) Barquet, op.cit., 457 f., translates this passage following 32P: "Et alors je me disais en moi-même comme j'étais glorifié et comme mon âme était forte, si je me tournais contre sa famille..."
B. - "(Neferhotep III) nht king, beloved of his troops; Good Horus, who brings sustenance, who sustains (ṣḥν) his [town], who prevents the lack thereof, guide of (sīmnu n) the nḥt Thbes. 260 Stela of Neferhotep III.

C. - "I am a courageous (ḥnḏ) fighter of the nḥt ruler [K]mnw - live forever! I have brought in 46 men, as I was following the ruler - given life!" 261 Stela of Ahmose.

D. - "The nḥt king inside Thbes, Kmnw - given life forever! - is a beneficent king. It is Re [who has appointed him as king] himself, who has assigned nḥt to him truly." 262 Kmnw stela truly.

E. - "Hail to you! Min-Horus nḥt, lord of strength (qḥy), who goes forth to Akkhit, triumphant with the two feathers, skilled of his entourage, who overthrows his enemies, protector-of-his-father, who subdues the evil intentioned ones, lord of nḥt, as he receives the Upper Egyptian crown and the inheritance of his father is given to him." 263 Stela of Wenenhekmwy.

The context of the use of nḥt as an adjective qualifying the king refers to his role as leader of troops, which is associated with his role of sustaining his followers (ex. B). The association between nḥt and nḥt "sustenance/life" was already pointed out in Schiaparelli's stela: "he has filled the Two Lands with nḥt and life..." (ex. II.1.12.A). Examples D and E relate nḥt to becoming king and acting as such. 264 The god Re is mentioned in ex. D as the origin of the king's nḥt, as well as the one who has chosen him to rule. Example E is a hymn to the god Min-Horus portrayed as king. The possession of nḥt is associated with military action, overthrowing any opposition and protecting the predecessor, and with coronation. Nḥt can be translated in these passages as "victorious."

III.1.2 Belonging to the kings:

A. - "What is my nḥt for, if there is a chief in Avaris and another one in Kush, and I am sitting between a Levantine and a Nubian, each one holding his part in Egypt, dividing the land with me?" 265 Kmnw stela.

260 CG 59635 (I.4-5). See Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte, 45. For an earlier example of a town being nḥt, see note in ex. II.1.1.A. Another example of Ws nḥt is to be found in P. Versus, "La stèle du pharaon Mentos-ḥnḏ à Karnak: un nouveau témoignage sur la situation politique et militaire au début de la D.P.I." Rdé 40 (1989) 146 L, pl.6 (l.5).

261 D. Randall-MacIver - C.L. Woolley, Bubos (1911) 90 f.; Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte, 99. See also C. Vanstekerken, Les Guerres d'Aménophis (1971) 62 f., who argues that the name to be restored inside the cartouche is Kmnw. Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 31 (18), however, follows Randall - MacIver's restoration of Ahmose or Thutmose.

262 (I.2) A.H. Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kmnw: The Carmarnov Tablet, no.1" JEA 3 (1916) 95-115; P. Lacanc, Stèles du Nouvel Empire (1909) 1-4, pl.1; idem, "Une stèle du roi Kmnw" ASAE 39 (1939) 245-271; L. Habashi, The Second Stela of Kmnw, ADAIK 8 (1972); W. Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte, 82-97; H.S. Smith - A. Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kmnw Text" ZAS 103 (1976) 48-76. The verb ⲡⲩⲧⲟy "to assign" has been written as snḏḏy, which is a common confusion in hieratic at this time; see WS IV 78.

263 CG 20809 (I.1-5). See Lange - Schäfer, Grab- und Denkstätten, 1, 108 f.; Seeth, Leksistisches, 65 (6-9); (Il)tanpson, Terrace, ANOC 181.1, pl.28; Frascati, Personenindices, 158 (n.215).

264 Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 27 n.75, states that Kmnw's use of nḥt as qualitative must refer to his successful campaign.

B. - "The nḥt ruler inside Thbes, Kmnw, protector of Egypt. I sailed upstream for my nḥt, to drive back the Levantines, with the command of Amun, correct of plans." 266 Ibid.

C. - "When my nḥt entered his heart (i.e., when he learned of my victory), his limbs were wasted, as his messenger told him what I had done to the district of Cyrene, which had been his property. I dispatched a nḥt troop, which went overland to destroy (ḥb) Baharia Oasis. 267 Ibid.

+ In ex. A, nḥt is associated with the king in his capacity of sole holder of land. To be nḥt and to have to share the land is a contradiction for Kmnw's concept of leadership. For that reason, he decided to fight against his rivals. Nḥt and protection are mentioned together in ex. B. The protection implies in this case an attack against the enemy. Its justification is mentioned by referring to a divine command as the reason for the action.

The first statement of ex. C, a heart being taken by someone else's nḥt, might be a deliberate reference to the expression 'to be nḥt of heart', having the nuance of "to be confident of the success of one's action" (cf. sec. III.1.1; II.1.10). Thus, Kmnw's rival definitively loses his confidence in winning when Kmnw's nḥt entered into his heart, making him tremble. This statement is common in New Kingdom royal inscriptions using the term smḏ and "respect" instead of nḥt. Kmnw's nḥt is associated in this passage with taking possession of someone else's land.

A common feature in these passages is the relation between nḥt and someone's disposition to act and succeed. These passages refer to a challenge issued by a social leader to another leader for the "leadership" of what the former considers a single territory, which has to have accordingly one single leader. The military action that Kmnw carries out against the Hyksos responds to his aim of protecting his territory and of taking possession of someone else's territory. The latter action is, from the Egyptian point of view, not a goal per se, but a way to achieve the 'protection' of one's former territory.

III.1.3 Qualifying troops:

A. - "I dispatched forward a nḥt troop of Muṣayy, while I was on watch in the camp, to enclose Tett son of Pepi inside Nefrew." 268 Kmnw stela.

As in the previous example, the troops qualified as nḥt are sent into action, to confront the enemy. They are qualified as "strong," or "victorious" in anticipation of the outcome of the fight.

III.1.4 Qualifying a town:

A. - "We are satisfied with our hold on Egypt. Elephantine is nḥt, and the Middle is with us from Cuṣæ." 269 Ibid.

266 (I.3).

267 (I.10).

268 (II.1.4:28-29).

269 (I.12-13).

270 (I.5-6).
Just as the king is qualified as nfr in as much as he possesses troops, so this town seems to be nfr, "strong," "secure," for that same reason; this is more clearly expressed in example III.1.1.B.

III.1.5. Qualifying an action:
A. "The enduring king Wadjikheperre, son of Re' Kamose - given life -, who has authority (d3r) over the south, who drove back the northerner and seized the land in nfr. 215 Kamose stela.
B. "(This majesty's command): 'Cause that all that his majesty has done in nfr be set down on a stela, placed at Karnak in Thebes for ever and ever." 216 ibid.

+ In ex. A, nfr is an adverb qualifying the action of seizing the northern land. This action is the result of a previous one, "to drive back." Therefore, nfr refers to the successful achievement of driving back opponents, i.e., "victory," and to its consequence, to the seizing of land. Note that the parallel action, inflicted upon the south is d3r "to control," for which see sec. II.2.3.
The whole campaign against the Hyksos by Kamose is regarded as being nfr, "successful," "victorious" (ex. B), the same way Ankhtifi referred to his military activities (sec. II.1.8). The stela was set up in the temple of Karnak, since it was Amun who commanded him to rise up in arms.

Conclusion
The term nfr is used in a variety of texts and contexts, adopting different nuances or "submeanings" from a basic meaning. From its numerous attestations gathered in this chapter, several points should be stressed for their relevance to the understanding the XVIIIth Dynasty evidence.

The consistency that the texts show in the selection of term nfr in certain constructions and contexts, versus its synonymous terms, 217 speaks against the possibility of vagueness in the meaning of nfr or in precision on the part of the ancient scribes. From its consistent juxtapositions with the terms with similar meanings, it can be concluded that nfr has a distinctive word-definition. This becomes particularly clear in religious compositions of which there are several versions, in repeated idiomatic constructions and in the formation of epithets. On the other hand, the term nfr can and should be translated with different words according to its syntactical function and its context, to fit better the idiomaticities of the translator's own language; thus, in English, with "strong," "powerful," "confident," "rich," "victorious," "successful" (see above in the commentary for each section).

215 (L.34-35).
216 (L.37-38).
217 See above n.100.

Among the terms with meanings similar to that of nfr, wur is the one that is most frequently mentioned in connection with it. The term wur, translated as "powerful," refers to someone's nature or character; it is used as a passive or 'stative' quality. The two terms, nfr and wur complement one another (sec. I.3.1; II.3.1, 2; and ex. II.2.1.C): while nfr is conceived as being placed in the arm, that is, referring to the individual's means of action, wur is located in the mouth/throat and in the heart, and it is associated with someone's oratory skills and knowledge. Their relation is reciprocal: nfr refers to the action that enables someone to become wur and, at the same time, to the action expected from and performed by someone who is (already) wur.

The present study deals with wur and other words semantically related to nfr when they are used next to nfr. They have not been studied independently. Indeed, a study of this kind would have been fruitful, since a word's semantic field is partly defined in opposition to that of other words. However, for reasons of time and space such a study has been left for the future.

The term nfr is used referring to private persons and to the king. One referred to as nfr is described as a group "leader" (sec. II.1.2, 3, 5; II.2.3; III.1.1, 2), stepping out of the group and acting on its behalf. In private and royal inscriptions, nfr is commonly associated with the bow and with troops, which are a local leader's or the king's means of action (sec. II.1.1, 2, 5; III.1.3). Someone nfr is commonly associated with being protected and with the action of protecting others, and at the same time, with overcoming obstacles and challenging and prevailing over rivals (sec. II.2.3, I.3.1; II.2.3; III.3.4). These two actions, to protect and to prevail over, i.e., a defensive versus an aggressive attitude, are not seen in the sources as opposites, nor even as distinct actions in this context, but as two perspectives of the same one.

The term nfr does not necessarily imply a physically violent or aggressive action, as shown through its association with standing up and performing as leader (sec. III.3.2; III.1.1.1, E); in the idiom "nfr of heart," meaning "confident," "determined" referring to administrative duties (sec. I.1.1; II.1.10), becoming nfr by acquiring property, even through someone else's action (sec. I.1.2), and through its association with the verb dfr "to have control/authority (over)" (sec. II.2.3). 218 The term nfr implies the combining and prevailing of an opposition of any kind and by whatever means.

The term nfr does not refer to the nature of an action, but to its successful outcome against an (hypothetical) opposition. This is the common denominator in all its attestations, and thus it can be considered its basic meaning. For that reason, it is associated with obtaining or bringing in property and with seizing land (sec. I.1.2; I.1.7; II.2.1.A; III.1.2; III.1.5.A), which is the result of a previous action, whose nature is left in many cases unmentioned. Thus, it denotes "success," "achievement."

218 E.A.E. Raymond, "Two Demotic Memoranda" JEA 58 (1972) 266, refers to a technical meaning of nfr:n: "the power" with which the official was entrusted (...) hence to 'authoritie'."
Different from nbt, the term ktrn “courageous,” which will be frequently used next to it in New Kingdom texts, is used to qualify components of an action that are singled out for mention (ex. II.1.5.B; II.2.3.E), while nbt refers to the outcome of the whole action.

The qualification nbt, because of the nature of the texts that were written down and have reached us, has almost always a positive connotation, referring to social leaders who look out for the protection and welfare of their land and followers. However, the term was morally neutral, hence the fact that the adverb m nbt is frequently followed by m nbt-ḥrwy “in legitimacy” (sec. II.1.7). Indeed, when individuals use their power within the group for their own profit, and take advantage of those defenseless, thus breaking the social order, the term nbt is used with a pejorative connotation (ex. II.2.1.C; D; sec. II.2.2.).

Special attention has been given in this chapter to the bullfight scenes represented on tomb walls of local officials, where two k3-bulls dispute over the herd’s leadership and the possessions associated with it. The one who prevails over his opponent is qualified as nbt (sec. I.2.3; II.1.11). Its significance lies in how the XVIIIth Dynasty adopted the symbolism of this theme to refer to one of the aspects of the king. The early use of the appellative “nbt k3-ball” offers a new and interesting dimension to its nuance and connotation in New Kingdom royal inscriptions, as will be shown at the beginning of Chapter III.

It has to be noted, as it will become a common feature of New Kingdom royal inscriptions (cf. Chapter IV), that nbt was already used as a summarizing title for the content of inscriptions referring to the owner’s “victories” or “achievements” (ex. II.1.8; III.1.5.B).

Most of the XVIIIth Dynasty uses of nbt can be tracked back to earlier periods, making the comparison with earlier evidence relevant for understanding the use of the term. One example is the just mentioned expression “nbt k3-ball,” another is the compound noun “nbt of arm.” From the XVIIIth Dynasty use, the later might be taken as referring to a “soldier” of some type, but in biographical and literary compositions of the Middle Kingdom it was used with a non-violent (ex. II.1.4.A), or a non-militaristic connotation (sec. II.2.1.B).

This survey of the early history of the use of the term nbt, its “submeanings” and the basic meaning that they share, places in perspective its XVIIIth Dynasty use, which is intimately related to how the Egyptian monarchy referred its actions in foreign lands.

III nbt in the XVIIIth Dynasty:
(1) The king and the nbt

The treatment of the term nbt in the XVIIIth Dynasty has been divided into two chapters. The first is concerned with the association between nbt and the king; the second with nbt as a definition of the foreign campaign of the Egyptian monarch. For both chapters, as explained in the introduction, the immediate context has been considered the appropriate source for understanding the term’s use and meaning.

This chapter analyzes how and with which nuances the sources mention nbt in association with the king. The study focusses not only on royal names, royal epithets and adjectives, but also on the claimed origin of the king’s nbt, its use and purpose. It will also be seen that the king’s troops are qualified as nbt, and that goods and captives obtained through their action abroad are identified as nbtw.

The passages associating the king and nbt have been grouped in different sections, according to the morphology and syntactical function of the word, as well as its nuance within the semantic range. The arrangement into sections is meant to show the correlation between syntax and the semantic nuances of the term nbt. The sections are not mutually exclusive, some overlap. Therefore, each individual passage is cited in the one that expresses the most significant aspect of the use of nbt.

A commentary is included at the end of each section, and a concluding section at the end of the chapter will summarize the conclusions drawn in them. Following the Conclusion, there is an Appendix on the term khephes, as the recipient of the nbt and the instrument of the king’s execution of divine will in foreign territories.

The reader will note the consistency with which the ancient Egyptians ordered and chose between synonyms, such as nbt, usw and ktrn, indicating a semantic differentiation between them as pointed out in the previous chapter. In this respect, it will be advanced that the spellings nbt and nbtw are not interchangeable, and must be distinguished as singular and plural.222 Spalinger and Grimal223 see nbtw as a collective, although they give two different translations for the singular and the plural form, “strength force” and “victories/victoire,” respectively; the former author adding translations for the plural such as “military power, ability, prowess.”224 Singular and plural have a common

220 D. Lorton suggested to me that, given that the occurrences of nbt with a pejorative connotation are in literary texts and referring to Intermediate Periods, these exceptional uses seem most satisfactorily explained as deliberate literary choices, portraying a normally positive characteristic gone awry. Thus, the uses almost are ironic in tone.

221 See Weinreich, op.cit., 184-87.

222 There are, however, three attestations in which the plural form nbtw is preceded by the singular article p. These are, XIV 1004, 9; 1239, 6; 1305, 16. See H. Grenow, Studien zu den Ausländischen Thronnösen des Dritten und zu ihren verwandten historischen Berichten des neuen Reiches, D/A/W (1945) 6. See also the section on “Apparent duals and plurals” in Gardner, Grammar, #77; and note, on “plural” writings, R. Anthes, “Die Nominalbildung von ‘Zerenomiten’ und von ‘Benamen’ und ‘Abseven’”, MDAIK 24 (1969) 32-34.

223 A. Spalinger, Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians (1982) 228-30; N.-C. Grimal, Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre (1986) 118 (312). Their decision to see nbtw as a collective is based on XIXth Dynasty texts, which does not imply that this should necessarily be true also for Dynasty XVIII.
meaning, the difference being in the number; therefore, the qualifying "military" is gratuitous, as has already been shown for examples prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty.

I. The nḫḫt king

1. nḫḫt kꜣ-bull

From Thutmose I on, the Horus name of each king begins with "nḫḥt kꜣ-bull," itself an epithet. Prior to him, the prominence of the last king of the XVIIIth Dynasty was "Born of a nḫḥt kꜣ-bull" (Karnak), who used as epithet "nḫḥt king inside Thebes," as seen in the last section of the previous chapter. Ahmose's Horus name was "kꜣ-bull in Thebes," and Amenophis I's "kꜣ-bull who subdues the lands." The forebears for the use of nḫḥt in royal names are found in Dynasty XVII, nḫḥt r RΔ "$whom Re' has made nḫḥt" (Te'o I), who was followed by ibn.r RΔ "$whom Re' has made brave" (Te'o II) and earlier, in Dynasty XI, hr nḫḥt st tp nfr "$nḫḥt Horus, possessor of a good beginning" (Amenemhat III).

The only instance where the expression nḫḥt kꜣ-bull is used in a non-funerary direct context before the New Kingdom is in the tomb of li-lb, of the First Intermediate Period (cf. ex. Ill.11.1A). From the fragmentary state of the inscription, one cannot tell whether it refers to a king, or to a local military leader. In the New Kingdom, this epithet is used exclusively for monarchs. A possible antecedent for kꜣ-bull as royal epithet might be kf hjt "white kꜣ-bull," followed by "be takers the Iunytw, subdues those who are in Nubia" used in reference to Sesostris I. While the image of a bull was associated with kingship since the very beginning of the history of Egyptian monarchy, the only antecedent for the use of the epithet "nḫḥt kꜣ-bull" is found in bullfight scenes of Vth Dynasty tombs, which survived into the New Kingdom, as discussed in Chapter II (sec. I.2.3).

Sesostris I's epithet and the XVIIIth Dynasty royal names show that the qualifying nḫḥt attached to the image of a bull, which refers to the group leader, was applied to matters entailing victory over foreigners. Thus, the epithet can be transliterated "victorious kꜣ-bull," referring to the king's strength or power to achieve victory, or anticipating his successful outcome in the confrontation.

An inscription on a Tutankhamun's bowl-case found in his tomb gives the following context for the term: "The Good God, courageous one, son of Amun, champion, lord of khepesh, protector of his troops; nḫḥt (kꜣ-bull) among many, who breaks a coalition being firm on his chariot like the Lord of Thebes, strong fighter, who knows the place of his hand, who shoots with a bow, nfrw, strong authority." The use of the expression "nḫḥt kꜣ-bull" is clearly associated here with the king's military qualities, but it also points out his status as the one who stands out from the group through the adverbial clause m rṣw among many.

Moreover, Thutmose I associated himself with the image of a kꜣ-bull through the epithet "pointed/efficacious of horns," which was adopted also by Amenophis II and Amenophis III. This last ruler had as his Golden-Horus name, "(kꜣ-bull) of kings, who subdues the Nine Bows." In the so called "Ptolemaic" stela, the god Amun addresses Thutmose III, saying: "I shall cause that they (Cretans and Cypriots) serve you as your majesty as a young (kꜣ-bull) firm of heart, pointed of horns, whom one cannot tackle."
In this context, note that another animal that the Egyptian kings used metaphorically for themselves, the lion, is attested qualified as nfr in an Amarna Epitaph block from Elephantine’s Trajan temple: “... with (k) his khepesh, nfr lion, who drives away ...” 238

Thutmosis III explained in this way his name “Horus, nfr k3-bull who has appeared in Thebes:” “(Ammun-re) he has made me nfr as a nfr k3-bull, he has caused that I appear inside Thebes,” 239 associating the epithet k3-bull with the action of appearing (hp3) as leader. 240 In another instance he says: “I am a k3-bull who has appeared in Thebes, son of Atum, beloved of Montu, who fights on behalf of his troops for the Two Lands to see.” 241 One of his officials, Amenemhab called Mahaq, depicts himself in his tomb reciting a hymn to the king, saying: “Giving praise to the nfr k3-bull, kissing the ground for the one who has appeared in Thebes; and in a parallel scene, “Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, kissing the ground for the one who has appeared in Thebes,” 242 associating “nfr (k3)-bull” with being lord/possessor of the Two Lands.

L2. now nfr

A. “nfr king, who acts with his khepesh, champion without his equal, who smites the foreign lands, who tramples Retenu, who brings their chiefs as captives and their chariots worked in gold, yoked to their horses; who inspects (nfr) the foreign lands of the [Tjehenu, being humble because of his majesty’s might, gifts thereof upon their backs, ...] like dogs do, seeking that the breath of life be given to them.” 243 Thutmosis III’s pillar inscription in the temple at Buhen.

B. “nfr king, beloved sovereign, your terror is through [every foreign land]” 244 (Urk IV 908, 3-5). Biography of Amenemhab called Mahaq; words attributed to Levantian chiefs, referring to Thutmosis III.

C. “How great is your might! O nfr king, O beloved sovereign Lp.h. Re’, he has caused” 245 [your respect] in every flat land and your terror through every hilly land.

238 Urk IV 1630, 16-17. A common Ramesside royal epithet is “lion against Khara, nfr (k3)-bull against Kush,” cf. Giumal, op.cit., 406. On the relations between the two animals, see C. de Wu, Le roi et le sens du mot lion dans l’Egypte ancienne (1951) 400-03. On the term lion referring to the Egyptian king, see also Lorton, Jurisdictional Terminology, 10 ff.

239 Urk IV 160, 13.5.


242 See Caminos, op.cit., who reads ipetuy (or ipetwuy) “envoy,” although he admits having no parallels for it; Re’, however, must be a participial verbal form referring to the king, “who inspection[es]...,” having as direct object the foreign lands; the statement being in parallelism to the one mentioned just before starting with the participial mhwt “... who brings...” On the “dog-walk,” see the author’s, “What is he, the dog?” Urgagy-Forschungen 25 (1993) 173-80.

243 Sedec’s division of the text is incorrect. Re’ is the anticipated subject of the verb nfr “to cause”, while the participial mhwt “beloved” refers to the preceding noun “sovereign,” as in Urk IV 908, 4.

Behold, we are under your feet” (Urk IV 948, 9-12). Tomb of Imnenezh; said by foreigners bringing gifts to Thutmosis III.

D. “Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, kissing the ground for the Good God; O nfr king, powerful (war) of khepesh, sovereign who controls (nfr) the Nine Bowes, whose fear is great in Nubia, lord of respect in the far Levant.” 246 (Urk IV 1512, 1.5). Stela of an unknown owner (CG 34 170); referring to Amenemhab II, who is shown inside a kiosk. The continuation of the prayer is quoted in ex. VLD.

E. “Presenting the gifts of Naharina by the chiefs of this foreign land in order to request for them the breath of life. Kissing the ground for the Lord of the Two Lands greatly, as they come with their gifts for the Lord of the Two Lands: ‘Grant us the breath which you give, O nfr king!’ The chiefs of Naharina have come by the peace of his majesty, with gifts on their backs, as they hear [. ...]” (Urk IV 1597, 14-1598, 2). Tomb owner unknown (TT.91); referring to Thutmosis IV. 247

F. “(Ty) She is the wife of the nfr king, whose southern border is as far as Kary, the northern as far as Naharina” (Urk IV 1741, 14-15). Amenemhab III’s commemorative scarab. 248

G. “Giving praise to the nfr king, kissing the ground for the ruler of Thebes, by the chiefs of all foreign lands of secret tongue, as they come in reverence to the might of his majesty” (Urk IV 1866, 12-14). Tomb of Kheruef; referring to Amenemhab III.

H. “Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, kissing the ground for the nfr king [... ]” (Urk IV 2074, 6). Huy’s inscription at Paras; referring to Tuttanchamun.

L. “(Re’) nfr king, who has appeared (in) the horizon. The Eannu rejoices for your shining. Everybody is exulting and celebrating concerning your appearance to them” 249 (Urk IV 2096, 1-3). Horemhab’s stela.

J. “The Good God, who has come that he celebrate (hp3)” 250 among the chiefs of every foreign land, his bow being in his hand like the Lord of Thebes. The nfr king, strong authority (nhm nfr), 251 who brings the chiefs of the doomed Kush. 252 The king Djeserkheperure-repetene, the beloved son of Re’ of his body, Horemhab-meryamun -given life! The travelling is what his majesty did in the land of Kush, carrying the booty that his khepesh had made, as what his father Amun had commanded to him” 253 (Urk IV 2139, 13-20). Horemhab’s cenotaph at Gebel Sileleh. The scene presents him being carried on a portable throne, preceded by six broad Nubians.

238 On the term mhwt meaning “northern limit,” see A. Schlott-Schwab, Die Aeusseere Ägypten nach Altagsptischen Texten, AAT 3 (1981) 11-14. H. Goedicke, NBS 32 (1973) 494, however, in his review of Schlott’s dissertation, suggested the meaning of “harbors,” since “a more specific point would seem necessary for establishing measurements.”

239 PMI 1, 187 (5). See J.M. Bryan, The Reign of Thutmosis IV (1991) 349. A reference to Naharina hearing the king’s fame (nom) can be found in Urk IV 613, 8-11, cf. ex.DX5, but foreigners are elsewhere said to hear the king’s epithet, cf. Chapter IV sec.VI.


241 BM 1211, Edwards, Hieroglyphs, Texts, VIII, pl.28. See also R. Harris, Horemhab et la reine Montoumoutef (1964) 94.

242 See WB III 61, 12. In the context of international affairs it has the nuance of “triumph.” When the verb nhk has a direct object, it is “courage and nhk,” cf. Chap IV 6.438.

243 Compare with Urk IV 2037, 18-2058, 1.

244 See D. Lorton, “The So-Called ‘Vile’ Enemies of the King of Egypt (in the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XVIII)” JARCE 10 (1973) 63-70.

245 See W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur Altagsptischen Kulturgeschichte, II (1923) 162, Harris, op.cit. 366 f.
K. "The nfr king, who establishes his name on the foreign land of Retenu, great of might, strong authority, who strikes the foreign lands which are rebellious against him, who brings in the limits of those who go against (šš) his borders, beloved son of Re' of his body, lord of every foreign land,"

231 Tutankhamun's chest.

L. "The Good God, great of dignity, whose fame is in every land, lord of respect in every foreign land, without any land being free from your terror. The nfr king, beloved of Montu, strong-arm who overthrows his (the king's) opponents, courageous fighter at the front of his troops, trampling the chiefs of the Nine Bows, 234 Tutankhamun's staff.

I.3. nb nfr 235

A. "Good God, son of Amun, nfr lord, who seizes every land" (Urk.IV 556, 11). Thutmose III's statue at Karnak. 236

B. "nfr lord, who controls every land, who makes his border as far as the Horn of the Land and as far north as Naharina [...]" (Urk.IV 587, 1-3). Thutmose III's obelisk from Karnak, now at Istanbul.

C. "May our nfr lord proceed on that path which his heart chooses among them, but do not cause that we go on that difficult path." 237 (Urk.IV 650, 13). Annals of Thutmose III, said by the troops of nfru, about the approach to Megiddo during the first Levantine campaign.

D. "nfr lord, who seizes every land after (Amun) has increased his khepets. The chiefs of Mitanni come to him, their gifts on their backs, to request the peace of his majesty, and to be granted his sweet breath of life" (Urk.IV 1325, 13 - 1326, 6). Amenophis II's inscriptions on columns between the IVth and Vth pylons at Karnak.

E. The king Nebmateš-em-šin - given life [...] his might controls the kauemebu. 238 All flat and hilly land are carrying their gifts, children and horses, and very numerous silver and copper ingots and clean ivory. Although the roads to their known lands, they bring (gifts) to the nfr (kš) -bull, Horus who has appeared legitimately in

231 Beinlich, op.cit., 183.

234 Ibid., 27 (50 nct); continued in ex.IV.

The construction "great (šš) of nfru" is frequent among Tutankhamun's tomb objects, and can be related to its use as adjective. See as examples ibid., 32, "The Good Ruler, great of nfru, lord of strength, he who attacks him, lord of vigour, strong-arm, thorough of plans, bowmen, satisfied with nfru, who appears with his white crown, who strike coalitions" (Tutankhamun's bow-case); ibid., 62 (151), "The Good God, great of nfru, powerful son of khepets, strong authority (Ism pron.), son of Re', lord of appearances, nfru of bows" (Tutankhamun's bow).

235 nfru could have been translated as "lord/possessor of nfru," regarding it as a genitival construction, as it is in nfr Shau "Lord of the Two Lands." On the other hand, nfr is commonly used as a qualifier following other royal titles.


237 Sethe translates "nfr lord" in a speech pronounced by the king to his entire troops (p. 487; not just the nfru), in the same context as above: "[Your nfr lord will protect your steps on] that narrow path" (Urk.IV 652, 3-4). The troops of nfru call the king our nfr lord again in Urk.IV 634, 16, also in the context of debating the procedures of their march towards Megiddo.


239 divine king to be proclaimed (as such), nfr lord to be heralded for it 239 (Urk.IV 1693, 5-13). Amenophis III's architrave at Luxor.

F. "The Good God, lord of happiness, 240 nfr lord, who protects the land with his khepets" (Urk.IV 1700, 20). Amenophis III's architrave at Luxor.

G. "nfr [lord], son of Amun" 241 (Urk.IV 1869, 9). Tomb of Kheruef; concerning Amenophis III, who is celebrating a Sed Festival.

I.A. lbk nfr

A. "Hail to you! nfr sovereign, king [Akeperure], son of Amun" (Urk.IV 909, 16 - 910, 1). Biography of Amenemhab called Mahu; addressing Amenophis II.

B. "Receiving the gifts [of his majesty's nfru ...] which the nfru sovereign directed to his father [Amun] by the ra-fat, bata-a [first prophet of Amun, Menkeperresenb]" (Urk.IV 930, 11-13). Tomb of Menkeperresenb; referring to Thouthmos III.

C. "Officials of the Lord of the Two Lands, followers of the nfru sovereign" 242 (Urk.IV 1864, 9). Scene from Kheruef's tomb; referring to Amenophis III, who is shown erecting the Djed-piller.

I.5. lbk3 nfr


In these examples, the term nfr, used as an adjective, modifies different designations or royal titles used to refer to different aspects of the monarch. The appellative "nfr kš-bull" was adopted by XVIII Dynasty kings as part of their Horus-name. Looking for an antecedent for its use which could shed light on its meaning, this is found in bullfight scenes represented on tomb walls of local high officials, referred to in sec. I.2.3 of the previous chapter. These are symbolic scenes representing the leaders (šš-bulls) of two groups fighting for their status, for the defense of their property and territory and, eventually, for the acquisition of the defeated rival's. The "victorious" one is qualified as nfr.

When nfr is qualifying other royal appellatives or titles, such as "king," "lord," "sovereign" and, exceptionally, "ruler," 244 these form epithets. In most cases, the text

238 The last two statements can be related to the making of a courageous name in every foreign land and his name having circulated in Naharina (Urk.IV 1693, 17-19), which follows next. They are also used on a Tutankhamun's statue; see Beinlich, op.cit., 10 (22), 11 (29). The terms ššu and šš are mentioned together also in Urk.IV 973, 8-13. A similar construction with ššu can be found in Urk.IV 1294, 13-16. This term was also used by H. Smith parallel to nfr (cf. Chapter II ex.III.7.4A).

239 Ibid., 562-64 (21), 578 ff.


241 The Tomb of Kheruef, 62, pl.58 D and B.

242 L.III 5 (b), 46
explains, specifies or justifies subsequently their qualification as nṯr. The common feature of the various contexts in which the term is used refers to the king as social leader and lord of the land. Within Egypt, it refers to his unquestioned position as king, his performance of an "appearance in glory" (ḏr₂w ġȝt) and to his role as protector of the land. Outside Egypt, it refers to the king as overlord of foreign lands. The consequence of his actions abroad, either military or political, are described as having foreign lands under his feet, or coming to the king with gifts to request the breath of life acknowledging his might.

The protection of the land, i.e., Egypt, has implicit the king's action in or against foreign lands, as seen in the previous chapter. The king Seth: I will be called "nṯr king, who protects (nwḥ) Egypt, who tramples foreigners;" and Ramses III, "possessor of a nṯr arm, nṯr husband (bi), who protects Ta-mery." The king smites, tramples and controls the foreign lands; his fame, respect and the fear of him is throughout them. The action of smiting and trampling refers to a military action, and was carried out only against foreign regions. On the other hand, the action of controlling them (wḥ dp), literally "to tie them up, to encircle or enclose them," has a political nuance, being also applied to Egypt's inner geographical divisions. In the same way, "respect" and "fear," mentioned in connection with the king's nṯr, are also felt by the Egyptian population for their king, even by high officials.

Two other associations with the nṯr king are also used to refer to Egypt itself: the seizing of land and the making of borders. Although the former may seem to have the connotation of "to seize by force, conquer," as opposed to the term snḏt to unite when referring to the Two Lands, the expression may be used to refer to a political/administrative action. In the same way, the making of borders may seem to connote the subjugation of foreign opposition by conquest or land annexation; however, the term itself is strictly political/economic, since it is also used inside Egypt in reference to assigning a territory under someone's authority (cf. Chapter V).

Therefore, to sum up, it can be said that the actions associated with the nṯr king are often, but not necessarily always, violent military ones; they may also have a political

II. The king described as nṯr

A. "nṯr of arms, who does not become weary when he seizes the oar. He rowed on the stern of his falcon-boat with a double team of 200 men. One let go, when they had covered only half of the league, since they were weakened and their limbs tired, not being able to breathe. However, his majesty was nṯr with his oar of 20 cubits in length. He let go and moored his falcon-boat (only) after he had covered three leagues rowing, without having stopped holding the oar." (Ur.K 11279, 17 - 1280, 7). Amenophis II's Great Sphinx stela.

B. "Good God, powerful (war) of khepesh, who acts with his arms in front of his troop, nṯr of bows, who shoots against a target without missing any of his arrows." (Ur.K 11321, 15-16). Amenophis II's inscription on the 5th pylon, Karnak.

C. "[The king, great] of scimitar[,] nṯr of [arm], courageous with [ḥr] his khepesh, who controls [the Northerners and overthrows the Nubians] in all their places, without there being a rebel in any land." (Ur.K 11343, 14-18). Amenophis II's letter to the viceroy Ussertas, copied on a stela at Semna.

D. "Bowman, nṯr of arm, who shoots at a target, equipped with nṯr as the Lord of Thebes." (Ur.K 11684, 13-14). Amenophis III's architrave from Luxor.

E. "The king Nebmaatre-ti'tre, nṯr of khepesh, he has made as his monument for his father Amun Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the construction of a great splendid door for him... of cedar wood of the mountain's top, worked in Levantine cooper from the produce(taxes) of the Northerners, decorated with fine gold from the produce(taxes) ... in reverence of his might." (Ur.K 11707, 10-17). Amenophis III's architrave from Luxor.

F. "Bowman, nṯr of arms like the Lord of Thebes" (Ur.K 11698, 5). Amenophis III's architrave from Luxor.

G. "nṯr of khepesh, beloved of Aton in the land..." (Ur.K 11693, 4-5). Amenophis IV's stela at Amada.

284 On a statue of Amenhetop from Memphis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Helck restores the word nṯr referring to Amenophis III: "Now, I have followed the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, nṯr ruler, king Nebmaatre." (Ur.K 11794, 11). To support the restoration nṯr there is only Thutmose III's inscription at Tombos in the whole XVIIIth Dynasty corpus; see W.M.F. Petrie, Turkwam I and Memphis V (1913) pl.79 I. For the relation between nṯr and nṯr, cf. p.51.

285 As a special situation, see Forman, Amarna Texts, 487

286 For this expression, see Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 147.

287 For nṯr with the sense of "protector," see C. Eyre, "Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead," ZA 94 (1976) 107, and remarks to so.V and IX.

288 KRI 117, 4-5; 99, 7-8; V 309, 14; cf. also KRI II 235, 8.

289 For examples in Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 83-87, who translates its transitive use as "to make/hold subject."


292 The first statement may also be taken as a nṯr/m construction, translating, "his arms are nṯr..." It has been, however, considered an epithet here in the light of other examples with a similar construction.

293 For see also Ur.K 11723, 13-16: "Bowman, nṯr of arm, who shoots at a target..." The statement "equipped with his nṯr" may be related to the adversative clause "with his nṯr, his bow, his arrow and his battle axe." (Ur.K 11442, 13-14).

II. "The Good God, nfr of khepefs," powerful (wgr) of heart like Montu resident in Thebes, a champion who has no equal, who fights lions and shoots wild bulls, without their resistance."¹²⁷ (Urk.IV 2060, 1-6). Tutankhamun’s shield.

L. "The Good God, courageous, vigilant, champion without his equal, nfr of bows, strong authority (dm pepy)," fighter in the likeness of a Montu one (...) The Good God, nfr of bows, lord of khepefs, courageous drawing them,²⁷⁹ vigilant king, protector of Egypt, after his respect has controlled the Nine Bows (...). The Good God, courageous, who loves fight, a champion who knows the place of his hand, the king, nfr of bows, great of fame."¹³⁰ (Urk.IV 2057, 17 - 2058, 1; 2058, 13-14; 2059, 3-4). Tutankhamun’s bow-case.

J. "Good God, nfr of bows, lord of khepefs, who fights hundreds of thousands. Lord of the Two Lands Nebkherperure, who subdues foreign lands."²⁸² Tutankhamun’s bow.

K. "The Good God, nfr of khepefs, lord of strength in the works of Montu, unique(?) king (wser bsw),"²⁸³ Tutankhamun’s canopy baldachin.

L. "The King, ruler of the Nine Bows, nfr of khepefs, lord of all foreign lands, Lord of the Two Lands (...) son of Re' of his body, beloved of his father, nfr of khepefs, lord of appearances."²⁸⁴ Tutankhamun’s chair.

+ In section II, nfr is used as a noun (or a participle, in a participial statement)²⁸⁵ to refer to the king. The term is specified by a direct genitive, and the two together form an epithet. The genitive refers to an instrument for action: arm(s), bow(s) or khepefs. These royal epithets are closely associated with the king as fighter or as sportsman, rowing or shooting at a target.²⁸⁶ No matter what kind of physical activity he is involved in, he outshines everyone and overcomes any opposition or challenge, being "victorious," "successful." In this capacity, he is associated with the god Montu in four of these passages.

On the other hand, in two passages, the king’s appellative as nfr is associated with his role as the one "who controls" lands (ex. C); and as "lord of all foreign lands, lord of the Two Lands" and "lord of appearances" (ex. I). These statements do not refer to a physical action, but rather to the king’s status as political leader.

³²⁷ See also Urk.IV 2056, 10; Beinlich, op.cit., 21 (48 g.1-2).

³²⁸ Ibid., 177 (379 b).

³²⁹ Compare with Urk.IV 2139, 16.

³³⁰ See ibid., 21 (48 g.1,2), "Good God, courageous, nfr of khepefs, Lord of the Two Lands."

³³¹ See also the inscription on an arch with these same epithets, in ibid., 21 (48 g.1, 23 (48 k.2).

³³² See ibid., 168 (a,0,1); M.Loed, op.cit., 28 f., pl.5-15, 25-26.

³³³ Beinlich, op.cit., 22 (48 l.1); W. Loed, Composite Beasts from the Tomb of Turankhamun, Turankhamun’s Tomb Series III (1970) 12 f., pl.4, 17.

³³⁴ Beinlich, op.cit., 97 (266).

³³⁵ Ibid., 173.

³³⁶ See Gardner, Grammar, #372-73.


III. The nfr(w) of the king

A. "The Two Lords shall unite their shares for me, so that I may rule this land like the son of Isis and that I may be nfr for myself like the son of Nut." (Urk.IV 366, 3-5). Hishepsut’s obeisal at Karnak.

B. "In Egypt is with him, there are no rebels in what the Eye of Atum illuminates, the strength (pepy) of Montu is throughout his limbs, his nfr are like those of the son of Nut, (since) he has united the sedge with the papyrus, and Northerners and Southerners are under fear of him." (Urk.IV 1278, 14-17). Amenophis II’s Great Sphinx stela.

C. "Who sets the Two Lands in balance, without a disobedient one; his nfr are like those of the strength (pepy) of the son of Nut, without millions behind him."²³⁴ (Urk.IV 1724, 18 - 1725, 2). Amenophis III’s inscription on the 3rd pylon, Karnak.

D. "He is a strong-arm, great of strength (pepy) every time of nfr,"²³⁵ great of strength like the son of Nut." (Urk.IV 2031, 19 - 2032, 2). Tutankhamun’s Restoration stela.

The king’s nfr and his nfr(w) actions are compared with those of the god Seth, "son of Nut."²³⁶ Example A, a verbal use of the term, presents it as complementary to his act of ruling or administering (hkt) the land, which is associated with Horus, "son of Isis."²³⁷ In ex. B, C and D it is presented as the consequence of his pepy, which is accordingly translated as "strength."²³⁸ The context of these attestations refers to the king as possessor of a united Egypt, without having any opposition.

The term nfr, in its association with Seth, cannot be translated as "victorious," since in the myth it was Horus who prevailed over his rival Seth. Indeed, Horus and Seth are two deities who stand for opposite concepts, which complement one another and are reconciled in the person of the king. While Horus symbolizes the rule over Egypt, the god Seth stands for the king’s "daring" attitude against his opponents by challenging them (ex. D). Joining together Horus and Seth in the person of the king, Seth’s nfr, "daring," becomes Horus’ nfr, "victories."²³⁹

²²⁷ See below ex.V.C, where pepy is mentioned as an instrument, and ex.VII.C.E,14 from Chapter II, ex.B.I.A.A.

²²⁸ Ex.VII.C.E,14, "may you (Atum) cause his nfr (Horemheb’s) against every land like that of Horus son of Isis." In the Ramessean period, the nfr that the king receives is frequently referred to as belonging to "the Two Lords - Horus and Seth.” See Grimal, op.cit., 79-82, 426 (1480), 441 (6).

²³³ See Urk.IV 2120, 16: "may you (Atum) cause his nfr (Horemheb’s) against every land like that of Horus son of Isis." In the Ramessean period, the nfr that the king receives is frequently referred to as belonging to "the Two Lords - Horus and Seth.”
Among other aspects of Seth’s nature, he was a warlike deity, lord of the deserts and foreign lands. This association between nfr and foreign lands in the divine form of Seth is relevant to the understanding of the concept of nfr in the coming sections.

IV. nfr as gift of a god to the king

A. *(Horus of Bubastis)* he proclaims his majesty’s nfr* (Urk.IV 820, 14). Thutmose III’s inscription at the temple of Bubastis.

B. *(For your k3, Amun-re’s* king of the gods, Re'-Horakhty and to Hathor mistress of Thebes, that they grant courage and nfr to the king [Menkheperre]“* (Urk.IV 1022, 7-8). Tomb of Amenemope; referring to Thutmose III.

C. *(Montu)* I have granted you all life and dominion, all health, all courage and nfr* (Urk.IV 1244, 1). Thutmose III’s stela at Montu’s temple in Arment.

D. *(. . .) He has granted to me courage and nfr [. . .]* (Urk.IV 1249, 9). Probably a block of Thutmose III at the Arment temple.

E. *(Pharaoh)* I have granted you all life and dominion, all health, all courage, all nfr like Re’s” *(Urk.IV 1300, 18). Amenophis II’s Memphite stela.

F. *(Amun)* he grants all life, all health, all courage, all nfr* *(Urk.IV 1661, 34-15). Amenophis III’s Konosso stela.

G. *(The king Nebmaatre, trustworthy (ḥḫ-ḥḫ)*) for him who fashioned him, Amun-re, who has distinguished him among millions,“* who commands to him courage and nfr.** (Urk.IV 2112, 30). Statue of Amenophis III from Luxor-Cachette.

H. *(Amun)* may he grant you all courage, all nfr, all health, all happiness, like Re’s every day” *(Urk.IV 2112, 15). Viceroy Paster’s graffito at Abydos; referring to Horemheb.

L. *(He has celebrated (ḥḫ) (in) foreign lands which were not known, through the strength of his father Amun, who commanded for him courage and nfr, (namely) the king, ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, satisfied with (ḥḫ) nfr, lord of khepesh,*) **Turankhamun’s* staff.

J. *(The Good God, son of the Beautiful-of-face (i.e., Pharaoh), offspring of the Memphite gods, who came out from the body, for whom nfr has been proclaimed, for whom heroism (pꜣd) has been commanded since the egg (i.e., infancy), (namely) the king, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of appearances, chosen of Re.’* **Turankhamun’s* chair.

**nfr is used as a verb in section V, with its causative form nfr in ex. B and possibly in ex. A. The subject of the action is again a deity, but its recipient, the indirect object, is not the king himself, as in section IV, but his khepesh, his arm or his strength (pꜣd). This distinction is relevant to the understanding of the concept of nfr given by a god to the king for his protection, by making him prevail over his opponents, it is located in these instances in his means of action.**

In almost all these attestations nfr is granted following knu "courage." The difference in meaning between the two will be addressed in the following chapter. For its use prior to the XVIII Dynasty, it was pointed out in Chapter II that knu refers to the components of an action, which can be the means of action (material or human) or singled-out events within the action, while nfr refers to the positive outcome of the whole action, thus "success," "victory."

V. (s) nfr as divine action


B. *(His majesty proceeded on his chariot of fine gold, equipped with his implements of war, like Horus-strong-of-arm (ms3-f), lord of action, like Montu of Thebes; while his father Amun is making nfr his arms/actions* (Urk.IV 657, 5-9). Annals of Thutmose III.

C. *(Amun increases [. . .] his arms/actions in [directing], after he has (made) nfr his strength (pꜣd) more than that of any other king*) (Urk.IV 1363, 9-10). Amenophis II’s bow.

**nfr is used as a verb in section V, with its causative form nfr in ex. B and possibly in ex. A. The subject of the action is again a deity, but its recipient, the indirect object, is not the king himself, as in section IV, but his khepesh, his arm or his strength (pꜣd). This distinction is relevant to the understanding of the concept of nfr given by a god to the king for his protection, by making him prevail over his opponents, it is located in these instances in his means of action.**

In this way, this section is connected with section II and the construction "nfr of X" as a royal epithet. Applied to the

---

289 Te Velde, op.cit., 107-138.
290 PMJ I, 182 (9); N. de G. Davies, "The Tomb of Amenemope (No.89 at Thebes)" JEA 26 (1940) 131 f.
291 A. Pienkowski, La Coeur (1930) 44; WB I 13, 13.
292 The inscription reads, lmn ndt nsw ma nfr.
294 Beinlich, op.cit., 37 (30 xx); continuation of ex.2.1.1.
295 Beinlich, op.cit., 34 (17, 15).
VI. *nḥt* directed against foreign lands

A. "(Thutmose III) for whom Re has increased his strength (ptḥy) and his *nḥt* against every foreign land* (Urk.IV 556, 12). Thutmose III's Poetic stela. Note that in a duplicate inscription, *nḥt* is replaced by "fame" (ḥmdm)265: "I have decreed that your majesty's fame be against every foreign land..." (Urk.IV 620, 14-16).

B. "(Amun-re) I shall grant you courage and *nḥt* against every foreign land; I shall cause your might and the respect of you in every land, fear of you as far as the four poles of heaven" (Urk.IV 612, 7-9). Thutmose III's Poetic stela. Note that in a duplicate inscription, *nḥt* is replaced by "fame" (ḥmdm)265: "I have decreed that your majesty's fame be against every foreign land..." (Urk.IV 620, 14-16).

C. "Words spoken by Amun-re Lord of heaven: 'Welcome, beloved Amenhotep-nefer-heka-šemnet Here is good which you have done for me! This my heart is satisfied with it greatly; (thus) I grant you *nḥt* against every land" (Urk.IV 1351, 2-5). Amenophis II's inscription at the temple of Amada.

D. "His father [Amun-re] has given him *nḥt* against every land. I have come to you (Amenophis II), so that I may praise your perfection (nfr), that may exalt your *nḥt* [. . .]" (Urk.IV 1512, 6-9). Stela of an unknown owner. This is part of a prayer referring to Amenophis II, the beginning of which is translated in ex. I.2.D.

E. "Words spoken (by Montu-re) to Thutmose IV: 'I have given you courage and *nḥt* against every foreign land, as I love you, (namely) Montu-re, great of strength (ptḥy), the Theban Horus. (Now,) overthrow all the lands of the Fenkhūrī266 (Urk.IV 1560, 2.4). Thutmose IV's chariot. The king is represented as a sphinx, stepping on three Levantines, while the falcon-headed Montu-re stands behind him with his winged arms opened towards him.267" F. "[The vanguard] of the troops shouts in front of his majesty: 'How fortunate is the Good Ruler after he has rowed Amun; as he (Amun) commands to him courage against the south, *nḥt* against the [north], (namely) Amun, [the god who has assigned him] the *nḥt* and the rule [. . .] the troops who were following his majesty, were singing and shouting, saying: The king [. . .] is rowing him who fashioned him, who has commanded to him kingship for the lifetime of Re' in heaven. He is rewarded with courage and *nḥt* against every foreign land that attacks him, [and] Amun commands the *nḥt* to the king [. . .]." G. "Amun, the god who assigned him the *nḥt* and the rule262 (Urk.IV 2041, 11 - 2042, 7). Tutankhamun's inscription at Luxor; Opet procession.

H. "(The gods of Ta-mery) they grant him courage and *nḥt* against every land*. (Urk.IV 2044, 17). Tutankhamun's statue at Faras.

I. "Words spoken by Amun-re: 'I have given you [courage] against the south and *nḥt* (against) the north."263 Herecheb's cenotaph at Gebel Sibileh.

* As in the examples in section IV, a deity gives *nḥt* to the king. The new information that the passages of section VI convey is the place to which the *nḥt* received, i.e., "daring" or "victory," is to be directed. In these attestations *nḥt* is a noun followed by an adverbial clause, introduced by the preposition r. This preposition has been translated as "against" in the sense of "movement toward," not necessarily implying an aggressive action.264 The king's *nḥt* is always directed towards foreign territories, which are referred to in a general way: "all foreign lands" (ḥwhw nbtw), "all lands" (ḥm ntw). Only in one of the examples, F, these are specified as "who attack him."

It is important to distinguish that, although the king is presented as *nḥt* in Egypt (cf. sec. I), *nḥt* being commanded and assigned to him by the god Amun together with ḫ praise" and rwsy (III) "kingship" (exc. F), the king's *nḥt* is never directed towards Egypt.

The attributes *knw* and *nḥt* figured as a consistent pair in the passages of section IV, as gifts of a god to the king. However, the consistency disappears in section VI, showing that in reference to the king's actions abroad *knw* is nonessential, while *nḥt* becomes the most significant divine gift (probably regarded as comprising the former and, thus, making it obvious).265

264 See p.48.
265 KRI I 190, 11-13.
266 See Pliny, *Natural History* 8, 155-56.
267 Ancient Egyptian. The word *nḥt* is of particular importance in this context, as it is closely related to the concept of "protection." 268 See Spalinger, "Military Documents," 31. For attestations of "fame" in previous passages, cf. ex. I.2.D.
269 The last statement is generally taken as the last of a chain of participles referring to the god Montu-re, "who overthrows all lands of the Fenkhūrī, as in Bryan, op.cit., 194. However, in order to make the annotation of the scene coincide with what is actually represented in it, the action of overthrowing cannot refer to the god, but to the king. Therefore, the verb ṣḥt "overthrow" has been taken here as an imperative addressed to the king by the god who has given him the power to do so.
265 See the previous chapter ex.II.2.L.A.
267 See J.A. Wilson, "Ceremonial Games of the New Kingdom" JEA 17 (1931) 214 ff., p.38 (text B). Note that he translates *nḥt* in this context as "protection."
268 This scene is left out by Helck in Urk.IV 2138-39. See Westschnits, *Atlas*, II, 161; LD.III 120 (b), partially drawn, and with a slightly different reconstruction of the erased section of the scene. Hach, op.cit., 364 f., translates and comments on the scene, arguing that it was modified under the Ramessides, Amun-re not being the original deity; this might be the reason why Helck did not include its translation.
269 See the previous chapter ex.II.2.L.A.
270 Re-horakhty says to Ramesses II: "I have given you to courage (knw) in your arms, *nḥt* upon every foreign land." (ER.III 750, 7-8).
VII. Purpose of the nht

A. "(Amun-re) He has caused that every foreign land [comes] bowing down because of the might of my majesty,"104 fear of me being in the hearts of the Nine Bows, every land under [my] feet. He has caused nht in my arms/actions to extend [the borders of Egypt...]." (Urk.IV 161, 14 - 162, 1). Thutmose III's inscription at Karnak.

B. "Golden Horus name, Satisfied with nht, who smites the rulers of the foreign lands who attack him,"105 as his father Re-Horakhty has commanded for him nht against every land united, and courage106 in his arms/actions to extend the borders of Egypt." (Urk.IV 593, 9-13). Thutmose III's obelisk from Heliopolis, now in New York.

C. "(Amun) I am your august father, Lord of the gods, who proclaims to you all courage and (all) nht against every land, concerning the overthrowing of the Levantines in their places." (Urk.IV 1334, 9-11). Amenophis III's inscription on the 8th pylon, Karnak.

D. "[Amun] he has given to him the throne of Geb, the office of Atum, the kingship of Re forever, as his arms (the king's) are with courage and nht under his staff (i.e., Amun's word), to direct to him the entire land with produce-taxes thereof." (Urk.IV 1722, 20 - 1723, 2). Amenophis III's inscription on the 3rd pylon, Karnak.

+ In the examples of section VII, the construction is nearly identical to that in the previous section, but here, instead of the preposition r being followed by a noun, "(foreign) lands," it is followed by a verb, with the nuance "in order to do X." The purpose for which the king receives nht from the divine and makes use of it abroad is "to overthrow the Levantines," "to extend the borders of Egypt" and "to direct to Amun the entire land with produce-taxes thereof." Only the first of these may imply a physically violent action, related to a military campaign. The other two point to an economic goal for the use of the king's nht, "courage," "victory" or "success" (the meaning of nht, translated as "border," will be discussed in Chapter V). These three purposes for the use of nht may take place within a single royal expedition abroad, focusing on different aspects of what can be taken, in some cases, as a single action.

104 The construction nht...ems could be translated as "(coming) to the might of his majesty," but the use of n as "because" is clear from the passage in (Urk.IV 951, 4-8, where the recipient of gifts is the god Amun, while his majesty's might (Thutmose III's) is the cause of being brought in.

105 See also Urk.IV 599, 8.

106 The determinative of nht is in this case the khepesh sign instead of the more common one, an arm with a stick.

VIII. The outcome of the use of nht

A. "(Sobek) he grants courage and nht, every foreign land being under your feet." (Urk.IV 574, 8-9). Thutmose III's inscription at Karnak.

B. "(Amun) he has granted you life, duration and dominion, courage and nht against every land. Your fame is in the hearts of the foreign lands, as your august father Amun Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands has commanded that every foreign land be under your feet." (Urk.IV 1008, 4-6). Tomb of Tjaruny, referring to Thutmose IV.

C. "[...] the bird-pools with fowl, [to] provision their august sanctuary. He has extended [their] borders [...] their gifts on their backs [...] by means of the strength (ptty) of my father (Amun), who has commanded for me courage and nht [...]" (Urk.IV 1259, 17 - 1260, 2). Thutmose III's block from the Festival Hall, Karnak.

D. "Proceeding to the cattle stalls of the temple-estate of (Amun) and inspecting ntr-bulls of [...] and the poultry pools(?) from the offerings of Nebia, and the ntr-bulls of Retenu and goats of foreign lands which were brought through the might of his majesty (Amenophis II), because of his nht [...]" (Urk.IV 1570, 4-8). Tomb of Mery.

E. "He has made a courageous name in every foreign land through the strength (ptty) of (Amun), for his august father,"107 as he (i.e., Amun) leads (him) beneficently, as he is who commands for him nht, who places every land under [his feet]." (Urk.IV 1685, 14-16). Amenophis III's architrave at Luxor.

F. "He has made as his monument for his father (Amun) Lord of the Thrones, who has commanded for him courage and nht against every foreign land, who has caused that he seizes the 'Well of Horus' and as far as the 'Well of Seth',108 who encircles the mountains of the two shores and encloses the Great Green at the feet of this Good God." (Urk.IV 1751, 16-18). Amenophis III's inscription on a ram from Soleb temple, brought to Gebel Barkal in the first millennium.109

104 The same passage is restored in Amenhotep's tomb (Urk.IV 1210, 15-17), referring to Thutmose III.

105 A.H. Gardiner, "Thutmose III returns Thanks to Amun" JEA 38 (1952) 14, pl.2 (46-47).

106 The inscription reads, n.n.f mw m nht nb m ptty (tjmr) n m tps nnt.f menf. W. Helck, Übersetzungen, translates: "er verehreigen seinen toteren Namen auf jedem Friedland in der Stärke Amun, des ölig. Vaters, der den Tüchtigen leitet"; however, the n before it makes this translation unlikely.

107 See A. Spalinger, "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia" JNES 37 (1978) 37, 41, with bibliography. These two terms seem to refer to the farthest south and north, respectively. Note, however, the reference in a Thutmose III's inscription at Bohata: "He has seized this land upon its south (fr. frmrj), the 'Well of Seth' is under his authority, he has sealed it upon its north, at the side of the 'Well of Horus'. Thus, what he embraces inside his arms is wider than what the moon illuminates, what the sun disk encircles when he shines, what Geb and Nut enclose." (Urk.IV 807, 17 - 808, 7). See also Urk.IV 1662, 12 (Chapter IV ex 11.3.5).

G: "(Amen-em-ru) You command for him courage against the south, nb.t against the north." You have extended for him the borders of [Egypt ...] on every road/direction. Amenophis III's inscription at Luxor.

H: "The Good God, who makes monuments in exchange for (having) his strength (pt3y) with nb.t, so that he may perform (as) lord in accordance with the evil (deeds) of the chiefs of the foreign lands, from the beginning of his works, lord of kheper.[325b]

I: "Bringing in gifts by his majesty to his father Amun, consisting of gifts of Pun, because of the courage and nb.t which you have granted" (URK IV 2127, 16-19). Horemheb's inscription at Karnak.

Section VIII is a step further from the information given by the passages of section VI, the geographical delimitation for the use of nb.t, and the situation described coincides with the purpose for the use of nb.t referred to in section VII. The outcome of the king's use of nb.t against foreign lands is expressed in apposition to the statement concerning his nb.t, "daring," "victory" or "success." The king's nb.t abroad produces fear and respect, which makes foreign chieftains come bringing gifts to king, and prostrate themselves at his feet. Its outcome is referred to also through the king's action of seizing land (ex. F) and extending the borders (ex. C, G). All these actions are mentioned related to the king's identification as nb.t in sec. I; and not surprisingly, the outcome of the king's use of nb.t abroad is associated with his performance as lord (ex. H).

The term pt3y "strength," is in several of these passages referred to as the means for nb.t (cf. ex. III.B, C; V.C).

IX. nb.t as a description of a state or an action

A: "Sailing northwards by his majesty, his heart is widened with courage and nb.t, after he has seized Southerners and Northerners" (URK IV 5, 12-14). Ahmose son of Ebana; referring to king Ahmose.

B: "Year 3, first month of Shemu, day 22. His majesty's travelling of this canal in nb.t and in power (wsr), in his coming back from overthrowing the doomed Kush" (URK IV 89, 6-8). Prince Tuer's graffiti at Schelite, referring to Thutmose I.

C: "As Egypt and the desert are under my authority, I am satisfied with the nb.t where you (Amen-em-ru) have given me: every troublesome foreign land is under my feet, (as) those whom your uraeus has surrounded are holding their presents. You have empowered (wsr) my majesty in [their bodies] and my fame through their lands, so that their limbs tremble. Those whom I have set in nb.t according to your command are made into serfs (frt)[327] according to your utterance. The chiefs of every foreign land are bowing down their head, their assessed taxes are [towards your temple]

325b For the expression "to perform (as) lord," see also URK IV 1281, 19, 1468, 1 (ex.DK.3).

325b On the term frt and n-frt (cf. ex.Z), see A.M. Bakir, Slavocracy in Pharaonic Egypt, CASAE 18 (1952) 36-41; Lorton, Jurisdictional Terminology, 115-17, who translates "subject(s)."

326 See also URK IV 2041, 14-16.


328 E. Blumenthal, "Süßigkeiten," following Sethe's division of the text, translates this passage as, "Ich freue mich über Kraft und Glück meines Söhnes, der meine Volkherrschaft an seiner Stelle täglich erfüllt." She takes mp3 as a noun starting a new clause, while the translation has offered takes it as an adjective following the noun "son." For the meaning of nb.t "goodness" in this context, compare this passage with URK IV 612.11: "my heart is widened with your appropriate (nb.t) coming to my temple." In URK IV 683, 8-16, the booty of the 5th campaign is referred to as nb.t, and it is said concerning it: "they were appropriate (mp3) on his majesty's heart more than anything. After this, his majesty proceeded to the storehouse of offerings, to make an offering to Amen-em-ru-Horkhry." For earlier examples, see Blumenthal, Königstum, 78 f. (B 3.3-3.5), where she translates nb.t as "Tritters," but see also p.125 (C 2.23) and 316 f. (G 4.18) where nb.t stands for material goods.

329 The restoration of kheper[3] seems more plausible than only "courage" if Sethe's reconstitution of the lacuna is correct, where there would be space just for one horizontal sign. For writings of the kheper[3] sign, see URK IV 681, 6; 653, 2; for the verb r3 associated with kheper[3], see URK IV 812, 4; 1228,19-20; 1325, 13-15; 1694, 4; 2055, 14; 2056, 1-2. Although the verb r3 "to command" is not the most common one used with kheper[3], but rather r3t "to give, grant," there is at least one attestation for its use, URK IV 1240, 18-20.

330 The restoration of "kheper[3]" seems more plausible than only "courage" if Sethe's reconstitution of the lacuna is correct, where there would be space just for one horizontal sign. For writings of the kheper[3] sign, see URK IV 681, 6; 653, 2; for the verb r3 associated with kheper[3], see URK IV 812, 4; 1228,19-20; 1325, 13-15; 1694, 4; 2055, 14; 2056, 1-2. Although the verb r3 "to command" is not the most common one used with kheper[3], but rather r3t "to give, grant," there is at least one attestation for its use, URK IV 1240, 18-20.

331 See PM 1, 168 f. (9).
foreign lands, as booty of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre: may he be given life, renewal and dominion in order to make . . . 33 (Urk.IV 1147, 16 -1148, 2). Tomb of Rekhmire.

M: "Bringing in Levantine copper, which his majesty (Thutmose III) brought in nḥt from Rejenu" (Urk.IV 1150, 11). Tomb of Rekhmire.

N: "My troops in Kush, which are there in multitudes, have hewed them (i.e. dom-palm boards and wooden implements) [. . .] transport vessels of dom-palm, which my majesty brought in nḥt" (Urk.IV 1237, 7-8). Thutmose III's Great Gebel Barkal stela. The transport vessels are mentioned previously in the text as being part of the annual tax of the region.244 A parallel situation is included in the same inscription, referring to the wood obtained from Lebanon: "My troops, which are garrisons, come from Ulla for [. . .] made of cedar wood, because of (n) the nḥt of my majesty, as the counsellors of my father [Amon-re], who commanded for me all foreigners" (Urk.IV 1237, 15-17).

O: "[. . .] nḥt, since I am greatly experienced in the courage and nḥt, which my august father [Amon Lord of the Thrones] has granted me. He has made me Lord of the five divisions (of the land), ruler of what the sun disc encircles, nḥt [. . .]" (Urk.IV 1239, 15-17). Thutmose III's Great Gebel Barkal stela.

P: "[. . .] the fear of my majesty is as far as the southern territories, without being a road against me. (Amon) He has assigned the entire land to me, there are no limits to what comes about for me in nḥt. 246 He has caused my might in Upper Rejenu [. . .]" (Urk.IV 1240, 1-5). Thutmose III's Great Gebel Barkal stela.

Q: "Then, his majesty placed an example thereof in the temple of Amun, consisting of a target of beaten copper 3 fingers thick and his arrow therein, after he had pierced it and caused that 3 palms would stick out from its back, in order to cause that those who will follow (him) believe 247 the firmness of his arms with courage and nḥt" (Urk.IV 1245, 3-8). Thutmose III's Armant stela.

R: "Bene" (Urk.IV 1246, 4-5). Thutmose III's Armant stela.

S: "Now, every time his majesty comes back, his confrontation (hūs) has come about in courage and nḥt. He caused that Egypt be in its condition, as when Re was in it as king [. . .]" (Urk.IV 1246, 10-12). Thutmose III's Armant stela.

T: "It is he who shall perform (as) lord of the entire land, without his opponent; one determined with courage, who rejoices with nḥt. He is strong, without his experience. Still, although he has not yet the age of doing the 'work of Montu', the body's desire is behind him, as he loves nḥt. 248 It is a god who places in his heart the action for . . ."

232 The term nḥt is here qualified by a possessive pronoun, which is an exception in these adverbial clauses, and for that reason the preposition m is translated "with" (cf. ex.2). A possessive pronoun or another genitive, on the other hand, often qualifies the plural form nḥt(s), as shown in passages of Chapter IV.

233 For another instance of servants from the king's nḥt making clothes for Amun, see Urk.IV 742, 10-15.

234 I have not translated Helck's restoration because I believe that the lacuna rather refers to bow the wood was brought to Egypt: transported on wooden vessels, as the verb of motion as "to come points out in the parallel situation regarding wood as tax from Lebanon, mentioned below in this inscription.

235 Urk.IV 1237, 1-3.

236 Compare with Amemopis III's epithet, "who brings in the limits of the nḥt he carries out" (Urk.IV 1559, 6-7).

237 M. Gilula, "Egyptian nḥt = Coptic nafti "to believe" JTNE 36 (1977) 295 f.

Egypt's protection and for the land's bowing down to him" (Urk.IV 1281, 19 -1282, 6). Amenophis II's Great Sphinx Stela; Thutmose III's words about his son.

T: "Every flat and hilly land which he knows, he seizes it instantly in nḥt and (lḥr) power (wsw) 238 (Urk.IV 1293, 7-8). Amenophis II's Amada and Elephantine stelae.

U: "The Good God, likeness of Re, son of Amun, who is upon his throne. He Amun has fashioned him with nḥt and power (wsw) in each of the forms/evens, 239 the one (the king's) has smitten Nahratira, his bow has trapped (Snehesy). (Amenophis II) who seizes in nḥt and in power (wsw) like Montu equipped with his weapons" (Urk.IV 1301, 7-11). Amenophis II's Memphis stela.

V: "His majesty acting regally, he himself inquired in the presence of the ruler of gods (i.e. Amun), asking him concerning the matter of his march. Then, he (Amon) informed him what would happen after he (the king) had led (the troops) on the proper road, in order to do what his ka desires; like the speech of a father to his son so that, through it, his offspring [acts] for him. (The king) He went forth from him, his heart expanded, and he [commanded] that his [troop be mustered] immediately, and dispatched it in courage and nḥt. After this, his majesty proceeded to overthrow him who had attacked him in Nubia 240 (Urk.IV 1545, 16 -1546, 6). Thutmose IV's Konozzo stela.

X: "The fierce lion, the ruler, he has killed them (the Nubians of Ilihet) under the command of Amun, his august father. He (Amon) is who leads him in courage and nḥt" (Urk.IV 1660, 9-10). Amenophis III's Semna stela.

Y: "Divine ruler of Thebes, son of (Amon), satisfied with (lḥr) nḥt, protector of the one who created his goodness 241 ( . . .) It was Nebamun who opened its road (Kush's) in nḥt, because of the power (wsw) of his troop's vanguard. Actually, his father Amun was his guide, after he had commanded for him courage and nḥt against every foreign land, after he caused that Southerners, as well as North, West and Easterners be directing (goods) to him" (Urk.IV 1662, 2-4; 15-19). Amenophis III's Konozzo stela.

Z: "[Every foreign land as] my scorns (n-dw,ut) under my feet in courage and nḥt, after he (Amun) commanded for me [. . .]" (Urk.IV 1727, 3). Amenophis III's inscription on the 3rd pylon, Karnak.

238 In Amenophis III's Aswan-Phalae inscription there is a statement about the king which says, "lord of khepre with a bow, as he loves nḥt" (Urk.IV 1666, 19), the context referring to a military campaign in Nubia.

239 For what this statement might refer to, see Urk.IV 1289, 11 ff.

240 See Urk.IV 1545, 1; gives the translation "zu Unterschied von ... " mehr als ... " for the construction as mit ... . However, followed by lḥmr does not make much sense, what made Helck translate as "mehr als je gesessen ist." See ex.IB/LD for this construction expressing time. For the use of lḥmr with the term nḥt see Urk.IV 1240, 1-5; 1246, 10-12, in Thutmose III's Armant stela. The two statements that follow are the explanation of the lḥmr "events" or "forms" the smiting of Nahratira and the trapping of Snehesy.

241 It has to be noted that Helck's copy of the text differs from the earlier one of J. de Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions, I (1894) 66. For a previous reference in the inscription to the Nubian 'recovered', see Urk.IV 1545, 10-13. A very similar oracle is described in Hathorpe's Punt expedition inscription, even with parallel phrasesology (Urk.IV 342, 9, 343, 3). A recent translation of the text can be found in Bryan, Thomone IV, 333; and H. Goodrick, "Readings in Thothmes IV's Request for Divine Guidance" VA 8 (1992) 85-92.

242 See Urk.IV 1723, 8, [l-.] satisfied with nḥt," from Karnak's 3rd pylon.
Z. "Hail to you! O ruler of the Nine Bows. You have seized the Two Lands with your nḫt" (Urk.IV 1587, 11-12). Tomb of Pairy; referring to Amenophis III.

Section IX groups attestations in which nḫt is part of an adverbial clause, introduced by the preposition m `in/with'. Actions are qualified as being nḫt as result of the positive outcome of another action with which they are associated. In example A, the king's heart is widened with nḫt after he has seized Southerners and Northerners, and in ex. C after every troublesome foreign land has ended up under his feet, bringing presents to him. Referring to actions such as sailing and travelling (ex. B, E, F, J, Y), or seizing (ex. C, D, T, U, Z), the adverbial construction m nḫt does not point out the way in which a particular action was conducted, nor the means by which it was carried out, but rather points to the positive result of another action (i.e., what came about - hr - from it, in ex. P, R), whose repercussion was such that it influenced the way actions related to it were referred to. This action can have happened before, thus "in victory" or "victoriously" or is expected to happen in the near future, thus "in daring." In other words, the qualification nḫt can refer to a past event or to a future one.

The actions that cause other actions to be qualified as nḫt present the king as ruler and lord (ex. K, O, P, R, S). They are not all physically violent actions, related to overthrowing and killing enemies; they can also refer to the king seizing land, extending the borders of Egypt, having people bring gifts to him and postulate themselves under his feet, and having his fame and fear of him throughout foreign lands. These are the same actions as those mentioned as the purpose and outcome of the use of nḫt in sections VII and VIII.

Note how, in the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittite king Hadad the III, the statement "Come to me m nḫt(āsu) against him" in the Egyptian version (KRI. II 228, 4; 7) is rendered in Akkadian as "Come to my aid (istiriqā) against him." The adverbial construction m nḫt has its parallel in Akkadian, used by Abi-Milku of Tyre writing to the king for help: "[For me there is to be hostility until [the breath] of the king comes to me with power (dānēl)"

EA 146: 12-13). Abi-Milku uses the same term to qualify the king's khepesh, which in Egyptian would have been m nḫt: "(the king) who establishes the entire land in peace with the power of his arm (i-na d–ni ba-ab-li (ād)"

EA 147: 11-12). Ramses III refers to Amun, saying: "whose great and powerful khepesh belongs to me with nḫt, in order to cast down every land under my feet." 343

X. nḫt(w) and the king's troops

A. *[His majesty] commanded a consultation with his troops of nḫt, to talk about that [doomed] enemy of Kadesh, who had come and entered Megiddo." (Urk.IV 649, 3). Annals of Thutmose III; about the approach to Megiddo on the first campaign. The deliberation concerned the road they should take to approach the enemy. 346

B. \[. . .] troops of his majesty in Aruna. Now, the rear of the nḫt troop of his majesty was \[. . \]. Aruna, and the vanguard has gone forth to the valley of Kena and filled the plane of this valley. Then, they said to his majesty Lpḥ.: "behold, his majesty has gone forth with his troops of nḫt and they have filled the valley. May our nḫt lord listen to us now: behold, may our lord wait for the rear of his troops and his people (to reach) us. When the rear of the troop goes forth to us, we shall fight against these foreigners and not worry about the rear of our troop. Staying of his majesty outside \[. . \]. therein, awaiting the rear of his troops of nḫt. Now, the rear of the soldiers had gone forth on this road at the turn of the shadow (i.e., noon)" (Urk.IV 654, 6 - 655, 9). Annals of Thutmose III; about the approach to Megiddo.

C. "The nḫt troops of his majesty was reckoning the goods thereof (that were plundered in Megiddo)" (Urk.IV 659, 5). 347 Annals of Thutmose III; after the siege of Megiddo.

D. "Weapon-bearer of Menheperre', chief of the nḫt in Thebes, chief of the fighters (ḥaṭāw) of [. . .]" (Urk.IV 597, 15-17). Tomb of Nebenkemet.

E. "His troops together with him; the nḫt-of-arm in two groups, with the recruits (nḫtu) at each side" (Urk.IV 1546, 10-11). Thutmose IV's Konosso stela; referring to an expedition against Nubia.

F. "[His majesty brought] all the nḫt-of-arm of Rehebu, their children, their wives and all their belongings" (Urk.IV 1307, 9). Amenophis II's Memphis stela.

Section X lists examples in which the soldiers are referred to by the noun nḫtu, or qualified by the adjective nḫt (cf. Chapter II, sec. II.1.1; III.1.3). 348 In the first campaign recorded in the Annals of Thutmose III, the text makes a distinction between the king's "troops of nḫtu" and his "entire troop" (ms² ḫfr). The term ms² was occasionally used to designate a non-military group; unlike the term mnḥs, also used in the Annals, which was exclusively a military one. 349 While the nḫtu point to the clashing force, the rest of the troop seem to be at least non-professional soldiers, referred to as his majesty's "people," marching in the rearguard (ex. B). 350 Example E makes a

344 nḫt is restored in Urk.IV 652, 6; 653, 1.

345 Urk.IV 660, 5; restores the king's words encouraging his troops to plunder: "Seize fast! [O my nḫt [troop]]."

346 Us 4155. Compare with Urk.IV 998, 14, which has instead the singular form, nḫt (Lowart C.59).

347 This term can exceptionally be applied in other contexts, as it is the case in Rekhmires tomb, where some workmen are addressed with these words: "Let the supervisors be nḫtu, who listen to the words of this official" (Urk.IV 1152, 10-11).


344 For another instance where ḫnū is used as the Akkadian equivalent of nḫt, see p.30.

345 KRI 39, 9-10; cf. also 93, 13-14; 34, 9 (without the preposition m). Note also a passage, with nḫtu as verb meaning "to protect," "to raise." "The land of Djanah and Tu-nehori are under his feet; his khepesh nḫtu Egyptians." (KRI 66, 2).
similar distinction between the terms nfr-of-arm and nfrw, younger recruits. In example D, the term nfrw is directly related to "fighters," which reminds of the Executions Texts where both terms nfrw and Nhsw are mentioned (cf. above pp. 315f.).

The passage in ex. F has been included to show that the compound nfr-of-arm could be used to refer to foreign soldiers too (cf. below ex. XII A). However, note that a non-military use of this expression was pointed out in the previous chapter (ex. II.1.4.A; II.2.1.B).

There are passages from Rameses III's inscriptions that seem to indicate the use of the term nfrw to refer to a kind of mercenaries: "He has made into being armies (dbrm) with this nfrw. His infantry and chariotry were with (for) nfrw. The nfrw whom he had made into being to fight, [did] courageously (against the Meshwesh); Their leaders of the Tjemehu were grouped and made into gangs as nfrw, branded (mos) with the great name of his majesty." Ramses II described the building up of the Hitite force, by referring to "the chiefs of every land which was in the area of Hatti, their troops and chariots which he brought to his side as nfrw to fight with his majesty's troops." The use of the term nfrw to refer to mercenaries could be related to its use for some kind of "strongholds," written with a house-determinative. In Papyrus Harris I, Ramses III is said to have settled the Sherden and Weshesh in nfrw, bound with his name. The chiefs of the Meshwesh and of other Libyan tribes were also settled in nfrw on the king's name; the text continues: "I assigned to them commanders of troops, chiefs of (their) tribes, branded and made into serfs, impressed with my name." 310

310 For the term mw msf, lit. "people of the troop" in a later period, see Paulkner, JEA 39, 45; Schulten, op.cit., 49.

311 For the term nfrw, see Paulkner, JEA 39, 35, where he points out that they carried out their tasks as labor rather than as soldiers. Schulten, op.cit., 20 f., argued that the term's determinative indicates that they were young, which does not imply that they were warriors, but rather "elite troops." He used in his argumentation the passage brought up here, which he translates differently: "the strong-of-arm (soldiers), consisting of the 'elite troops' (nfrw) who were (usually) beside him, were on both flanks."  

312 In the battle of Kadesh poem, Papyrus Sallier III has instead of "you are a good fighter (frwy nfr) without equal," consistent in the other versions, "you are a saved of nfrw . . ." (KRII 76, 6-10).

313 The term nfr-of-arm is used to refer to Levantine soldiers also in Ramesside texts, e.g., KRII 45, 3-5; Grimal, op.cit., 660 f. (570).

314 Rekhmire refers in his autobiography to the term nfr-of-arm with a non-military prejorative nuance, in the same way as in the literary composition of the Middle Kingdom The Elloquent Peasant and Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, quoted in Chapter II: "I have protected the weak-of-arm (msf) from the nfr-of-arm (.) I have judged the detectives (msf) with the powerful (msf)" (Urk IV 1077, 17; 1078, 1). For a prejorative use of the term nfrw in a similar context, in Ramesside texts, see for example Grimal, op.cit., 309 f.

315 KRII 26, 12-13; 61; 2, 24; 2-3; cf. also KRII 51, 7. See J. Yoyotte, "Les stèles de Ramses II à Tanis" Kémi 10 (1949) 65. See sec. XII below.

316 KRII 107, 6-16; 111, 5-8. Ramses II mentions Shardanta brought from the nfrw of his khepesw as part of his army in the battle of Kadesh; cf. KRII 11, 1-15.

XI. nfrw in reference to goods from abroad

A. "The nfr troops of his majesty were reckoning the goods thereof. The booty of the tent of [that] doomed [enemy], which was worked [ . . . ] Then the entire troop was shouting and giving praise to [Amon, for the nfrw which he had granted to his son on [that day], and [acclaiming] his majesty, extolling his nfrw. Then, they were dragging in the booty which they had brought" (Urk IV 659, 5-14). Annals of Thutmose III; referring to the booty plundered in Megiddo in the 1st campaign.

B. "When he moored at Thebes, his father Amon [was happy . . .] my majesty newly established for him a festival of nfr, after my majesty came back from the first expedition of nfr, overthrowing the doomed Retenu, extending the borders of Egypt, in the year 23, with the pri[me of the] nfrw which he commanded for me" (Urk IV 740, 2-11). Annals of Thutmose III. The ordinal number "first" has the nuance of "the best of," literally "the head of," applied to goods, such as gold, wood or booty in general, and also to foreign captives. Thus, nfrw must refer to goods obtained in the Levantine expedition, to be offered in the festival to commemorate it, which is what follows next in the inscription (Urk IV 741, 9-742, 7). The term nfrw is used here to point out the origin of the goods endowed for the festival, which is the "expedition of nfr.

C. "Then, his majesty plundered the town of Wartet[ ] [. . .] Giving acclamations to his majesty by his troops, and giving praise to [Amon] for the nfrw which he had granted to his son. They were good in his majesty's heart more than anything. After this, his majesty proceeded to the storehouse for offering. Giving obligations for Amon and Re-Horakhty, consisting of . . . " (Urk IV 685, 8-15). Annals of Thutmose III; 9th campaign.

D. "Reaching his majesty Memphis, his heart widened [as a nfr (k3)-ball]. List of this booty: ( . . . ) The god's wife, king's wife, king's [daughter . . .] Seeing the nfrw of his majesty" (Urk IV 1305, 4-5, 11). Amenophis II's Memphis stele; referring to the king's return from a campaign in the Levant.

E. "The going forth of his majesty from Pernefer, proceeding [in peace] to Memphis with the booty which he had brought from Retenu. List of the booty: ( . . . ) the entire land seeing the nfrw of his majesty" (Urk IV 1313, 11-13, 18). Amenophis II's Karnak stele.

F. "The king, who doubles (k3) the nfrw in every foreign land, who tramples the northern land and unites the southern land in Shenu (summer) and Peret (winter), without escaping any flat or hilly land which is under his feet. Actually, they are matching one another with every splendid vase which has been in possession of the fathers of their fathers since the time of god, in order to request for them the breath of life." (Urk IV 1685, 4-12). Amenophis III's architrave at Luxor.

+ Section XI groups attestations of nfrw where its context refers to goods obtained abroad. In this and the following section, the verb msk" to see, witness" implies a direct knowledge, as opposed to the verb "to hear," which will come up in the next

315 P. Harris I 76, 7-8; 77, 3-6; Eichen, op.cit., 93 f. See also KRII 206, 14-16.

316 There are no parallels for Seth's reconstruction of isy in the laurianus, though the form isy is common in this construction (cf. Urk IV 742, 12).

317 See Urk IV 70, 1-8; 742, 12; 1102, 9-15; 1147, 17-1148, 4; 1256, 17; 1259, 5; 1823, 19.
chapter, sec. VI. For this reason, when it takes place inside Egypt, *nftw* cannot refer to the king's actions abroad, but it can only refer to their material fruits which were brought in. The objects witnessed are made explicit in the text before or right after the use of the term *nftw*.

The term *nftw* is used in this way to indicate the origin of such goods from the Egyptian point of view, which is the result of the king's use of his *nftw*. This use of *nftw* is similar to that of the term *bkh* "to plunder," which can also refer to the goods obtained through it as *bkh[naw],* thus "booty." *Naw* in the same vein, the terms *ntrw* "gift" and *bskr w "produce-tax"* refer to the action through which they reach the administration, *ini* "to bring (in)" and *bsk* "to work, serve." In examples A, B and C, the god Amun, by granting *nftw* to the king, grants him also the profit of its use: the goods obtained through it, which are referred to as *nftw* and, previously, as "booty."

XII. *Nftw* in reference to captives from abroad

A: "Account of the gifts brought by the chiefs of Retenu, because of the might of his majesty, in this year the children (mesa) of the chiefs and their brothers were brought to be *nftw* infor(i) (by) Egypt" (Urk.IV 689, 17 - 690, 3). Annals of Thutmose III. The usual destination mentioned in the sources for foreign captives (*nftw*) brought to Egypt was "to fill the storehouse of Amun," to work in the fields of the temple estate, making clothes, or in cult services. However, *nftw* is also used to refer to some kind of soldiers (sec. X), which can also be the case in this passage.363

B: "[captives] which my khepesub brought as the prime of the *nftw* which he (Amun) granted me, to fill his storehouse, to be *bgrs." (Urk.IV 742, 10-14). Annals of Thutmose III.

C: ". . . (Amun) my heart is very happy when I see the *nftw* of your majesty. May your heart be widened with life for ever" (Urk.IV 773, 14-15). Thutmose III's inscription on the 7th pylon, Karnak. *Nftw* refers here to foreign captives, as it becomes clear through the iconographic representation on the pylon that accompanies this inscription:


364 E. Bleiberg, "The King's Private Purse during the New Kingdom: an Examination of INW" JARCE 21 (1984) 153-67, idem, "The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt: an Examination of *Bkh[naw]*" JARCE 25 (1988) 157-68, argues, however, that "Egyptian economic transactions were named according to the ultimate destination of the products described as either *inw* or *bsk*. Just as it has been shown to designate products destined for the king's private use, it will be demonstrated here that *bkh[naw]* consisted of products bound for the temple-servants economy" (p.157). For a review of Bleiberg's thesis, see, J. J. Jansen, "*Bkh[naw] from Work to Product" SAK 20 (1993) 91-94.

365 Wb II 317, 14, assigns the meaning "Geisel/ in to *nftw* in this passage. E. Forcht, "Kinder fremender Völker in Ägypten" SAK 17 (1990) 199, translates *nftw* here as "Beschwingende," relaxing it to its latter use written with a house determinative (cf. p.64). Note, however, a similar use of the term in a passage from the Battle of Kadesh: "The chiefs of every land which was in the area of Hatti, their troops and chariotsy which he (Hatti's chief) brought to his side as *nftw* in order to fight with his majesty's troop" (JEGH II 107, 6-16; 111, 5-9). Note the meaning for *mesa* as "Völkerschaft" pointed out by S. Allam, "Moa = Kinder/Völkergruppe/Produkte/Abgaben" SAK 19 (1992) 1-13.

it shows the king holding a group of fallen foreign captives with one hand, and a raised mace in the other, in front of the god Amun, who is striding out from the temple gate to greet the king (fig.2). Note, as mentioned in the previous section, that the verb *m2* to see implies a direct knowledge. Therefore, Amun is not witnessing the king's actions abroad, but their result, what the king has brought back from them and is holding in front of him.

D. "Words spoken by Amun-re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: 'O beloved son, Akhperure! I shall give to you every hilly and flat land, the chiefs fallen because of your slaughter. (I shall cause that) your might is greater than that of your enemies, who are overthrown for me through your knife. My face is very happy when I see (the) *nftw* as you live" (Ur.KIV.1333, 18 - 1334, 3). Amenophis II's 8th pylon, Karnak. The iconographic context is the same as in the previous example.

E. "Words spoken by Amun-re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: 'I have given you *nftw* against every foreign land - live like Re!" Caption of the king's action represented in relief: "Presenting the capture (i.e., foreign chieft) which his majesty has brought from the doomed foreign land of Retenu to his father Amun-re, to fill his temple and his storehouse with booty of every foreign land." Amenophis II's granite block from Karnak.

F. "Words spoken by Amun Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: Welcome! my beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebheuemmaatre. I have commanded you [ . . . ] within them. Now, my heart rejoices when I see the *nftw* of your khepesub, the powers (worse) of your might [reaching] foreign lands" (Ur.KIV 1664, 1-5). Amenophis III's Atenian-Philae stela. The lunette of the stela shows the king holding two foreign captives in front of Amun.364

+ The attestations in section XII refer to captives in much the same way as the examples of the previous section refer to booty obtained abroad. The context of examples A and B refer to the nature of this booty as being foreign captives. Examples C, D, E and F are part of or are accompanied by an iconographic representation. This type of scene, described in ex. C, receives the name 'Triumph scene' (fig. 2).

Leaving aside the question of the veracity of the action represented,367 the scene and its inscriptions are nevertheless closely interrelated. Therefore, the term *nftw*, used in the text to refer to what is being witnessed by the god, ought to be represented in the scene. Thus, one must understand the reference as being to the foreign captives that the king holds in his hand as he meets the deity. It is just possible that these scenes do not represent actual events or situations, but rather are visual, perceptible renderings of an abstract concept, i.e., the king's control over a foreign region, which is then translated into iconography by showing him holding in his hand an anthropomorphised
representation of this land, whom he can smite if he wishes. Even so, the foreign captives will still stand for the term nfrw of the inscription.

Conclusion

The gods bestowed on the king, among other attributes, nfr, as seen in sections IV to VIII. Within the king, nfr is located on his individual means of action, which are his arms, his bow, his khepesh and his strength (phry), following the examples from sections II and V. As other abstract concepts related to King'ship, nfr is associated with a particular god, in this case Seth (sec. III). The Serbian aspect complements that of Horus, to form the ideal king: while the former embodies a daring attitude, which comes out in warfare and is related to foreign lands, the latter embodies the rule of Egypt. Therefore, although the king is referred to as being nfr in Egypt, the leader who stands out from his followers, his nfr is never directed against Egyptians, but rather outwards. The king's nfr is not specifically used just against his enemies or rebels, but is directed towards any foreign land with which Egypt entered in contact (sec. VI).

The purpose and outcome of the king's use of nfr, as made explicit in the texts, can refer to actions entailing the use of physical force against (rebelious) foreign lands, but it also refers to actions that are not necessarily violent: to seize land, to bring gifts or produce (taxes), to make or extend the borders, to set up a stela, etc. (sec. VII, VIII, IX). The means that the king uses to succeed in these actions are irrelevant for the qualifying nfr, which refers to king's achievements, and presents him as a successful leader and lord of the land. 384 In the last analysis, the point of the passages referring to the King's nfr is not to state the nature of his actions, i.e., to define them as violent or otherwise, but rather to affirm their favorable outcome and consequences for the king, stating and confirming his overlord status over foreign rulers and presenting these as his vassals.

Because of the nature and purpose of most Egyptian inscriptions, which were set in temples, the king's material profit from this relation of vassalage receives special attention: the handing over of gifts by the vassals, and the king bringing them in.

The term nfr is not just used to refer to an aspect of the king's power (sec. I, II), but is also extended to the king's troops (sec. XI), as his means of action, and to the material outcome of the expeditions abroad that they carried out (sec. XI, XII).

Two terms, war and kni, share meanings with nfr, for they all relate to power. In the sources prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty, nfr and war were used as pair, complementing and causing one another. The former was located in the arm and was associated with action, the latter was located in the mouth/throat and heart and was associated with someone's speech and his nature or state. The term war was mentioned parallel to ms³-brw and šf (Chapter II, ex. II.3.3A, B) and the consequence of their use was referred to as nfr and "protection." In one instance nfr and ms³-brw were used together as adverbs, occurring in that order (cf. commentary of sec. I.I.7). In section IX of this chapter nfr always precedes war in adversial sequences; while in other adversial sequences of this section, as well as in sections IV and VI, kni is mentioned before nfr. Examples I and J of sec. IX mention the three together, plus ms³-brw, as adverbs: m kni m nfr r m war r m ms³-brw. Looking for a logical progression in this sequence, the four adverbs can be grouped in two pairs: while kni and nfr refer to an action, war and ms³-brw refer to someone's nature or state; the former pair is said to be located on the arm and related words, while the latter is related to the mouth/throat and to speech. It should be noted, that in the passages of sections IV and VI, the kni pair is bestowed on the king by the gods, while the latter does not appear among the attributes that the king receives from the divine. 371

It remains to be noted that the members of each pair are not perfectly synonymous. It has been already argued in the previous chapter (ex. II.2.3E) that the term kni refers to the individual components of an action, thus it is translated as "courageously," while nfr refers to the success of the whole action, thus "victoriously." This pair is close to the one formed by spd ("pointed/efficient") and nfr, qualifying a "harm" (cf. Chapter II, ex. II.3.1A; and sec. I of the present chapter). It can thus be said that, in the progress of an action, kni is both logically and chronologically prior to nfr. This criterion, the logical and chronological sequence, also orders the latter pair. This is so, not only because the use of the term war is claimed and assigned by those who live on earth, while the proclamation as ms³-brw is related to the realm of the gods (cf. p.35), but also because war is mentioned as complementary and reciprocally related to a nfr action (thus, able to originate it), while ms³-brw refers only to an action which has already started or has even been completed. The translations "powerfully" and "legitimately" respectively are in accordance with this distinction between the meanings of the two words.

Appendix: Khepesh

From the XVIIIth Dynasty on, the khepesh plays an increasingly important role in how the monarchy's actions abroad are described in texts and iconographic representations. This appendix on khepesh is included here to serve as nexus between the two chapters concerning nfr in Dynasty XVIII, because of its association with the king and with his activity in foreign lands.

380 See J. Simons, Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia (1937). Further comments on the "triumph scene" can be found in this chapter's Appendix, in relation to the king's khepesh.

381 Schade-Busche, Königsgesellschaft Amenophis III., 126-128, states that "die militärische Macht ist eine für den König der Zeit unerschätzliche politische Kompetenz."


371 War is very rarely bestowed on the king by a deity, as in Chapter II ex.II.1.7-D. Schade-Busch, op.cit., 118 f., however, associates war with the king's "physische Kraft," "körperliche Stärke."
The *khepesh*, written with a foreleg of an ox as logogram, was regarded since the Old Kingdom as the emblem of the strength that enabled someone to act and succeed. It was, possibly for this reason, one of the standard items to be represented in funerary offerings, being stretched out to the deceased’s ka.

In private inscriptions, the *khepesh* appears as the means to carry out an action; it can also express an abstract concept, "strength," or a physical object, "strong arm." Together with the heart, which is related to someone’s skill in speech, they embody a leader’s attributes. In royal inscriptions, besides being the king’s instrument for action, *khepesh* is also used metaphorically, being by itself the subject of the action. In these cases, the term may refer to the king’s own strong arm and/or scimitar, and through the context of some of them, it also stands for the king’s troops being able to plunder and bring back booty, seize land etc.

In some passages, the ambiguity of the term is used to present the king as the sole hero, as in Amenophis II’s Memphis stela: “His majesty crossed the river Orontes, wading (?) like Reshep. Then, his majesty turned around to watch the rear of his troops, and saw that some Levantines had come creeping, equipped with weapons to attack the king’s army. His majesty charged after them like the swoop of the divine falcon, as they stopped, and their hearts faintened one after the other, including their commander’s. No one was with his majesty, except for his courageous *khepesh*. His majesty killed them shooting.”

The *khepesh* can refer to the king’s strong arm, as in “lord of *khepesh* with a bow, as he loves *nybt*” (URK IV 1666, 19), or to the king’s scimitar (a similar situation presents Amenophis II, alone, with a battle-axe, URK IV 1307, 15); as it can also refer to a group specially close to the king within his troops, as the plural form *paśer* is used in a few cases to refer to a specific kind of soldiers, apparently placed in the vanguard.

*See for example* URK I 151, 5; CG 20001 (b I), CG 2003 (I), Bruc.Mus.1671, 1-2, CG 1609, for which see Policze, UCMA 11 (1929) 34, 43, and Jansen, Autobiograph, 48 n.164 ff.; *The Story of Sinuhe* (11-12), and URK IV 1369, 7.


Stela of Khonsu-em-waset at Edfu, dated to the reign of Djedmau of the XIIth Dynasty; see A. Baramki, "Stèle érigée au nom du roi Radjedefhotep Doudouas" ASAE 9 (1908) 1 f., pl. 1; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 41 (n.57). See also idem, *Die Prädeterminierung des Nfr-f (1907)* III, c, p.16. References to its metal body are found in URK IV 726, 17; 1393, 7. For examples of scimitar, see W. F. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (1917) pl.27, p.26.

URK IV 186, 16; 1244, 18. Amenemhab called Maara is referred to in his biography as, "he who carries the khepesh of the Good God" (URK IV 899, 7-10).


*Kahun Pap.-III, 4, 9; URK IV 248, 2; 1240, 19-20; 1639, 19-1660, 1; 1667, 19-20; 2139, 19-20.

URK IV 371, 218, 1228, 19-20; 1694, 11-14; 1703, 20.


Several epithets associate the king with *khepesh*: "Great of *khepesh*," 318 "Lord of *khepesh*," 319 "Powerful of *khepesh*," 320 As epithet, *khepesh* can have, at once, more than one of its nuances; this being the case for a reference to Thutmosis III in an inscription on a pillar of the temple of Bubast: "the mighty king, who acts with his *khepesh*," and the text continues, "a champion without equal," which refers to individual combat (with scimitar), "who smites the foreign lands, who tramples Retenu and brings their chiefs as captives," which refers to a broader action (carried out with his troops), (URK IV 809, 1-5).

An Amenophis III Luxor architrave explains in this way the use of the king’s *khepesh*: “Lives Horus great of *khepesh*, whose mace smites Nabarina, whose bow tramples the Nehey, all lands being under your feet” (URK IV 1696, 10-13). In this passage, *khepesh*, mace, and bow, are symbols of the king’s means of action abroad, i.e. his troops. While the possession of a strong arm and a scimitar were the king’s means of action as individual, the troops were the means of the monarchy’s action. The identification of the *pars pro toto* and *vice versa* intended to present the king’s troops as one of the extremities/instruments of the king himself.

The divine is said to be, as seen above, the source of *nybt* "victory" or "success" for the king’s *khepesh*. However, as time went on, the divine is presented more and more literally having the *khepesh*-scimitar to the king, culminating in the XIth Dynasty inscriptions and iconographic representations of the *Triumph* scene, in which a deity is depicted facing the king and saying to him: "Take for yourself the *khepesh*" in order to cut off the heads of his opponents, or trample foreign lands. According to the evidence at hand today, the first time that a deity is mentioned having the *khepesh* to the king (although without showing a scimitar determinative) might be in a fragmentary inscription of Montuhotep-nehepere’ of Dynasty XI at Deir el-Bahari: “the mistress [has given to] him the khepesh, to subdue [his] enemies” (Z 1-3).

At the end of the Ramose’s stela inscription, the text says: ‘I censed to Amun at the sanctuary, at the place where one says, ’Receive the good (gift),’ so that he (Amun) may give the khepesh to Amun’s son I.p.h.”

317 See p. 70, 71.

318 URK IV 974, 17-975, 3; 2139, 12.

319 URK IV 1289, 1; 1333, 13-16.

320 URK IV 1310, 1; 1316, 1-3; 1559, 7-8; 1566, 13-14; 1706, 7; 1942, 8.

321 URK IV 1312, 3; 1540, 4; 1551, 14.


323 E. Naville, Deir el-Bahari, I (1907) 5 ff.; Gibeau- Vander, TTPP, 37; Blumenthal, Königsm, 231 (F 3.17).

324 Habachi, ADAM 8, 42, 1; n. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 96; Smith - Smith, ZAS 103, 61 ff. The continuation of the text is translated in chapter II, et III.1.5.A.
The Annals of Thutmose III mention, at the beginning of the first campaign, that "his father [Amen] commanded a κηψῆς, that he may seize" (Urk IV 649, 1).³⁹⁷ Horemakht, as the Giza sphinx, addresses Thutmose IV on the lunette of the Sphinx stela, saying: "I have given the κηψῆς to the Lord of the Two Lands" (Urk IV 1539a, 15).³⁹⁸

On an ivory wristlet found at El Amarna (fig.3), the king Thutmose IV is represented holding a fallen Levantine captive from the hair and a scimitar raised in the other hand, stepping out from a papyrus bush with an eagle on top. The king is facing a statue of the god Montu-re', who is holding him life and millions of years, together with a scimitar. The text attached to the deity says: "Take for yourself the κηψῆς-scimitar, O Good God, that you may smite the heads of every foreign land" (Urk IV 1562, 1-9).³⁹⁹ This piece is of relevance, for its combination of text and iconography. It is the first time that a deity openly adopts an active role in the classic scene of the king's triumph. Before, the scene showed the king as the sole actor, and the deity, when included in it, merely witnessed the action.³⁹⁹ This variation of the theme was fully established in the royal repertoire of the following dynasty.³⁹⁹ Related to the development of the Triumph scene under Thutmose IV, the iconographic representation on his chariot must be mentioned, where again the god Montu-re' is shown helping the king with his bow to shoot arrows against foreign enemies; and in a second scene, he is protecting the king in his action of trampling enemies, standing behind him and holding a scimitar in one of his hands.³⁹⁹

Amenophis III is referred to on one of his architraves at Luxor as, 'Great of κηψῆς Nebmaatre'-iware', beloved son of Amen, who makes endowments in return for his κηψῆς" (Urk IV 1697, 4-5). On one of the rock-reliefs carved between Aswan and Philæ during his reign, the king is represented in the lunette ready to smite two fallen prisoners with an axe, as he steps over a third one. Behind him, the god Pah is shown in a shrine, while Amen-re' and Khnum approach him from the front. The former presents to the king a wes scepter that he holds in one hand and a scimitar that he holds in the other one. Unfortunately, his words are now lost.³⁹²

³⁹⁷ See ex.IX.J.E. Ede, "Ein Kairener Fragment mit einem Bericht über den Libyenkrieg Merenptahs" ZAS 86 (1961) 302 ff., arguas for a use of the word κηψῆς as verb, its direct object being "the heads of the Libyans." In his argumentation he refers to a passage from Thutmose III's Great Gebel Barkal inscription, where the king says, "I killed Nubia" (Urk IV 1233, 1); translating the verb as "beheading." However, the use of the logogram for κηψῆς in Merenptah's text has to be related to the logogram for δα, depicting a knife, with the meaning "to slaughter," used twice in another inscription of this king and in a similar construction: δα (from δανοι) δα (from δανοι) (KRI IV 36-37; cf. also KRI IV 207, 9).

³⁹⁸ Berlin 21685. See Bryan, Thutmose IV, 162 f.


³⁹⁹ Carter-Newberry, The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV, pl.10, 12.

³⁹² Urk IV 1665, 5-13; LDIll 81 (g).

A reference to the divine provenance of the king's κηψῆς in the XVIIIth Dynasty records might also occur in a fragmentary context in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, where a block inscription ends, "[L] ... strong (τρυπ) κηψῆς under the command of Amen" (Urk IV 2084, 22).³⁹³

In Ramesside texts, the κηψῆς, as scimitar and as strong-arm is described as a source of protection. Amen-re' says to Ramesses III, "I have given you my κηψῆς-scimitar as a shield/protection of your breast;" and in turn, the king is called, "Great shield, who shelters Egypt at his time; they seat under the shadow of his two κηψῆς" and it is said about him, "Your κηψῆς gives-shadow over your infantry, who march confident in your strength."³⁹⁴

During the course of the XVIIIth Dynasty, in inscriptions and iconographic representations referring to the king's control over foreign populations, there is an increasing direct intervention by the divine, who takes over a share of the chief role in the action and consequent responsibility from the king. It is usually Amen-re' who appears in this role, while other deities can also occur. From now on, the active role in the Triumph scene is shared by the king with a deity, who hands him the κηψῆς as a sign of divine will and divine sanction for the king's actions against foreigners. Thus, the king's function changes from that of spontaneous originator of the action to that of executor of the divine will. At this point, the king is not only the recipient of abstract attributes to rule the land, such as κηψῆς, but also of the material means to exercise his rulership, i.e. the κηψῆς. Associated with this change in the message, under the XVIIIth Dynasty there is a significant increase of Egyptian expeditions abroad, whose profit was at least in part directed to the divine, the temple-estates being beneficiaries of the goods brought through the monarchy's overlord status over the neighboring regions.

³⁹³ See G.Th. Martin, The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb (1989) 97. Compare with Amenophis III's inscription, "his arms are with courage and κηψῆς under his staff (Amen's words)" (Urk IV 1723, 1); see ex.VII.D.

³⁹⁴ KRI IV 33, 30; 39, 4; 27, 16 - 28, 1. Note also the statement using the term κηψῆς as a verb with the nuances of protection, "The land of Dyahi and Ta-nehesi are under his feet, his κηψῆς nahw Egypt" (KRI 66, 2).
IV  nbt in the XVIIIth Dynasty: (2) The Campaigns and the nbt

In the XVIIIth Dynasty sources, various actions that the Egyptian king and/or his troops carried out were qualified as nbt when they were related to foreign territories. Though Egyptian texts tend to use what could be perceived as a stertotyped phraseology, the terms should nevertheless be regarded as meaningful. If one tries to understand how the Egyptians perceived their own actions, searching for the meaning of the terms that they used to qualify them becomes a central issue. The translations that the dictionaries offer for them should be regarded just as a starting point, and one has to go back to the sources looking for clues that might illuminate their meaning.

For example, if the term nbt is translated as "victory," which fits the context of the king's foreign affairs, two questions should be raised: what did "victory" mean or imply for the ancient Egyptians?298 and how does the word "victory" relate to the rest of the meanings or translations assigned to the term nbt in other contexts?

Concerning foreign affairs, the expeditions and singled out occasions within them which were defined as nbt were not all and not only physically violent or warlike events, according to their description in the sources; they also comprised actions of political and peaceful nature. Thus, the qualifying nbt does not automatically convey a physically violent denotation.299 This term refers to the king's successful outcome from a venture or challenge, without indicating how it was carried out. Thus, if the translation "victory" is chosen for expressions used in the texts summarizing titles of Egyptian actions abroad, such as sp n nbt "occasion of victory" and wnsyt n nbt "expedition of victory," it becomes necessary for understanding and evaluating these actions to clarify what the concept we translate as "victory" meant to the Egyptians and the uses they made of this word.

Commentaries are included for each section of the chapter, and a conclusion is provided at the end. The conclusion not only summarizes the main points raised during the presentation and arrangement of the evidence, but it is also concerned with expeditions carried out by the king's troops other than those mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions. Information about these expeditions can be found in non-Egyptian sources, specifically in the Amarna letters; these are especially useful for reconstructing what the expeditions were about and for understanding the qualifying term nbt in the Egyptian sources, since they describe events from a different perspective.

298 Ibid., 200-03.
300 Spalinger, op. cit., 45 f. He qualifies this portion of the stela, however, as "a series of rhetorical passages describing the king's might over his foes [...]. The purpose of this inscription is clearly not in any sense historical. Rather, as a boundary stela, it served as the physical and spiritual marker of the farthest extent of Thutmosis I's power in the south; as such, it was not necessary for the scribe to describe the Nubian revolt and its failure." Its historical content and context is, however, stressed by L. Bradbury, "The Tombos Inscription: A new interpretation" SASE 8 (1984-85) 1-20. Against the view that the Tombos stela functioned as a border stela, cf. K. Zikelius-Chen, Die ägyptische Expansions nach Nubien, TAVO 78 (1988) 193.

301 The construction nbt fr could be translated "the nbt of Horus," but the direct genitival construction with nbt as the first element is always followed by a means of action (arm, khepes, bow, etc.), as shown in the previous chapter, sec.II. It cannot be an adjective because it is placed before the noun, and cannot be an adjectival predicate because the construction would stand in conflict with the following clause ("Horus is nbt, Lord of the Two Lands"). Thus, the addition of sp in "occasion of" before the noun nbt seems justifiable.
The inhabitants are rushing to his majesty; (they are) bowing down in front of his uraeus. He has overthrown the chief of the Nabians; the Nebesyt is incapacitated, a prisoner in his (the king's) fist. He (the king) has joined up the borders (S3Be) of either of his sides; there is no man among the evil-intentioned who came for his (the Nebesyt's) protection, not even one man therein. The Nebian laytha are thrown down because of (his) slaughter (they are) placed on their sides through their lands. Their viscera flood their valley; their blood is like a rushing stream. The spoils are numerous for the birds; (they are) taking the captives to another place. He who would snatch him (the king), the crocodile is (instead) upon the fleeing one. He who was hiding himself from the Horus's strong-arm, is now under the action of the sole king.

(Urk.IV 83, 12 - 84, 13) The text refers later to a campaign in foreign lands where again, the king is the one who acts, "who traverses its far end with his nht kpbeskh seeking fight, but he did not find one who would face him" (Urk.IV 85, 8-10).

Thutmosis I's stela at Abydos refers in a similar way to the king's nht: "The gods rejoice at my time, their temples being festive after I have made the borders of Ta-meru as far as what the sun-disc encircles. When I cause (an occasion of) nht, the inhabitants are under fear, (as) I subdue evil through it, I cause Egypt to be on top, every land being its servant (met)" (Urk.IV 102, 9-15).

The expression "occasion of nht" is attested qualified by an ordinal number, tp tl first. In these cases, it is always in a adverbial clause introduced by the preposition n, and the noun nht takes the singular or the plural form, depending on what it is referring to: m spt tp n nht(w) "on the first occasion of nht(w)."

E.- The stela carved on a rock between Aswan and Philae under Thutmosis II seems at first glance the opposite case from the Tombos inscription of Thutmosis I. The text contains the adverbial construction with the addition of a possessive pronoun referring back to the king, m sp.f tpt n nht "on his first occasion of nht." However, contrary to what would have been expected following the use of nht to qualify an event, the king does not figure as the one who carries out the action, but the text explicitly states that it was his troops, dispatched by him for that purpose. The text says: "His majesty dispatched a numerous troop to Nubia, on his first occasion of nht, in order to overthrow those who disobeyed his majesty and others who troubled the Lord of the Two Lands. Then, these troops of his majesty approached the doomed Kush, his majesty's might guiding them, his slaughter protecting their steps. When these troops were overthrowing these foreigners, they did not leave one male alive, like all that his majesty commanded; except for one of these sons of the chief of the doomed Kush, who was brought to where his majesty was as captive together with their subjects and placed under the feet of the Good God. Then, his majesty appeared on the throne, as the captives whom these troops of his majesty brought were being dragged in. This foreign land was made serf (n-git) of his majesty as before" (Urk.IV 140, 3-17).

F.- Thutmosis III placed a stela in the Ptae temple at Karnak, recording the siege of Megiddo with the following words: "Coming back of my majesty from Retenu, on the first occasion of nhtw, which my father Amun granted to me as his gift to me. Every foreign land of Djabi was gathered and enclosed in a single town, and respect for my majesty was through their hearts, fallen weakened. I reached them without allowing any fugitive among them. I enclosed them in a single town after I besieged it all around to deprive them of the breath of life, through the might of my father Amun, who guides me in the good way with all his good counsels which he makes for my majesty. Now, after he increased the nhtw of my majesty more than those of any other king who existed before, my majesty commanded his endowments with every proper thing."

(Urk.IV 767, 3-16)

G.- His Amun stela refers to the beginning of the first campaign as: "Going forth from Memphis to smite the doomed Retenu on the first occasion of nhtw. It was his majesty who opened its way, who cleared every one of its roads for his troops" (Urk.IV 1246, 14-17). What follows is a description of the siege of Megiddo, now only partially preserved.

+ An "occasion of nht" refers to a single outstanding action of the king. This action, qualified as nht, can be a fight, as in example A, or a battle, as in ex. D; but it can also be a hunting or a target exercise with a bow (ex. B, C). The qualifier nht is applied not only to actual warlike events, but to any situation where the king steps forward from those who surround him (i.e., his troops).

However, example E narrates a military action in which the king was not physically present and still refers to it as "his first occasion of nht," which would seem in contradiction with what has just been said, i.e., that the king is always the subject of any action qualified as nht. Indeed, the possessive adjective that modifies "occasion" leaves no doubt that it is the king's nht that is being described. In this passage, the king does two things: he dispatches troops against a foreign land and, after their successful return, he appears on the throne before the captives brought from abroad. One of this two actions must be what made the occasion be qualified as nht. Following what has been said above concerning the use of the expression "occasion of nht," it must have been the king's appearance on the throne, surrounded by citizens and soldiers and imposing a dependent status on captives brought in from foreign lands, which justified the use of the term nht to qualify the event.

432 This passage is arranged in couples. The last two ones concern the enemy's reversal of fortune. This idea was already expressed in Sesostris, after his victory against the chieftain from Retenu: "what he planned to do to me, I have done to him." (B. 144-45); Koch, op.cit., 53. The defeat of King Moneropolis's Libyan enemy is summarized as: "All what his mouth had said has turned on his head." (KRJN 7, 81).


434 The sign following tp has an unexpected shape. Through the context it is clear that should stand for tp 'first.' see Gardiner, Grammar, sign-list, T 8.


436 Thutmosis I carried out an elephant hunt in Nijy; see Urk.IV 103, 6-105, 8j and E. Naville, The Temple of Djeu el Babu, III (1898) pl.80, for what has been preserved of Thutmosis I's hunting account. Sethê's restoration, which includes the term nht, is based on Thutmosis III's account of a similar event.

437 This statement does not imply that nht is the only term used in this way, for example, sp mm nht "occasion of memorability" is used in the biography of Amenemhat to refer to Thutmosis III's elephant hunt at Nij (Urk.IV 893, 14).
The text mentions two key words for the qualification of this occasion as nht, namely the "appearance" (if'w) of the king on the dasi and the foreign lands being "made servile" (rwr-m n w-gb) of his majesty. Here again, as in ex. B and C, nht does not refer to a military action proper, but to any action in which the king steps forward, presenting himself as the legitimate leader of the group and lord of the territory. Moreover, as already mentioned in the previous chapters, nht does not refer to the nature of a confrontation, but to the obtaining or confirmation of someone's highest hierarchical status by means of an outstanding or successful feat. As the Abydos stela of Thutmose I clearly says (ex. D), when the king causes a nht he places "Egypt on top, every land being her servant (urr)."

Examples F and G raise a different question. While the text refers to a single occasion, which corresponds to the king's action of besieging Megiddo, nht is written in the plural, nhtw. The answer to this apparent disagreement between the morphology of the noun and its referent is in the peculiar situation that the king faces in Megiddo: one town with many foreign chiefs gathered in it. Thus, as pointed out in the Amarna, "the capture in Megiddo is the capture of a thousand towns" (Urk.IV 660, 8). In this way, these two passages do not refer to the successful siege of Megiddo as a single action, qualified as nhtw, but the occasion refers to the defeat of each of the rival chiefs that he confronted there, which needs accordingly a plural qualification. A similar situation is described in Amonophis II's Amaida and Elephantine stelas, where the defeat of seven chiefs in Takhay is referred to as the king's nhtw, in the plural. Therefore, nht, as in ex. E, does not refer to the military action that the king carried out against foreign rulers, but specifically to its successful outcome and to the status of overlord obtained over each one of the defeated chiefs that had challenged him. Note that a challenge is issued by one leader to another leader, taking the form of a duel, and cannot be issued collectively.

In example C, the occasions are referred to with two terms, hrs and nht. The former points to individual actions, parallel to deeds of "heroism" (prt.), and the latter to their overall successful outcome: while the divine increases the king's nhtw, his hrs are what is to be narrated. In ex. B, hrs "courage" is the necessary attribute to carry out an "occasion of nht." At the end of the passage quoted in example F, E. Barkay, Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, CASAE 18 (1952) 36-41 and 22-28, respectively, Lorton, "Legal Terminology," 115-17.

Note, as a second possibility, that the king is frequently called "nht of amm/khepesheb/bow," and these can stand for the king's troops as his means of action. Thus, in the last analysis, the troop's actions are the king's; cf. Chapter II sec.II.5, and Chapter III sec.II.1 and conclusion remarks on khepesheb.

Urk.IV 1297, 12-1298, 12 see below ex.V.F.

"(Thutmose III) he has made as his endowment for his father [Amen-re'] Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in the fortress 'The defeat of the foreigners'; making for him a chapel for eternity, since he has increased (r5) my majesty's nhtw more than those of any king who has existed. I have seized the Southerners under the command of his ka, the Northerners according to his guidance" (Urk.IV 1228, 12-16).

II. The expedition of nht

The most recurrent word for an "expedition" abroad is nwy, followed by an ordinal number within the reign under which the expedition took place. When nht qualifies the expedition, it takes the singular form, as in nwy tpt n nht "first expedition of nht." 244

II.1. The sources start referring to expeditions of nht in this way under Thutmose III. His "first expedition of nht" was certainly the most celebrated in the royal inscriptions of his reign, being mentioned on at least eleven different monuments and described in more detail than any of the rest that came after it. The written references to it are the following.

A. [(Proceeding of his majesty) to Retenu, to subdue the northern foreign lands, on] his first expedition of nht, according to what his father Amun-re' Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who is a beneficient [leader], who has given [him] a certificate as lord of every foreign land (z.w) had commanded him the Nine Bows united under [his] feet . . . " (Urk.IV 184, 4-9). Gateway of the 7th pylon at Karnak, an account of the siege and surrender of Megiddo follows.

B. "Assembly of the foreign lands of Upper Retenu which his majesty besieged in the town of doomed Megiddo, from where his majesty brought their children as captives to the town of Thebes, to fill the storehouse of his father Amun in Karnak, from his first expedition of nht; as that which his father Amun, who leads him to success, commanded" (Urk.IV 780, 16 - 781, 4). Inscription on the 7th pylon; a list of foreign lands follows.

483 Wh I 398, 6-12; derived from the verb m.f, Wh I 397, 11 ff. See Spalinger, op.cit., 125, 227 f.

484 The Great Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmose III contains the only exception where the king's "first expedition" is not qualified any further (Urk.IV 1234, 8). See Spalinger, op.cit., 327 f.

485 Add to these references the two passages mentioning the "first occasion of nhtw," included in the previous section (ex.F.G), restored attestations and similar versions of the passages, which will be mentioned in subsequent notes.

486 Written, n.f n n.f is n sb nhtw nht. The literal meaning of n.s is "what belongs to a document," i.e., "what has been written down." See Wh I 158, 19; II 197, 1; Lorton, "Legal Terminology," 114; W. Mannesse, The Road to Kadesh, a Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of the King Seti I at Karnak, SAC 42 (1997) 73 f.

487 This inscription is very similar to the one on the 6th pylon (Urk.IV 780, 4-9). Amonophis II copied this inscription in Luxor, see Urk.IV 1338, 8-18 (mostly restored).
C. "... the borders of Egypt, in courage [in nfr, in power (war), in triumph]"419 (Ur.iv 647, 12 - 648, 1). Annals inscription at Karnak; a description of the itinerary, siege of Megiddo and final surrender follows. D. "My majesty established newly for him (Amen) a festival of nfr, after the return of my majesty from the first expedition of nfr, overthrowing the doomed Retenu, extending the borders of Egypt, in the year 23, with the prfjme of the nfrw which he had commanded to me" (Ur.iv 740, 6-11). Annals; the inscription specifies three feasts and the offerings endowed for them. At one point, the text recalls the origin and reason for the endowments to Amun: "after the return of my majesty from subduing Retenu, on the first expedition of nfr, to perform praises in the festival hall 'Akhenem-Menkhpeperer"422 (Ur.iv 745, 11-14). The text continues referring to endowments for Amun's cult.

E. "(My majesty) has hewed for him a great [river] bark, ['Amunuserhet', from pine wood from the side of the mountain] worked in fine gold; its stand plate with silver, the shrine in its midst worked [with] fine gold from [the prime gifts of the northern foreign countries, which my majesty brought from] Upper Retenu, on the first expedition of nfr, which [my father Amun] commanded."425 Inscribed blocks from Amun's bark shrine, Karnak.

F. "Capture of the pharaoh in the foreign lands of the doomed Kush on the first expedition of nfr, as he was alone with [the] his khipasu, no one with him"423 (Ur.iv 1248, 16-18). Inscription on the temple pylon at Amarna; a list of foreign lands follows.

The actions carried out in the "first expedition of nfr" were the subduing or overthrowing of the northern foreign lands (i.e., Retenu, Upper Retenu) and extending the borders of Egypt. The consequences were the bringing in of goods and captives from abroad and the celebration of festivals. The inscriptions mention the god Amun and his temple-estate as the beneficiary of the material profit from the expedition. Indeed, it was him who commanded Thutmose III to carry out the campaign and even issued for him a certificate crediting him as lord of every foreign land.

It must be noted that in the inscription on the Amarna's pylon (ex. F), the "first expedition of nfr" is said to have been conducted into Kush (as well). On the stele placed in this temple by Thutmose III, southern Nubia is mentioned together with Naharina as the most distant places where the king performed "occasions of courage and nfr." However, it does not seem that all his actions described following the first date in the inscription (year 22, 4th month of Peret, day 25) happened within his first year after his joint regency with Hatshepsut,424 since the setting up of a stela in Naharina, which is there mentioned, took place in his year 33.425

ILL. The expression "expedition of nfr" referring to other ventures of Thutmose III is used in his Karnak Annals. Because of the similarity of their contexts, they will be discussed together. The Annals inscription itself points out in the "preface" that its purpose is the recording of the king's nfrw. "His majesty commands to cause that the [nfrw which his father Amun granted to him] be recorded in an inscription in the temple which his majesty made for [his father Amun]. There should be recorded [each] expedition by its name together with the booty which his majesty brought [from it and the produce-(tax) of every foreign land] which his father Re' had given to him."426 (Ur.iv 647, 5-9).

According to these introductory remarks, the record of the king's nfrw consisted of the expeditions' name, the booty from them and the produce-(tax) of every foreign land not derived from these expeditions, but which had been already given to him by Re'. The inscription follows for each expedition this specific order. Therefore, it can be deduced that the part of an expedition's account that is not listing the goods for that year is the "name of the expedition." The "name" records the expedition's most striking features that can be used to identify and differentiate it from the others.427 Thus, the actions mentioned following the year and the ordinal number of the expedition should not be taken as representative or descriptive of the expedition, but rather as the most specific and unusual actions among the expedition's events. The expeditions' names that have been preserved, besides the already mentioned first expedition, are recorded in the Annals in the following way:

G. "Year 29. His majesty was [in Dakh]ti destroying (esk) the troublesome foreign lands, on the 5th expedition of nfr. Then, his majesty plundered (h3b) the town of

---

419 The inscription on the 6th pylon at Karnak also mentions the borders as a reason for the first campaign, whose 'title' is recorded by Sethe, in Ur.iv 738, 4-7: "[...] the lands of the Kushites, who were starting to go against (a3k3 my borders) [...]"

420 The restored text from the Festival Hall at Karnak is similar to this (Ur.iv 1256, 1-6), as well as the one on the 6th pylon (Ur.iv 758, 2-4).


422 The 'first expedition' of nfr is again mentioned at the other side of the pylon (Ur.iv 1247, 20),
Waret [. . .] Then, his majesty destroyed the town of Irtiu (Ardata) and its grain and all their fruit trees were cut off" (Urk.IV 685, 3-8; 687, 5-7).

H.-"Year 30. His majesty was in the foreign land of Retenu, on the 6th expedition of ṣḫrt of his majesty. Arriving at the town of Kadesh, destroying it, cutting its trees and plundering its grain. Proceeding and [passing] by Rytu; arriving at the town of Djama (Simyra); arriving at the town of Irtiu, and doing likewise to it." (Urk.IV 689, 3-15).

L."Year 33. His majesty was in the foreign land of Retenu, [in the area of Keduna (Katma)], on the 8th expedition of ṣḫrt. Crossing the inverted river of Naharina by his majesty at the front of his troops to the eAḫḫu[?] of this river. He set up another (stela) at the side of his father's stela, (i.e.) king Akheperkare. His majesty travelled downstream plundering towns, hacking up settlements of that enemy of doomed Naharina [. . .] one sailing mile after them, no one looking behind, but fleeing straight on like a herd of wild cattle. [. . .] Arriving his majesty to the town of Niy sailing upstream, after the coming (back) of his majesty. He had placed his stela in Naharina extending the borders of Egypt [. . .] (Urk.IV 696, 15 - 697, 15; 698, 15 - 699, 1).

J."Year 34. His majesty was in the foreign land of Djahi [on the 9th expedition of ṣḫrt]. [. . .] peace to his majesty in full humility. Number of towns plundered this year, two towns (s). Towns that made peace in the area of Nahashi, on. Total three.** (Urk.IV 703, 16 - 704, 7).

K."Year 35. His majesty was in Djahi, on the 10th expedition of ṣḫrt. When his majesty arrived at the town of Arana, that doomed enemy of Naharina had mustered spans of horses and their people [. . .] of the far end of the land. They were numerous [. . .] start to fight with his majesty. His majesty met them, and his majesty's troops carried out an occasion of destruction (pe[)] only (for) seizing and bringing. Then, his majesty gained power (špm) over these foreigners through the might [. . .] of Naharina [. . .] They [were] drawing back headlong one after the other in front of his majesty." (Urk.IV 709, 15 - 711, 2).

L."Year 38. His majesty was in Djahi] on the 13th expedition of ṣḫrt. His majesty was destroying [. . .] area of Nahashi." (Urk.IV 716, 12-15).

M."Year 39. His majesty was in the foreign land of Retenu on the 14th expedition of ṣḫrt. After the setting out [. . .] these enemies of Shasu" (Urk.IV 721, 10).

+ The regnal year and the expedition's number are followed by a brief reference to one or more conflict situations that the king's troops encountered. The actions are usually carried out against specific towns (versus the more generic Retenu, Upper Retenu used in the narrative, cf. sec. II.I). They are generally referred to as "to destroy" (škisštš) and "to plunder" (ḫšš). However, the 8th expedition (ex. I) emphasizes the setting

42 See W. Helck, "Wo errichtete Thutmosis III. seine Siegestafel am Euphrat?" CDE 58 (1981) 241-44.
43 Text restoration based on the inscription from the 7th pylons (Urk.IV 188, 15-16).
44 Helck restores "people" in the lacuna above, to make for the plural "all, in full" r ḫw following it, which would be exceptional, since ḫw "peace" is made by the town chief and not by the "people." In Amarna Ppa's Memphis stela, which contains the closest parallel, it is said: "His majesty approached Niy going southward, and its chief and all his people, men and women (came out) peacefully to his majesty." (Urk.IV 1303, 5-6); see ex.II.P. However, note that there are two Amarna letters addressed to the king that were written by the "citizens" of Teni (EA 599) and by the "elders" of Irtiu (EA 100). For the term ḫw, see Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 76 f., esp. n.2.
45 Wb IV 311, 9 ff.
46 Lorton, JARCE 11, 53-68.

up of a stela in Naharina against other events. This is certainly not a physically violent act, but a significant expression of the king's ṣḫrt. In this same vein, the "name" of the expedition for the following year (ex.1) refers, following the plunder of two towns, to the peace made with one town of Nuhashi.

The Annals inscription, meant to record the king's ṣḫtu, focuses the attention not on the action that took place, but rather on the goods brought to Egypt. Only the military action against Megiddo on the first expedition is described at some length, and even for this event the text points out that one would have to look elsewhere for the account of later actions there: "As for all that his majesty did against this town (Megiddo), against that doomed enemy and his doomed troops, it has been recorded by day, by the expedition's name, [the names of the commanders of troops . . .] they are too numerous to write them in this inscription, being recorded on a leather roll in [Amun's] temple up to this day" (Urk.IV 661, 14 - 662, 6).

The goods that the troops received for their consumption during the different states during the expedition in foreign lands, as they were stopping at them, are neither the center of attention, nor do they seem to be relevant to the description of the king's ṣḫtu in the Annals. Referring to the supplies that the towns provided the troops with on their stops, it is said: [. . .] They were more numerous than anything, more than what his majesty's troops had known. There is no exaggeration, they being recorded on a palace document. Their list is not included in this inscription to avoid exceeding the words concerning their deeds therein . . ." (Urk.IV 693, 8-14).

The goods that make up the record of the king's ṣḫtu are not only booty taken from towns that opposed the king, but also the list of gifts and produce-(taxes) handed over by local foreign chiefs to the king. Moreover, the text even includes under the title "The ṣḫtu which his father Amen granted to him (Thutmosis III)" the gifts sent by rulers that never saw the king's expeditions as such in their territories. Gifts from Assar are mentioned for the year 24; from Babylon, Assur and Hatti for year 33; from Assur for year 40; from Hatti for year 41(?)). These lands were certainly not reached by the "expeditions of ṣḫrt," and sent their (diplomatic trade) gifts through "commissioners" (as shown in this chapter's conclusion, discussing Amarna letters). Nevertheless, they are included in the inscription because the gifts coming from them were considered as part of the king's ṣḫtu, being perceived as (indirect) consequence of the king's ṣḫtu (cf. sec. VI). This observation is important for the concept of ṣḫtu in the context of foreign affairs, which entails the acquisition of goods and captures no matter how they were obtained, whether through warfare or through diplomatic means.**

** The actions are also omitted for this same reason in the inscription on Amarna's pylons, and a list of subdued foreign lands follows (Urk.IV 1249, 19-20). On day-books, see Redford, Kings-lists, 97 ff., esp. 99 and 122 1. Note A.H. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (1961) 193, "The Karnak records are more interested in the booty or tribute obtained than in the conduct of the military operations."

49 Redford, op.cit., 98.

50 See Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 255-66. Concerning the mention together in a Deir al Bahari inscription of goods coming from Post and from Nubia, Liverani (p.245) says, "the control over Nubia and the one over Dust are quite different in their ways but equivalent in their substance and their results."
II. Thutmose III's successors mentioned their "expedition of nfr" in the following ways:

N.- "The return of his majesty from Upper Retenu after he had overthrown all his opponents, extending the borders of Egypt on the first expedition of nfr. His majesty has come back to his father Amun with his heart widened, as he has killed seven chiefs with his own mace. Those who were in the area of Takhsy were placed upside down at the prow of his majesty's ship" [Urk.IV 1296, 13 - 1297, 6]. Amnenphis II's Amada and Elephantine stela. On a statue of Minneus from Medmum there is a reference to the plunder of 30 towns in the area of Takhsy, and the bringing in of their chiefs, subjects and cattle [Urk.IV 1442, 17-18], as well as to taxes being imposed on chiefs of Upper Retenu [Urk.IV 1442, 2-12].

O.- "Proceeding of his majesty to Retenu on his first expedition of nfr to extend his borders, to give things to those who were loyal to him" [Urk.IV 1301, 15-16]. Amnenphis II's Memphi stela.

P.- "Proceeding of his majesty to Retenu on his second expedition of nfr, to the town of Apek (Its chief) He was going forth peacefully (hpsau) because of the great nfr of the pharaoh l.p.h." [Urk.IV 1305, 14-16]. Amnenphis II's Memphis stela.

Q.- ["..." as the booty of his majesty from the doomed [Naharin], on his first expedition of nfr ["..."].] [Urk.IV 1535, 17-18]. Thutmose IV's offering list at Karnak.

R.- "His majesty brought gold from the foreign land of Kary on the first expedition of nfr, of smiting the doomed Kush." [Urk.IV 1654, 14-15]. Amnenphis III's stela at his funerary temple.

S.- "The return of his majesty from his first expedition of nfr in this foreign land of the doomed Kush, after he had celebrated/triumphed," after he had made his border as far as he wishes, as far as the four poles of heaven. He set up a stela of nfr at the side of the 'Well of Horus'. No king of Egypt has done the like, except for his majesty, the courageous one, satisfied with (hr) nfr. It was Nebmaatra who opened its (Kush's) road in nfr through the power of his vanguard. Actually, his father Amun was his guide, after he commanded for him courage and nfr against every foreign land, after he caused for him that South, North, West and Easters be directing (goods) to him; that they themselves, with their children, present (goods) to him upon requesting the breath of life." [Urk.IV 1662, 8 - 1663, 2]. Amnenphis III's Konosso stela.

T.- "One came to inform his majesty that the enemy of the doomed Kush was planning to rebel. His majesty gained power (bfmr 3) to nfr, which he completed on his first expedition of nfr." [Urk.IV 1666, 3-6]. Amnenphis III's Second Aswan-Philae stela. The king is later referred to through the action he carried out, as "he who tramples all their chiefs throughout their valley, overthrown on their blood, one over the other." [Urk.IV 1666, 17-18].

U.- "Year 16 under the majesty of the Lord of the Two Lands Horemheb, the ruler, at the time of his first (expedition of) nfr, beginning from Byblos till the land of the doomed chief of Karkemis." [Senneter's granite bowl].

† The kings' expeditions of nfr met opposition in some of the foreign territories through which they passed, and each time they were forcefully repressed. However, as shown in the previous section regarding Thutmose III's expeditions, violent conflicts are not the common denominator of the expeditions' inscriptions. References and, moreover, they were not chosen as the salient events for some of them.

Examples R and T present the smiting of foreign chiefs as 'the' event of Amnenphis III's expedition to Kush, but Amnenphis II mentions the extension of the borders together with the killing of seven Levantine chiefs (ex. N). Amnenphis II's extension of the borders is mentioned also in his Memphis stela along with giving things to those who were loyal to him (ex. O). Thutmose III already had used the latter expression on his Arman stela, "His majesty did not delay in proceeding to the land of Djahi, to smite the disobedient ones there and to give things to those loyal to him."[40]

Amnenphis II's Memphis stela presents as worth mentioning from among the events of an expedition of nfr the offering of peace to the king by foreign chiefs (ex. P). The peaceful submission of foreign chieftains to the Egyptian king was mentioned as 'the' event of Thutmose III's 9th expedition (ex. II.2.),[41] and was referred to again in...
Thutmosis III’s Annals with these words: “Gifts of the chiefs of Retenu who came to kiss the ground because of the might of his majesty this year (31);”440 or “When his majesty arrived at Ta-mery, messengers of Genebu came with their gifts of myrrh [...].”441

Finally, in ex. S, Amenophis III’s Konosso stela mentions the making of his borders and the setting up of a stela as the events of the king’s expedition of nṯw, and refers to foreigners handing over goods to him.

Example T makes it clear through the construction r nṯw, that the term nṯw does not refer to the nature of the actions carried out during an expedition, but rather to the expedition’s final goal. The various actions that took place during an “expedition of nṯw” have in common that they are expressions of the king’s overlord status in foreign lands. The expeditions were a means by which the king exercised his earned, and thus legitimate position as leader and lord, i.e. as nṯw, which included the periodic collection of dues from his subjects and vassals, the defeat of any opposition or challenge against his status and the rewarding of those who had served him well.

III. The king’s nṯw-actions

A. “Those who were serfs (nḏb) of the Lord of the Two Lands are thinking of plotting. Criminals have started to plunder Egyptians, to drive away cattle from these fortresses which your father (Thutmosis I) built with his nṯw, ‘King Akheperkare - live forever!’ to oppose the troublesome foreign lands of the Nubian Iansu, of Khentyhennefer”442 (Urk.IV 138, 15 - 139, 1). Thutmosis II’s Aswān-Philae inscription.


C. “(Seth) I have given you the kingship of the Two Lands, your nṯw being through every foreign land” (Urk.IV 573, 12-13). Thutmosis III’s inscription at Karnak.

D. “(Amun-re) I shall cause that your nṯw circulate (phr) in every land: that what my uraeus illuminates may be your property (ḏḥ), without the coming about of your rebels as far as what the sky encircles, but rather) they shall come with gifts on their backs, bowing down to your majesty, as I command” (Urk.IV 614, 4-9). Thutmosis

Grimal, op.cit., (III 11).

440 Urk.IV 691, 13-14.


442 Note that this text refers to an action of the king ‘Akheperkare’ in that area as “the day of the slaughter of the Good God” (Urk.IV 139, 1); probably the same event as the one described in the Tomb of the inscription and implied in his Abdos stela (cf. ex.11D). For a fortress called ‘Opposing the Iansu’, see A.I. Gardiner, “An Ancient List of the Fortresses of Nubia” JEA 3 (1916) 184-92.

443 According to the copy of the inscription, it should be translated “the kingship of the lands,” but from the writings of the noun “kingship” in Wb II 352, 13, it seems likely that the first flat sign of the word “lands” is rather to be taken as a papyrus roll used as determinative for the word ‘kingship.’

444 Compare with a passage on a Luxor stela of Rameses II: “Re’ assigns to him his kingship after he (Re) has doubled his (the king’s) strength (phṣy)” (KR.II 613, 12); see Grimal, op.cit., (III 233), and also Chapter III ex.11.G.

445 Benzisch, op.cit., 72 (244).

446 Wb II 317, 11, Belegstellgen, quotes the passages in ex.A and E giving to nṯw the meaning ‘Besiegung, Festung,’ linking them to later occurrences of the term showing a house determinant.
IV. The nhtw as source of foreign goods

A. - "Proceeding to Retenu to satisfy his heart (Thutmosis I's) throughout foreign lands. When his majesty arrived at Nubaria, his majesty l.p.h. found that enemy molesting attackers (ksbnt). Then, his majesty carried out a great massacre among them. There is no number for the captives which his majesty brought from his nhtw" (URK IV 9, 8-14). Tomb of Ahmose son of Ebana.

B. - "Behold the great amount of myrrh [...], ivory, ebony, fine gold of the Levant, every sweet plant [...], 1 captives, which his majesty (Thutmosis III) brought from his nhtw." (URK IV 524, 7-10). Tomb of Puteches.

C. - "My beloved own son, [Menkheperre], who has made proper monuments with hewn selected pine wood worked with fine gold from the top of the mountains, from the nhtw [...]." (URK IV 778, 13-16). Thutmosis III's inscription at Karnak.

D. - "[Introducing the children of the chiefs of southern foreign lands, together with the children of the chiefs of northern foreign lands, who were brought as booty of his majesty, king Menkheperre - given lifel from every foreign land, to fill the storeroom as servants (mty) of the estate of his father [Amun] Lord of the Thrones, since every foreign land was given to him united in [his majesty's] fist, their chiefs pos[t]ed under his [feet]. It is the r-lr, bty-qa, who is in the heart of him who is in the palace, overseer of the town, the vizier [Rekhmire], who receives the booty of every foreign land, which was brought from the nhtw of his majesty." (URK IV 1102, 11 - 1103, 2). "Tomb of Rekhmire".

E. - "Appearance of his majesty (Amenophis II) inside Thebes, on the throne, in order to proclaim marvols for [these] troops, [...]. From the nhtw (of) the expedition [...]. That stood at the side of his majesty and brought gifts of the southern foreign lands in front of this Good God." (URK IV 1345, 9-12). Ussersasetat's cenotaph at Qass Ibrahim.

F. - "Concerning these foreign lands which I have mentioned (Retenu and Ta-neferu), my lord (Thutmosis III) brought them (their annual taxes) by means of his nhtw, his bow, his arrow and his battle-axe." (URK IV 1442, 13-14). Menemes' statue at Medamud.

G. - "Settlement of the doomed Kush which his majesty brought from his nhtw" (URK IV 1536, 15). Thutmosis IV; stela from his funerary temple.

H. - "(The temple of Montu) embellished with works for eternity, with the produce-tax of the chiefs of every foreign land, which his majesty brought from his nhtw as booty of his courageous khpjesnh." (URK IV 1667, 19-20). Amenophis III's inscription at the Montu temple in Karnak.

L. - "I am who reckons the plunder of the nhtw of his majesty (URK IV 1822, 2). Amenhotep son of Hapu's statue.

V. nhtw and forceful military actions

A. - "I have come forth from the house (temple) of my father, the king of the gods, [Amun], who has commanded for me nhtw." The king himself took the road, his courageous troops before him like flames of fire." (URK IV 808, 14-17). Thutmosis III at Buhen. His actions are summarized as: "every foreign land is under his authority, the Nine Bows are subdued under his feet." (URK IV 809, 16-17).

B. - I have followed the steps of my lord (Thutmosis III) in the northern and southern foreign land as he wanted me as his page. While he was on the battlefield of his nhtw, his strength (psf) made my heart stout." (URK IV 890, 10-13). Biography of Amenemhab.

C. - "I have seen the nhtw of the king Menkheperre - given lifel in the foreign land of Sendjar (Qafat Sejar), where he made a great massacre among them." (URK IV 891, 14 - 892, 1). Biography of Amenemhab.

D. - "I have seen the nhtw of the king (Thutmosis III), which he has carried out in every foreign land: he has brought the chiefs of Dahi as captives to Ta-mery, he has plundered all their towns, cut off their trees. There is no foreign land [opposing him]. I am the one who recorded the nhtw which he carried out in every foreign land, done in writing as they were carried out." (URK IV 1004, 4-10). Tomb of Tjanany.


444 W.M.F. Petrie, "Six Temples at Thebes" (1896) 21, pl.I-XI.

445 For the term nl-h, see Leuten, "JARCE" 11, 17, 1.
E. "I travelled southward, my heart being wide. I celebrated for my lord [...] who commanded (my) nḫtw, who caused terror [...]. In my time. He caused my respect among the inhabitants of every foreign land, so that they flee away from me. All over which the sun shines is united under my feet" (Ur.IV 1239, 4-11). Thutmosis III’s Great Gebel Barkal stela.

F. "Six men from among these enemies were hanged in front of the wall of Thebes, and the hands likewise. Then, the other enemy was sent south to Nubia, and hanged at the wall of Napata (Gebel Barkal) in order that the nḫtw of his majesty would be seen forever in every flat and hilly land of Ta-nchesy, as he has seized the Southerners and controlled the Northerners. The most distant regions of the whole land, Re' (now) shines on them, (since) he (the king) makes his border as far as he wishes without his arm/action being opposed, as his father Re' and Amun Lord of the Thrones had commanded" (Ur.IV 1297, 13 - 1298, 12). Amenophis II’s Amada and Elephantine stelae.

G. "Lord of khepesæ in (hr) every nḫtwu" (Ur.IV 1964, 4). Amenophis IV’s stela at Zerzick.

+ The contexts of these passages refers to forceful military actions against foreign lands, and nḫtw can thus be taken as military "victories." The term, however, does not refer to the actual fight, but to its successful outcome. Tjanmy, in ex.D, witnesses the king’s nḫtw abroad, which are then specified as bringing captives, plundering towns and cutting down trees. These three actions refer to the consequence of the king’s success in his confrontation with opponents. What he records are not the king’s battles, but the material profit that resulted from them, as Amenhotep son of Hapu clearly points out in ex. IV.1. In example E, the nḫtw of Amenophis II that were witnessed were, again, not his battles, but rather an outcome of them, in this case the corpses of seven defeated Levantine chiefs.

VI. nḫtw and diplomatic gestures

A. "The coming in peace by the chiefs of Retenu, every northern foreign land of the far end of the Levant, humbly bowing down, their gifts on their backs, requesting the breath of life, wanting to be loyal to his majesty. When they saw his great nḫtw the fear of him controlled their hearts"*462 (Ur.IV 1101, 14 - 1102, 4). Tomb of Rekhmire'.

B. "The chiefs of Upper Retenu, who ignored Egypt since the time of god, are requesting peace from his majesty (Tutankhamun), as they say: 'give us the breath that you give, so that we will relate your nḫtw; there will be no disobedient ones in your time, every land being at peace'. "Every chief of distant foreign lands [to]"*464 the commissioner of the pharaoh, they say:

*462 Read ḫḫw ḫḏḥy nḫtw Helek, Übersetzung, "der die Siege behoffen hatte."

*464 N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mire’ at Thebes (1943) pl.21-23. Compare with Karnoss’s statement, “when my nḫtw entered his heart, his limbs were wasted” (Chap.III ex.II.1.2.C).

*463 Gardiner restores ḫḏḥy and translates, “... [who are an] embassy to the Pharaoh,” referring to the foreign chiefs, in N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (1926) 30, pl.19; followed by Helck, Übersetzung. Because the iconographic representation shows these foreign chiefs speaking to Huy, who is acting as intermediary between them and the king, the restoration of the proposition ḫḏḥy, used to introduce the recipient of a spoken message, is pertinent. What follows the small lacuna, nḫtw n ḫḏḥy ḏḥy, does not refer to the foreign chiefs, but to Huy, “commissioner of the pharaoh.” A second possibility is that in the lacuna there was no preposition, but the noun nḫtw, to form the title nḫtw nḥt ḫḏḥy “royal commissioner,” since in the speech that he addresses to the king in another instance of that same scene, Huy calls himself “royal commissioner to every land” (nḥt ḫḏḥy ḫḏḥy mbḥ). Note that in this title ḫḏḥy can be followed by an indirect genitive referring to the king as “royal commissioner of his majesty” (Ur.IV 1834, 10).

*464 Translation, pl.28-30, pl.29.


*466 Davies, Rekh-mire’s, pl.18-20.

*467 The term ‘father’ has the nuance of protector, and was used by the Levantine chiefs to refer to their contact and supporter in the Egyptian court, as mentioned in the Amarna letters.

*468 For a discussion on this expression, see above Chapter III n.235, and below Chapter V n.662.

*469 N. de G. Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperreseb, Amenhotep, and Anchor (1933) pl.4.
forever (consisting of) every proper present of their foreign land, which has not been trodden by another, because of his might being throughout their foreign lands, every foreign land being his majesty's serf (a-dī). It is the re-pat, hāty-a, confident of the king, foremost [of the Two Lands, overseer of the town, Rekhmire'], who receives all the gifts of every foreign land, which were brought because of the [might] of his majesty, from (his) nfrw.474 [Uruk IV 1097, 7-16]. Tomb of Rekhmire'.

+ Example A and B serve as bridge between this and the previous section: chiefs of the far Levant who ignored Egypt, that is, who did not experience in their territories the king's nfrw,475 but just saw (i.e., witnessed) it somewhere else, came to him peacefully, carrying gifts to express their good willingness.476 Their peaceful and humble attitude as depicted on private tomb walls was the reflection of events recorded in royal inscriptions (cf. ex. II.2.3; III.1).477 Some foreign chiefs went even further, pointing out their intention to spread the king's nfrw.

The spreading of the king's nfrw was significant for the king's purposes, since it resulted in the most distant regions bearing about it and being eager to send gifts to him as a sign of acknowledgement.478 The verb nfrw "to bear," different from the verb m3s3 "to see,"479 expresses in the context of foreign affairs an indirect knowledge. Kntyu chiefs and chiefs of the islands of the sea in the tomb of Rekhmire' (ex. C), and Naharin, Hatti and Babylon under Amenophis II (ex. D), merely "heard" about the king's successful actions and expressed their political stance: they would not challenge him. The latter would recognize his status as leader and lord over the territory in which he carried out his nfrw.480

The king's nfrw were not only related to actions of smiling, killing and capturing foreigners, destroying towns and their agricultural basis, but were also related to abstract, psychological reactions: causing his fame (and courageous-name), respect and fear of him to be throughout foreign lands. These were considered as important and effective as forceful actions themselves since they prompted foreign chiefs to bring goods to the king. For this reason, respect (mg3), fame (hmnhm) and nfrw-features have features in common: they are all directed against (v), are throughout (ld) and circulate (dwr) in foreign lands, and they enter the hearts of the opponents (controlling their actions).481 In the duplicate version of Thutmose III's Poetical stela, "fame" is mentioned instead of nfrw.482 This proves that the term nfrw does not refer to a physical, forceful action or event in itself, but to a successful and fruitful outcome regardless of the means used to achieve it.

The gifts that were received from the most distant foreign lands that did not directly experience the king's nfrw were themselves, nevertheless, regarded in the Egyptian sources as nfrw, derived from the king's nfrw. In example B, Kntyu, Hatti and Tuni in483 chiefs honored (w33) the king's nfrw and brought gifts to him; and in ex. F, the land of Pun sends gifts to the king because of his might (also ex. C), which are referred to as being brought from his majesty's nfrw. This is in accord with the fact that the Annals of Thutmose III, which are specifically stated to be a record of the king's nfrw, include the gifts brought by kingdoms such as Assur, Hatti and Babylon, that never 'suffered', nor even "saw" the king's military actions (cf. p.83).

Goods received from regions that were not the object of any military campaign, but entered in contact with Egypt through "commissioners" were still part of the king's nfrw. This was so, because the term was used not just to define an action, but also its result: the bringing in of goods. It did not matter what provoked other chiefs to hand them, whether a forceful action or just the (hypothetical) threat of one, a military or diplomatic action; nor did it matter whether the goods were meant as sign of submission or as sign of friendship. What mattered for the use of the term nfrw was that goods were brought in because of the king's nfrw, because of the acknowledgement by other chiefs of his status as leader and overlord (of his territory): "The network of the reciprocal acknowledgments assures that everybody may keep his position (whatever it may be) in a complex political world."484 Thus, the translation of nfrw as "victories" has to be shaded in this context as "achievements."

464 Davies, Rekh-mu-ri', p.17.
465 See Lorant, Judicial Terminology, 121-24, who interprets the verb m3s3 "to ignore" as "not to have relations." Note the statement, "Those who did not know their lord ..." (KR III 21, 10).
466 Ibid., 87-89, interprets the expression (m3s) by nsw (n), lit. "to be on the water of," as "to have economic relations with" in ex. A translated as "to be loyal to." See also Schenkel, GM 31 (1974) 47 ff.
467 See below n.483.
468 The Ramesside royal inscriptions emphasize the image of foreign chiefs narrating (gdta) the king's nfrw, what is regarded as complementing the king's success in stopping their boosting (g3d) in their lands. On the enemy's reversal of fortune, cf. below n.492. In Deir el Medina private stelae, the piqon ma/k.commander asks for mercy (ldp) to a deity, so that he/she may relate (g3d) his might (mdw); cf. KR III 771, 15; 772, 1-2; 793, 6. The nfrw of R' are mentioned in this context in KR III 693, 13-14.
469 See Chapter III sec.XI, and in this chapter sec. V.
470 Amenophis II records in the Poetical stela how he defeated and captured maruis-warriors in Syria and got hold of a messenger of the chief of Naharin, which might have been part of making his nfrw reach the ears of more distant and powerful kingdoms. In an inscription between the Vrb and Vrb pylons at Karnak, he mentions that chiefs from Mitanni came to him with gifts, to request peace (Uruk IV 1325, 13-1326, 6); see Chapter III ex.I.3.D. Referring to the times of Thutmose IV or Amenophis III, in a private tomb it is mentioned how chiefs of Naharin came peacefully to his majesty, as they heard his nfrw (Uruk IV 1597, 14 - 1598, 2; see Chapter III ex.I.2.E.
471 An Amenophis III's architrave in Luxor, says: "who controls for himself the Nine Bows, who has made for himself a courageous name in every foreign land, whose fame circulates (in) Naharin, as he causes fear in their hearts" (Uruk IV 1693, 16-19). See Chapter III sec.XIII.30. From the reign of Montscheper-Nekhepetnefer, note the phraseology used by a royal commissioner concerning his activity on foreign lands: 'I have confronted the Levantines on their lands. It was the respect of him (the king's) what caused my might, his aura what caused the terror of; those foreign lands to which I arrived were acclaiming his might,' cf. A.J. Gardiner, "The Tomb of a much-travelled Theban Official." JE A 4 (1917) 35 f., p.9; Blumenthal, Königlist, 197 L (2.3.8).
472 See Chapter III ex.V.I.B.
473 On the relation between the city of Tuni and Egypt's king, see EA 59.
474 Liversage, Prestige and Interest, 183. However, he perceives Egypt's international relations as far removed from this policy (as reflected in his critics' treaties); a perception that these passages do not support. Note how he interprets differently the situation here referred to, in Or 43, 92 f.: "the text hints that the donors, although they have not been defeated, are afraid of the Pharaoh, and imagine themselves to be vanquished in a possible struggle."
Conclusion

In the XVIIIth Dynasty, the term *nfr* is used to refer to or qualify the king in as much as he is the foremost of Egypt, leader of its people, lord of the land and overlord of neighboring regions. This role or aspect of the king is epitomized in the royal title, "Horus, nfr k3-bull." The king is qualified as *nfr* acting in Egypt when he appears on his throne and when he surpasses his followers in physical pursuits, such as rowing and shooting. Outside Egypt, he is *nfr* when his status as leader and overlord is acknowledged, i.e., not challenged by other rulers, who hand him gifts, either as a sign of submission, or of friendship. Foreign chiefs hand over goods to the Egyptian king prompted by the use of force by his troops or the fear that it might happen, or/and to express their disposition to establish trade relations and their unwillingness to challenge his achievements.

The actions carried out by the Egyptian kings to maintain and exercise their overlord status in neighboring regions are referred to as "occasions" and "expeditions," qualified by the term *nfr*. These did not comprise exclusively forceful actions, but also political events, such as the peaceful submission of local chiefs, the handing over of goods to the king and his troops, and the king's reward of those loyal to him. Although forerunners for this policy can be found in XVIIth Dynasty records, the expeditions were not perceived as an established policy until well into Thutmose III's reign, when the expression *wdyjt n nfr* "expedition of *nfr" was qualified by an ordinal number referring to the expedition's point of time in a king's reign was introduced and became a standard phrase.

The expeditions that Egyptian troops carried out tend to be recorded on monuments only when the king played a significant role in them because official inscriptions of the monarchy focus on the king's actions. At the same time, private biographical inscriptions stress the events in which the owner took part in the service of the king as physically close to him as possible. Thus, because of the nature and purpose of these sources, we only have direct information about the events in which the king participated in some relevant way. Therefore, it should not be assumed that the actions recorded in these sources comprised the entirety of Egyptian activity in foreign lands. The numbering of the "expeditions of *nfr*" does not refer to the total of expeditions sent abroad in a king's reign, but to the number of expeditions in which the king played a significant role. This distinction is reflected in how the expeditions are further qualified aside from their numbers: with the possessive 3rd person singular pronoun referring back to the king, "his first expedition of *nfr*." 630

In the treaty between Ramses II and Hutnarian III, the expression 'to come in *nfr* is used for the king's participation in a campaign, as opposed to dispatching his troops: 'And if other enemies come against the great chief of Haiti...If Heaernam'tepenep'epenepe, the great ruler of Egypt, (does not) want to come, he shall send his troops and his chariotry (to slay his enemies) in return to the request of the land of Haiti.' 648

630 See Thutmose III's inscription on the 7th pylon at Karnak (sec.II.1.A,B) and most of his successors' reference to theirs (sec.II.3).

648 This information gap in the Egyptian sources about expeditions that went forth in a routine way, without the king playing a role worth mentioning in them, is partially filled by contemporary non-Egyptian sources. The correspondence between the Levantine vassals and the Egyptian court, part of which was found in an archive in the capital city at El Amarna, 45 shows that troops from Egypt marched through Levantine lands on a regular basis during reigns for which official inscriptions only mention, if any, one or two "expeditions of *nfr*.

The dwindling personal involvement of the pharaoh in expeditions after the reign of Thutmose III is probably the cause for the change in the nature of the sources that have reached us, regarding Egyptian interventions in foreign lands during Dynasty XVIII. Thutmose III personally led expeditions to Syria-Palestine on an almost annual basis, and they were recorded in his Annals inscription at Karnak. We have no similar composition from his successors because they did not participate themselves in most of the military activity that was carried out abroad during their reigns. On the other hand, because of the lack of pharaoh's presence in the expeditions, the letters that the vassals wrote to the Egyptian court had to increase. 468 significantly since they were the only channel left for the vassals to address their requests and complaints 'directly' to their overlord. 464 Moreover, while royal inscriptions contain far fewer references to specific foreign expeditions, the representations of foreigners bringing goods continued to be depicted on high officials' tomb walls during the age of pharaoh's 'personal passivity' in foreign affairs. 468

Among the official inscriptions of Amenophis II, there are three references to an 'expedition of *nfr* in which the king participated personally. 466 None of the three

45 KRI II,238, 8-11; cf. 566-567; see also Spiegelberg, SA 9, 326 ff. *Nfr* has in this passage the meaning of 'protection,' as shown in Chapter III, remarks to sec.I and IX.

46 The specific "non-Egyptian" for the Amarna letters is due to the fact that they were mostly written in Akkadian dialects and by foreign chiefs.

47 Indeed, the Amarna archive is a question of the harshest of the preservation of evidence, and the use of "foreign sources" is a moment no substantiation. However, we cannot resort to a historical analysis giving some meaning to the data or the lack thereof that has come down to us.


49 G.A. Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art (1976) 65, referring to scenes showing the reception of foreign tribute, says: "they are typical scenes giving general statements of the permanent functions of the deceased. They do not reflect an isolated, specific event which happened but once or twice in the lifetime of a given official," which seems to be the case for the Amarna Age's treatment (pp.78-80). Wachsmann, op.cit., 121 ff., interprets these scenes as representing specific events and does so Shaepey, op.cit., 258 f., 306 f., 348-351. Still, the depiction of foreigners bringing goods does not convey information on how often it happened; see D.B. Redford, History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt (1987) 120-26; C. Aldred, "The Foreign Gifts Offered to the Pharaoh" JEA 56 (1970) 103-116.

50 E. Ebel, "Die Steine Amunophis II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die Aetilischen Feldzüge des Königs" ZDPY 69 (1933) 97 ff. It is debated if the king carried out three campaigns, in years 3, 7 and 9, or if the two accounts following the heading "his first expedition of *nfr*" have to be taken as referring to the same expedition, and thus, the former date regarded as unrelated to the expedition. See, with bibliography on other interpretations, W. Murnane, Ancient Egyptian Correspondence, SAC 40 (1977) 44-48, who argued that the year date on Amunophis' Amada stela
as symbolic of the king's might, the words have been carefully chosen to point out that the king himself did not go to the Levant, but rather that it was his troops, referred to as khnopsh (cf. Appendix to Chapter III), who were imposing the king's authority on the Levantines. On another stela from the same location, the following words are placed in the mouth of the god Amun, as his response to the king's building activity: "I shall turn my sight to the north and bring about marvels for you; I shall cause the outermost parts of the Levant come to you bringing all their gifts on their backs; that they present themselves to you with their people, requesting for them the breath of life." This rhetorical passage reflects how the king must have perceived his control over Syria-Palestine 'in the hands of god' and in the hands/actions of his troops, without need of the king's personal participation in the periodic expeditions that his troops were carrying out.  

According to the information contained in the El Amarna letters, in the Amarna Age an Egyptian military unit (sābē pqitā) visited the different local chiefs in Syria-Palestine, ideally on a yearly basis, as their recorded expectations reflect. For that reason, statements like the following can be found in the vassals' correspondence: "If troops are here this year, then the lands of the king, my lord, will remain; but if troops are not here, the lands of the king, my lord, will be lost." (EA 286: 57-60).  

The Egyptian troops moved through Levantine lands, stopping at each town they passed by no matter how stable the political situation might be in its surroundings; and even if the situation was peaceful and they did not have to use force to overcome any opposition, the town chief still had to provide them with all kinds of goods. Thus, Rib-Addi of Byblos once wrote to his king: "The rest of the chiefs do not want the troops to come because they are safe but it is I who want them to come because I am..."

---

148 UrkIV 1656, 8-12; Petrie, op.cit., pl.11-12.  
149 Compare the passage quoted with the first strophe of the 'poem' which the god Ammen addresses to the king Thutmose III in the Poetical stela: "I have come so that I may cause you to enslave the Levantines, that you strike the heads of the Levantine rebels of Retem." (UrkIV 615, 4-6); P. Lacau, Sèles du Nouvel Empire, l (1909) 20, pl.7.  
151 The Akkadian verb dagal 'to look,' 'to look at,' has the nuance 'to visit' a region by an (Egyptian) military unit in EA 74: 57-59; 76: 31-37; 93: 10-13; 109: 44; 116: 63. This verb, together with the mention of troops going forth, corresponds in the Egyptian sources to the verb ppr 'to travel around,' 'to campaign.'  
153 For similar statements, see EA 55: 19-22, 25-27, 77: 26-29, 93: 25-27; 118: 57-60; 129: 40-42, 49-51; 149: 74-77; 215: 9-17. Although the troops went forth regularly, for different reasons they did not pass by every town every year. Rib-Addi of Byblos complained to the king in this way: "For the years the troops have gone forth to inspect the country, and now that the land of the king and son, our guardian-town, have joined the Atipa, you do not do anything." (EA 76: 31-37) and "Let not the king, my lord, give another year to the sons of Abdi-Asheru." (EA 362: 66-67).  
154 For a summary of the discussion on the length of his reign, see Der Manuelian, op.cit., 42 ff.  
155 The evidence is gathered and analyzed by Bryan, op.cit., 336 ff.  
in danger" (EA 362; 54-59). It can be inferred that the goal of the troops was not the rescue of the chieftains from difficult situations, but the 'visit' to the towns itself, and thus, the acquisition of the goods that each one had to provide them according to the command of the pharaoh. The chieftains preferred to provide the Egyptian troops with all sorts of goods once a year, even if it was in great quantity, to being exposed to plunder and devastation at the hands of uncontrolled and greedy neighbors. In this way, they were getting (in theory) something back: stability and the trade benefits of being on good terms with Egypt. Rib-Addi of Byblos mentions that his ancestors received gifts from the king "money and everything for their provision" (EA 126: 14-23); Aziru of Amurru refers to "gold and silver that the king, my lord, gave me" (EA 161: 41-46); Tagi writes about "a gold goblet and 12 sets of linen garments" (EA 265: 7-15); and Milku of Gazu obtained all sorts of luxury items from the king in exchange of "beautiful female cupbearers" (EA 369: 1-24).

The Amarna letters show how Thutmose III's successors, following the policy established by him, retained the ability to request that their Levantine vassals' towns supply the income for the expeditionary troops. They taxed the harvest of their territories, received gifts from each chieftain, and controlled the succession to the offices of town-chief by means of their periodic expeditions through their regions. Abdi-Ahira

97 The chief of each town was informed in advance of the troop's arrival and was asked to prepare "everything" for them: the king, my lord, my Sun, has written to his servant and the dust at his feet: 'make ready for the archers of the king'. My lord, I have, indeed, obeyed and I have made ready" (EA 141: 18-24). The king himself writes to Enduretu of Achatapa, in EA 367, and orders him not to be negligent at the arrival of his troops. For similar statements, see EA 142: 25-26; 144: 18-21; 191: 4-14; 193: 21-24; 201: 9-13; 213: 10-13; 216: 6-20; 217: 13-20; 218: 11-17; 274: 11-21; 302: 11-18.

98 Pintore, OA 11, 113 ff.; OA 12, 300 ff.; and N. Na'aman, "Economic Aspects of the Egyptian Occupation" *JIR* 31 (1981) 172 ff., argued that the provisions that the town-chief gave to the Egyptian troops were meant to feed them during their brief stay. However, grain, which would have been the basic nourishment for them, is rarely mentioned in this context, and instead what they could have considered luxury goods were handed to them big and small cattle, fowl, wine, oil, honey, etc.


100 Chab-Adda writes to the pharaoh: "My lord has written for grain, but it has been spoiled. May the king, my lord, ask his officials or our ancestors have not been sending it since the days of Kuzana, our ancestor" (EA 224: 7-18).


102 The Egyptian king is said to have appointed the king of Nelaše in EA 51. Amenophis III invested Abdi-Ahira with some kind of authority (EA 101:30-31), and Aziru was appointed his successor in Amurru by Akhenaten (EA 161: 51-53). Zimrreddi of Sidon received the authority over several towns from the Egyptian king (EA 144: 6-12, 24-26). Abenabk of Tyre states repeatedly the direct intervention of the pharaoh in his appointment as town-chief (EA 148: 18-22; 149: 9-10, 47-48; 151: 6-7). Showardah of Qem[t] mentions that the king gave him land (EA 366: 11-19).

The appointment of a Libyan chief by Ramses III is described in *KRIV* 22, 15-23 (?); but note that Kori, acting as royal commissioner to every foreign land, is said to be in charge of establishing chiefs in their posts (KRIV 364, 14).


104 See Faulkner, *JEAS* 39 (1953) 33 ff., 37 ff., who points out that the *imwa nfr* "general" commanded expeditions not only of a strictly military nature, but of a kind which seem to belong rather to the
'professional' soldiers (along with scribes and other logistic help). Thus, if the expeditions are defined as military ventures, this is only because they were conducted by "treaty," not because their mission was to carry out forceful actions, nor because of the use of the qualitative nfr, since it has been shown that it is applied to a much wider spectrum of actions, including political and diplomatic enterprises. Although the expeditionary "troops" did use force against unsubmissive chiefs who refused to accept the king's overlordship, their goal was another: the exercise of the king's status as overlord, which consisted of granting stability (through protection), punishing and plundering those who confronted his actions (by force), and acquiring goods from and rewarding those who were loyal to him (peacefully). All these actions, as the next chapter will show, were included in the ancient Egyptian expression "to extend the borders of Egypt."

The qualifying term nfr was applied to any kind of situation in which the king appeared as the unchallenged leader and lord of Egypt and overlord of neighboring lands. Under this rubric, many kinds of actions were included, and political/diplomatic events, i.e., non-forceful, were among them.

---

V The Extension of the Borders

In Chapters III and IV it emerged from some of the examples that the purpose for which the divine grants nfr to the king and, thus, the purpose for the king's "expeditions of nfr," was formulated as simply ḫb, "to extend the borders." The term ḫb is translated as "border," "boundary," in standard dictionaries of Egyptian, which offer the translation "region, district" for the plural form ḫbr only from the end of the New Kingdom onwards. The concept "border" is in itself a complex one, used to refer to an abstract demarcation line, but also to a piece of land of some width; Webster's Dictionary refers to it as "the part of a surface which is just within its boundary line; it is sometimes the boundary line itself." Moreover, a "border" can be understood as fixed or as movable, unilateral or reciprocal, etc. In the present chapter, the attestations of the term ḫbr are collected in their contexts in order to define it and assess its translation.

It will be argued that the term ḫb refers to the limit of the extension of a territory over which a person or the office he holds exerts authority. Reciprocally, it is the obligation of the person holding the authority to protect his territory and subjects in every way. The territorial division is established on different levels, hence the texts refer to ḫbr associated with a state, a town, a district or with Egypt as a whole. The area encompassed within Egypt's ḫbr included Egypt proper and foreign territories whose chiefs had ties with the Egyptian king.

To "make a ḫb" or to "extend the ḫbr" in foreign lands (as far as...), are expressions used to refer to the establishing or expansion of the king's sphere of influence. The expression "to extend the borders" has its parallel in Assyrian inscriptions: Aššur-nerari I (c. 1310-1281) used as epithet "who extends the borders and boundaries" (mūraṭri ṣisp a šumāḫi). The abstract concept of authority or influence was defined in the Egyptian sources through its result, which became its sign from the lord's point of view, i.e., the capacity to collect goods (produce-taxes, gifts, etc.) from someone. The king's ḫbr could encompass relationships with local chiefs ranging from subjugation to a form of trade.

---


397 Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (1934) 311. It defines "boundary" as "That which indicates or fixes a limit or extent; that which marks a border, as of a territory, a bounding or separating line." (p.317). The ambiguity of terms such as "border," "boundary," and "frontier" and the confusion derived from it, is reflected in S. Quirke, "Frontier or border? The northeastern Delta in Middle Kingdom Texts," in Discussions in Egyptology (1989) 261 f.

398 Liverani, Persia and Iran, 51 ff.

399 For the extension of Egypt, see A. Schlott-Schwab, Die Ausmaße Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten, AAT 3 (1981).

The first section presents passages where ṣ3 is used before the XVIIIth Dynasty including private and royal inscriptions as well as literary compositions. Attestations from religious texts have been omitted because they are few in number and occur in very obscure contexts, so that they have not been found helpful for understanding the term.110 Section Two groups together passages referring to ṣ3w located within Egypt dating to the XVIIIth Dynasty. Examples in sections Three and Four concern actions that are related to making or extending Egypt’s ṣ3w in foreign lands, which will prove not to be different from those related to the “expedition of nfr.”

The fifth and last section deals with the expression “to bring in the limits,”111 which is associated with extending the ṣ3w and thus with the “expedition of nfr.” It will be argued that the term ḏruw “limits” refers to a territory just beyond the ṣ3, i.e., that which had not yet been reached or had emancipated itself from Egypt’s ties. Both actions, “to extend the ṣ3w” and “to bring in the ḏruw,” refer to the king’s economic benefit from foreign chiefs. However, the former does not imply the means used to incorporate a territory inside his area’s limits (forceful or peaceful actions), the latter expression is associated with a king’s forceful action. They do not imply annexation or conquest of territories, but they rather refer to the acknowledgement of the king’s authority and resulting economic relations.

Comments concerning the terms ṣ3 and ḏruw made by various scholars from different perspectives will serve as an introduction to the present discussion. Although some of their ideas will be shared, the study of the passages will assign to these two terms nuances that relate them to the concept of nfr and its use by the king abroad.

Hornung112 argued that ṣ3 “border” exists in reality, defining an area. According to royal ideology, it is by nature unfixed and ought to be fixed periodically. The expression “to extend the borders” is related to the king’s role in participating in Creation by surpassing what existed before. On the other hand, ḏruw is a fixed limit, close to the idea of ‘end’, related to the structure of cosmos.

Schloß-Schwab113 followed Hornung’s ideas in pointing out that ṣ3w ṣ3 applies to a political and administrative border which can change through conquest or re-division, while ḏruw stands for a natural, unchangeable border.

110 E.g., Pto. 796 a–797 b, 1142 a–c, 1151 a–c; and CT V 44 a–e.
111 BB V 397, 10, pointing out two occasions were it is written init ḏru, translates “die Grenze von etw. erreichen, vordringen bis…”
113 Schloß-Schwab, op. cit., 74. K. Ziefhoev-Chen, Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubiern, 201, defines ḏruw as an immanent border, as opposed to ṣ3, an artificially created, and so, movable border. She refers to the expression ṣ3w ṣ3 as “Territorialgrenze” (p. 236).
I. The term ṣasis before the XVIIIth Dynasty

A. "Approach me, Khety! (or) I shall make a storm over the province. My rule is stg after I have made my ṣasis as far as wadi Hezy."[232] Stela of the overseer of Diari, recording his words addressed to Khety. Diari acted as commissioner for king Intef to ask Khety for grain after they had a battle at the west of Thinis and Intef had emerged victorious.

B. "I have built their temples, plastered their stairways, strengthened their dikes, and established divine offerings forever [...] its northern ṣasis as far as Aphroditopolis. I have driven in the mooring post in Wadi Hesi. I seized Thinis completely and opened all its fortresses."[233] Stela of Intef II.

C. "[...] Bastet of the South, Hereret of the ṣasis-people of the one who has descended to the high ground [...]"[234] Tomb of Iti-ib.

D. "Who investigates (twp) districts, official of the Two Lands, who conveys what is and what is not, who establishes (s:ss) the cairots (iset) of the ṣasis which are in the Haré province (13th of Upper Egypt). The south rejoices under his counsel, the north under his [command]."[235] Biography of Ahannakht.

E. "Who gives laws,"[236] promotes offices, establishes the cairots-stela of the ṣasis, who separates a territory[237] from its equal, who is in the eyes of its people, who causes the entire land to rejoice."[238] Biography of Montubhotep.

F. "When years of hunger came about, I ploughed every field of the Oryx province as far as its[239] southern and northern ṣasis-stele, and I nourished its subjects, as I created its food, no one being hungry therein."[240] Biography of Amenemhet - Limeny.

G. "[Amenemhet II] appointed me (Kahunhotep) as ra-pat, hatti-a, overseer of the eastern hill-land, sosti of Horus and Pakhet, and to the inheritance of [the father of my mother in the town of Menat-Khufu (at the eastern shore of the 16th U.E. province)."

He established (s:ss) for me the southern stela (walt) he settled (s:ss) the northern stela like that of heaven, and he divided the great river in its middle like what was done for the father of my mother as the instruction uttered by the majesty of the Horus [Wehem-meswt,]"[241] The Two Ladies Wehem-meswt, the Golden Horus [Wchem-meswt,] the king Seketep-ib-re, the Son of Re Amenemhet I - given life, renewal and dominion like Re forever! when his majesty was coming and subduing evil, appointing him as ra-pat, hatti-a, overseer of the eastern hill-land in the town of Menat-Khufu he (Amenemhet I) established the southern stela (walt) the northern (stela) being settled like that of heaven, and he divided the great river in its middle, its eastern side belonging to the Djut-hor province (eastern shore of the 16th U.E. prov.) as far as the eastern hill-land.[242]

He who had appeared in glory as Atum himself (Sesostris I),[243] he settles what he has found disturbed, what a town had seized from its sister (town); he causes that a town knows its ṣasis from that of its (neighbor) town, their stela (walt) having been settled like those of heaven, so that their (each town's) 'water' is known according to what is

---

[232] See Chapter II ex II.1.1.3.A.
[233] CG 20512; Lange - Schäfer, Grab- und Denkstelen, 99 ff. (L.3); Clare - Vandier, TPPL, 11 (16); Schenkel, MHT, 92 ff.; Blumenthal, Königstein, 116 (C.1.7), 232 (F.3.19).
[234] Griffith, Sais, pl.11 (L.33); Montet, Râm 3, 94; Brunner, Sâit, 18, 47; Schenkel, MHT. See Edel, Inschriften, 82, and the variation on the last statement: 'Hereret of his neighbors (jesey)" (pp.80 ff.). The continuation of the text after the lacuna is translated in Chapter II ex II.1.2.A.
[235] For the term s:ss for "to confirm, establish (a donation)," set up a stela," see D. Meeks, "Les donatités aux temples dans l'Égypte du premier millénaire avant J.-C.," in E. Lipinski (ed.), Statu et Temples Economy in the Ancient Near East, II (1979) 613 and n.25. The two names of the word is have common that they are structures above ground related to the area of land they see; see Wb 1 126, 17-127, 9.
[236] For a recent discussion on the reading so far wp, see G.F. van den Boorn, The Duties of the Vizier (1988) 51 ff. Concerning the term w, see pp. 108, 174 f., 326-28, where he concludes that the civil administration of a province (walt) was subdivided into settlements (walt, walt) and rural areas (sow).
[237] CG 20539 (L.2); See Lange - Schäfer, op.cit., II, 150-58, IV pl.41-42, Translated in Breasted, ARE, #531. See also Meeks, op.cit., 409 n.11. Date: vizier under Sesostris I. The same statement is claimed for himself by the vizier Paser of the XXIst Dynasty (CG 630); see R. el-Sayed, "A propes de la stame de Paser CG.630 au Musée du Caire" BIFAO 80 (1980) 220 (a3); Van den Boorn, op.cit., 189.
in writing, confirmed according to old times, because he loves maat. Then, he assigned him (the father of my mother) as ra-pat, hati-a, governor of the Oryx province (16th of U.E.), and he established (the) two stelae (waseh); the southern stela on its south as far as the Hare province (15th of U.E.), its northern (stelae in their Es) as far as the Jackal province (17th of U.E.), and he divided the great river in its middle, its water, its fields, its tamarisk(6), its sand as far as the western hill-lands. He appointed his eldest son, Nakht (thus, uncle of Khnumhotep) - triumphant lord of devastating! as ruler of his inheritance in Menat-Khufu, as a great favor for one who is with the king, through a command uttered by the mouth of his majesty, the Horus Ankh-mesut, the Two Ladies Ankh-mesut, [the Golden Horus Ankh-mesut, the king] Kheperkahe [the Son of Re] Sesostris I].

The inscription continues by pointing out the nobility and career of Khnumhotep's mother. Following the matrilineal inheritance, Amenemhet II appointed Khnumhotep "haty-a of Menat-Khufu" in his year 19, and favored him greatly among the palace courtiers. Then, the text says: "Another favor which was done for me: my eldest son, Nakht, born of Khetwy, was appointed to govern the Jackal province, to the inheritance of the father of his mother, promoted to 'sole companion' and appointed "haty-a of the South (Es 3md/c). Distinctions were assigned to him by the majesty of the Horus [. . . Sesostris II (.)] makes [. . . in] the Jackal province, consisting that which he found disregarded, what a town had taken from its sister: (I) shall cause that he (Nakht) knows its Es to the north(1),” confirmed according to old times; (I) shall place a stela (sad) at its Es of the South, (II) shall settle the northern (stela) like that of heaven; (I) shall establish on the low-land fields a total of 15 stelae established on its plots, the northern (stela) of its Es being as far as Oxyrhynchus” (in the 19th U.E. province); according to the petition of the ra-pat haty-a, Nakht, son of Khnumhotep-triumphant lord of devastation - saying, "I do not know my water", after he (Sesostris II) had divided the great river in its middle, its western side belonging to the Jackal province as far as the western hill-land." Tomb of Khnumhotep II.

H. “Beloved one of his town, who extends its Es, numerous of its citizens, abundant of its recruits.” Tomb of Neferkhamun at Deir Rife.

J. "Who protects his (lord's) Es according to the instruction, who carries out his requirements (fruat) according to the instruction," Stela of Sethy I. The inscription records a mining expedition into Nubia under the Amenemhet II.

K. "... the ra-pat, sole companion, whom his lord has sent because of his excellence in order to maintain (wad) his El in ... . Stela of Inleb. The inscription records the sending of 35,300 bricks to a fortress (sun), in the year 33 of Amenemhet III.

L. “Sesostris I” The Good God, who kills the ismnwty, who cuts the throats of the Levantines. The Sovereign, who encloses the hauaunm, who brings in the limits of the rebellious Nubians, who cuts off the heads of the disaffected gangs. One broad (uwh) of its Es, wide of movements (pt trntwjt), of whose perfection (nfr/mw) has united the Two Lands. Lord of striking-power, [whose] respect is in foreign lands, whose knife has overthrown the rebels, whose defants have [perished by his majesty's knife, whose opponents are [tj]d]]. Stela of Hor from the mining area of Wadi el-Hudi, 35 km south-east of Aswan.

award this temple-state to him sailing north (in fdj), e.g. cf. P.L. below. The Amarna stela of Akhenaten state north of the northern border-stela: ‘I shall not surpass it northward; r fdj being the parallel expression of r ray (OA.V IV 1984, 18).

Blumenfeld, Königsmen, 182 (E 1.38).


PMV 3; Grafthoff, Stèle, pl.16 (L17); Montet, Kénèf 6 (1936) 140; Jansen, Autobiography, 98.

BM.569; Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pl.19; Blumenthal, Königsmen, 383 (G 7.3); Breasted, ARS, I, 273 f.


Another reference to an official sent to maintain (wad) the Es of his majesty, dating to the 34th year of Sesostris I, and referring to the Kharga Oasis, can be found in the Aydios stela of Ded-iiku (Berlin 11999); Angi-Inscr. Moa. Berlin, I, 164 f. The mission is also referred to in the text as r ir wad sfd sfwy “to strengthen the land of the Oasis dwellers” see H. Schäfer, “Ein Zug nach der grenzlinie Unserer” ZÄS 42 (1908) 124-28; H.G. Fischer, “A God and a General of the Oasis of a stela of the Late Middle Kingdom” JNES 16 (1957) 227 f.; Blumenthal, Königsmen, 384 (G 7.34).


Note two statements included in line 8: “his collectors (mnu) are numerous in every land, (his) envoys (bsfrw) are doing what he wishes” cf. Blumenthal, op.cit., 199 (E 4.2).

Cairo JE 71791; A. Rowe, “Three New Stelae from the South-Eastern Desert” ASAEG 39 (1939) 195-203, pl.25; A. Sadek, The archaeology mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Abyad, 11 (1980) 84-91 (W1 143), II (1985) p.23; K.J. Seyfried, Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die...
L. "(Sосоstris I) He has made as his endowment (μνημον) the creation of the north-western ις (at) Nekhen, and the southern (at) Sunyti; as a gift of life, duration and dominion like Re forever is created for him." 113 Сосоstris I's stela from Karnak.

"The south-west coast (was) made in year 8 (of) Re his majesty, the stela of the king Khakare' - given life forever! 114 to prevent that the Nebhesi surpass (ἰππι) it sailing downstream or by land with any boat or herd of the Nebhepy, except for the Nebhepy who will come to trade in Iken (Mirma) as a commissioner. One should trade with them all goods, (but) without ever allowing any Nebhepy's boat to pass by Hek (Senna) going northward." 115 Сосоstris III's stela from Сenna.

Year 16, 3rd month of Peret: his majesty's creation of the southern ις as far as Hek. I have created my ις as I sailed farther south than my fathers. I increased over what was commanded to me 116 ( . . . ) A coward is one who is weak concerning his ις, since the Nebhepy will fail every time to the utterance: it is an answer to him that causes his retreat ( . . . ) As for any of my sons who shall perpetuate this ις which my majesty has created, this is my son, born to my majesty, since an 'ideal' son is one who protects his father, 117 who perpetuates the ις of him who begot him. As for him who


113 Cairo JE 88802, See H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak" AAAS 49 (1949) 238; J. Lescant, Or 19 (1930) 364 (f), pl. 38 fig. 11 P, Montet, Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne II (1961) 39; L. Habachi, "Building activities of Сосоstris I in the area to the south of Thebes" MDAIK 31 (1975) 33-37; Blumenthal, Königstein, 181 (F. 1.36). Two stelae of Сосоstris I have been considered "border-stelae," but only this one preserves the text. It was found at Karnak temple and not on the floods. Montet took this stela as indicating the limits of the 2nd Upper Egyptian province, stretching from Nekhen to Sunyti, which he located between Shart el Rigal and Gebel Elisba. He did not identify Sunyti with Aswan (sumru), despite the fact that the writing for the location mentioned in the stela's lastemis opposing Nekhen, sek, where Khnum is said to be "i.ther," is very similar to the writing for the Big Island (Aswan), now, where Khnum had a cult center (for neter, see Гоген, Die Besiedlung Ägyptens, 14 f.). Habachi, however, argued on the basis of its similarities with the second stela, which mentions two locations in the same area, that the stela did not indicate the limits of a region, but marked a border line, the northern border of the 2nd province and the southern of the 3rd, located between Sunyti and Nekhen, capitals of the 2nd and 3rd Upper Egyptian province respectively. Moreover, Gomaa, op. cit., 116 f., translates, "Nordwestlich des Ganges von nbru (3, oberes, Gru), südlich des Ortes sumru," following C.F. Nims, "Plasen about Thebes" JNES 14 (1955) 111.

114 Blumenthal, Königstein, 185 (E. 2.1).

115 "Read ὑπηρετοῦν ὑπὲρ ὑπὲρ; it. "one shall do all good (θάντα) with them," see Lorton, Judicial Terminology, 76, where he argues that the construction in loco μνημον ὑπὲρ ν ὑπὲρ to do good to refers to the king's generosity toward his trading partners.


117 Blumenthal, Königstein, 165 (D. 3.3).

118 Ibid., 188 (E.2.15).

119 The term ὑπῆρετος is function as an adjective, as it is clear through the construction exemplified by ὑπῆρετος τὸ θετὼν ν ὑπὲρ ν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: it. "How proper it is of her (Hathor's) servant, he is her (Hathor's) servant." JNES 38 (1989) 345-348, 5; or the one in the Berlin Leather Roll II 4, referred to in Blumenthal, Königstein, 129 (C.3.5), toowt wsr tkt nsww n nsw wsw: Very
temples-estate to him (Montu), sailing northward [. . .] plots of land. (I) shall cause that this temple-estate be standing up (on a stela) in the south, north, east [and west]. (I) shall divide for him these plots of land together with the assigning of all the servants of the [temple of my father Montu Lord of Thebes] who is in Medamud. (I) shall make a document concerning the northern, [southern, eastern and western] 336u of [these plots of land].

As for that (land) which is in the charge of those who are endowed (337a), cause the payment as that which is to be paid [concerning these] plots of land, namely, 3b46-tawir-fields according to 3b46-tawir-fields, 3r45-tawir-fields [according to khetawir-fields] on this temple-estate of Montu in Medamud. As for the numerous endowed people [of these plots of land of this] temple-estate of Montu in Medamud in length and in breath [ . . . the southern extension] is of 38 rods, 335 the northern extension is of 44 rods. 336 So Gebrekhos 336f's statue base inscription (D. XVIII), found at Medamud's Temple.

Q. "Respect the seniors, keep safe your people, establish (r3q3f) your 335 and your patrol area. 335 Good is it to act for the future. 336a Teachings for King Merikare 336b.

R. "Watch (hkk lb) your 335, build (335) your memorials (335), since the people are beneficial for their lord. 335 Make your memorials for the god, who causes that the name of the one who does it lives. A man shall do what is beneficial for his ba. 335b 333 "I praised Thinis for correcting its southern 335 as far as wadi Hesi(?) after I had seized it like a cloudburst." 335c 333 Ibid.

T. "May you rest and sleep on account of your khepera-tawy, may your heart follow what I have done, so that there is no enemy inside your 335." 333 333 Ibid.

U. "Then I raised (as) lord in my town, whose heart is worried for the north: (from) Hutsheu to Sembak, its southern 335 [as far as] the Two Fish canal." 333b 333 Ibid.

334 For the expression m-di in this context, see Meeks, op.cit., 644 n.175. For the term 335, see below ex.11.L.A.

335 Linear measure equivalent to 100 cubits, 52.3 m. cf. Gardiner, Grammar, 266 (2.3).

336 P. Fouquet de la Roque - J. J. Cléret, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médémoud, BFEOA 5 (1928) 85 (II), 88 fig.64, 141 f.(466), and 74 fig.31, 78 fig.55, 79 fig.56, 82 fig.59; Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte, 62.

337 Blumenhuth, Königstum, 187 (E 2.10).

338 Helck, Merikare', XLI, p.21.

339 Blumenhuth, Königstum, 187 (E 2.9).

340 Helck, Merikare', XXIII, p.177.

341 Ibid., XXVI, 43. The verb b3t is taken by Helck as meaning to attack, as also did G. Burkard, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Ägyptischen Weibsrufen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches, AA 34 (1977) 22. Moreover, Helck reconstructs wadi Hesi, while Burkard, op.cit., 121, follows J. López, 'L'Auteur de l'Enregistrement pour Merikare', RA 25 (1973) 181, 183, who reads 3-sb-nw. Gomara, op.cit., 217 f., argues for Egypt as a place located 3 km south-west of Girgas see also Quack, Merikare', 43 and ex.2.2 above.

342 Helck, Merikare', XXX, p.48. Blumenhuth, Königstum, 274 (G 1.29); Quack, Merikare', 49. What Merikare's father did is introduced by the heading: "Goodness is yours (when you are well) with the south, they will come to you with gifts." - Helck, op.cit., XXVIII, p.46; Blumenhuth, op.cit., 274 (E 3.24); Quack, op.cit., 47.

343 Helck, Merikare', XXX, p.48; Quack, Merikare', 49.

344 "The territory (w) of Memphis totals ten thousand men, citizens free of produce-taxation); officials are in it since the time (it was) Residence. The 336u are established (335), its garrisons are courageous." 333b 335 Ibid.

345 "When your 336 of the South is attacked: the foreigners will take the girdele." 333b 335 Ibid.

346 "(Sesostris I) he who extends his the 336; he will seize the southern lands, without planning (to seize) the northern foreign lands, 338 for he has (already) acted to subdue the Levantines, to trample the sand-dwellers. 338 The Story of Sinuhe.

347 "He placed me at the head of his children; he married me to his eldest daughter; he allowed that I choose for myself (a tribe) from his land as the choice of what was with him in his 336 of another land, the name of this good land being Yaa. 335 335 Ibid.

348 "A man is injured on his roof (339-tf) as he watches from his house of the 335. 333b Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage.

4 The term 336 "border" is closely associated with land, as one of its common determinatives clearly shows. 333 Another ideogram that the writing of the word generally includes is x, which is used to express partition.

The term 336 is mentioned in the texts associated with w "(rural) territory" (ex. E), with "fields" (335) that have been endowed (ex. F) and that are attached to settlements (ex. G). Each province had several settlements and thus several 336u within it (ex. D, G). A cairn or stela was set up on the 336u and in example G it is mentioned that within one province 15 stelae were established on its plots. The purpose of the stelae was to fix the limits and separate territories of the same administrative level (ex. D, E), establishing what was in writing according to old times, so that each town would know its 'water', in order to prevent a town from taking away (land) from another (ex. G). Example H is an exception in so far a town mayor claims to have extended the 336u of his town inside Egypt. 333b

333 Helck, Merikare', XXXVII, p.61 f.

335 Ibid., XXXVIII, p.66; Quack, Merikare', 63.

336a Blumenhuth, Königstum, 187 (E 2.12).

337 Ibid., 190 (E 3.4).

338 (B 71-73). See Blackman, Middle-Egyptian Stories, Barns, The Ashmolean Ostraca, Koch, Sinuhe. See also See H., Locution, 2-17; Gardner, Notizen auf den Story of Sinuhe (1916); Gaspow, Stiltelk. On this passage, see Goodacre, SÁK 12, 24 ff.

339 (B 78-81). This passage is generally understood as if Sinuhe chose land (Yaa) among the (possible) areas within Amenemhat's territory. However, what Sinuhe was offered to choose was not exactly land, but rather a tribe, as the text says later on: "he appointed me ruler of a tribe as the choice of his land" (B 86-87), and in the Ashmolean Ostraca version, "he appointed me ruler of a tribe as the choice of his tribe." The word for tribe, ad3ru, is in the Ashmolean version written with the determinative for foreign land, pointing out that the tribe was associated with a region. The text continues describing the various tasks that the selected tribe performed for him. On the toponym Yaa, see M. Gorg, "Das Land 335 (BN S 81.238)" AAT 12 (1987) 142-53.

340 (I, 3); Gardner, Admonitions, 84-85, who translates "boundary-house." See also Paulkner, JEA 11, 61.

341 Gardner, Grammar, sign-list, N 21 and N 23.

342 Ibid., sign-list, Z 9.

343 Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 79 n.1, states that "of course, inner borders are ideally stable and
In the same way a province had within it several *esw* associated with its towns and with its land division into plots, it was necessary for administrative purposes to establish each province's *esw*. Thus, when the king appointed a provincial governor to office, he set up one stela at the south and another at the north to fix the *esw* under the officer's control (ex. F, G); the east and west limits were marked by nature, being the desert hills and/or the Nile river. In example G the word *esw* is associated with someone's "water," which is a metaphor to express someone's area of influence; i.e., the area on which one is recognized as lord, first in regard to each town within a province, then in regard to the prince governor. From this association it emerges that a town's *esw* demarcates the area under the authority of the town mayor, and a governor's *esw* demarcates his province. The term *esw* can be used either way as being of a geographical area or belonging to the person in charge of it.

While the examples just discussed point to a border line for the use of the term *esw*, there are passages where it refers to a broad area. The *esw* that Sesostris III created at Senna included the fort and the area surrounding it (ex. M, N); note that the Uronarti version of the year 16 stela does not relate the setting up of the stela to "his majesty's creation of the southern *esw" but rather to the building of a fortress (iwne) there. The building of some kind of structure is associated with establishing a *esw* in ex. J (snb), ex. R (mmn), and in ex. Z. A house is mentioned being on a *esw*. As example C indicates, the term *esw* can refer to an area where people live.

The purpose of creating a *esw*, and thus its consequence, is specified in Sesostris' year 8 inscription (ex. M): to prevent outsiders from entering into and acting freely inside that area, especially concerning trade (irt snb). At the inner side of a border all economic activities were controlled by the authority in charge, and only recognized commissioners (wepetaly) were allowed to enter and contact him. In this inscription, the economic implications of a *esw* are stressed over any other aspects that its creation... might comprise. While Mirgissa was the southern most Egyptian trade center, Senna, where the border was located, was seen by the Egyptians as having the role of Egypt's gateway. 354

Example O, referring to Sesostris III, associates his action of "extending the *esw*" in foreign lands with having authority over them and protecting the land (i.e., Egypt). 355 The former action is related to seizing land, which is the explanation of Sesostris I's apellative, "who extends his/the *esw*", in ex. X. For the verb *bwr* "to have authority over" used together with *ip *esw* "to seize land," see Chapter II ex. 3.5, and also II.2.3. The latter action, to protect the land, is specified in this text by mentioning the supply of offerings to the gods and predecessors; an association also expressed in *The Teachings for Merikare*, ex. Q, R, where also the "people" are mentioned as beneficiaries of the *esw* and its protection. Example B, brings together the term *esw* with taking care of religious matters and with seizing territory.

The epithet "broad of *esw*" is in ex. K mentioned associated with physically violent actions by Sesostris I against foreigners, but also next to the epithet "wide of movements," which refers to the obtenition of goods from abroad, as also implied in a statement below: "his collectors are numerous in every land, envos are doing what he wishes." 356

The *esw* within Egypt were established by royal commands, and thus meant to last forever. The vizier is mentioned fixing them (ex. D, E) on the king's behalf. Concerning Egypt's *esw* in foreign lands, it was not established by a royal command, and it was the king's responsibility of maintaining it, as stated in Sesostris III Senma and Uronarti stelae, the *Teachings for King Merikare*, and in ex. I, J. Because Egypt's *esw* were not fixed, the king was supposed to fight for them against any transgressors (ex. N, O). In the *Teachings for Merikare*, *esw* is associated with terms related to the defense of a territory such as "patrol area" (ex. Q), "courageous garrisons" (ex. V), to prevent having enemies inside it (ex. T). 357

In the *Story of Sinuhe* (ex. Y), after being married to the daughter of Amunenishi, ruler of Upper Retenat, Sinuhe is offered the choice of a tribe from within Amunenishi's land (hstet). Amunenishi's idea was to appoint Sinuhe at the head of a tribe and its land, in the text referred to as "another land" (lw hstet), but without giving him total independence, since Sinuhe's choice, the tribe in the land of Yaa, was to remain in Amunenishi's *esw*. The term hstet "land" refers here to a region which has its own ruler/governor, and the term *esw* refers to the extension of someone's sphere of influence, which could include... 358

On the stela of Montemebat, found at Senna, see Delia, op.cit., 11-15; Zelilasz-Chen, op.cit., 203.

The term *esw* combined the protection of Egypt with the control over foreign lands also in the Ramesside period; see Grimal, op.cit., 322-33, and below remarks on p.125.

Compare with how Ramses II is addressed by R'-horakhty: "Your khentiu protects Egypt, your *esw* is wide (wsh), (as) you plunder Khare, Kosh ..., " (KR II 404, 5).

The first reaction against the inafilations of Sina Peoples is described by Ramses III, saying: "I prepared (dwm) my *esw* at Djasia, being ready (grf) before their (arrival) with (their) chief, commanders of garrisons and marauders" (KR IV 40, 6-7). At the beginning of the narrative of the second Libyan War inscription, it is said: "Now, the heart of this god (Amun-re) has made into being the earth again, in order to fix (own) the 18th of Te-mory with (it) great life" (KR IV 9, 4-6).
other rulers' lands. In this way, Sinuhe became chief of a tribe in a land called Yaa, which was ultimately under the authority of Amonemhat. This explains why Sinuhe, being a chief himself, acted as commander of Amonemhat's troops, why Amonemhat acted as arbitrator in Sinuhe's duel with another tribal leader from Recemi, and why he had to allow Sinuhe to pass his position and properties as tribe leader to his eldest son when Sinuhe returned to Egypt.

This passage concerning Amonemhat's estate is of significance as an antecedent of and model for what Egypt's estate will be in the New Kingdom in the Levant: the term estate refers to the expanses of the area over which a royal governor exerts authority. Someone's area of control could include other rulers' areas, he becoming in this way an overlord.

This superimposition of authority among rulers, with the result that Amonemhat's estate included Sinuhe's land, follows the same pattern pointed out above for the Egyptian administration, where Egypt's estate was subdivided into provinces, each one's territory limited by (35), and themselves fragmented by each of their settlements estate, which in turn encompass the estate of fields.

The action of "creating a estate and "extending the estate," and the various actions and contexts to which they are related in the texts, should be understood as demarcating areas at different administrative levels (ruler, governor, mayor, someone placed in charge of an endowed field, etc.) under the king's supreme authority.

II. The term estate in the XVIIIth Dynasty

II.1. Inside Egypt

A. "It is he (the vizier) who makes the endowment estate consisting of every shedu-field. As for any petitioner who shall say, 'our estate has been moved about' (in the sense of among the shedu-fields endowed); then, one shall see what is (recorded) upon the seal of the official in charge. Then (if it has been moved about), he shall read aloud the estate to the staff (of scribes) who shall cause to move them (back).

B. "It is he (the vizier) who dispatches a troop of cadaster scribes to carry out the instructions concerning the land. A district document shall be in his office for the hearing concerning any plot of land. It is he who makes the estate of every district, every temple, every temple estate, etc., and every sealed field. It is he who carries out every royal proclamation." 

C. "(Thutmose I) . . . who brings in the limits (dru) of the Two Lands bowing down; who protects Egypt; who extends its (Egypt's) estate; who diminishes . . . who endows the gods and utters offerings to their majesties, as he establishes titles amidst this land." 

D. "(Thoth) who puts the words (into) writing; who assigns households and provides domains; who causes the gods to know their shares and every craft thereof, the lands and the estate of plots likewise." 

Rekhmire records on a wall of his tomb how Thutmose III informed him of the duties of the vizier at the time of his appointment in this office. The instructions concerning matters of fields it is said that it is the vizier who makes the estate within every district (ex. B) and who watches that these are not abused. It is the vizier who has to listen to every complaint concerning fields, summoning in the petitioner together with the overseer of fields (34) and the cadaster scribes. For this purpose a document shall be kept recording information concerning every field of every district.
so that if someone came to him with a complaint, e.g., that the s3sw had been altered (ex. A), he would be able to check the sealed document concerning endowments and have his staff, the cadaster escrib, ratify in the fields what is in the document.

Note that in the Instruction of Amanemope,102 the overseer of fields and overseer of grain is said to be the one "who established the cairns on the s3sw of the fields (3huwt), whom the king set aside from his allotment (dnom), making Egypt's allotment-register, who determined the grain of the offerings for every god, who assigned land-endowments (s3sw) to the people. . . " (I 19 - II 4). Concerning the fields, Amanemope says: "Do not shift the cairn on the s3sw of the fields, nor raise the height of the measuring-cord; do not act greedy for a cubit of land (3huwt), nor encroach the s3sw of the widow (. . .)303 Beware of encroaching the s3sw of land plots (3huwt), lest fear bring you back: one please god because of the lord's might, who separated the s3sw of the fields" (VII 12-15; VIII 9-12).

The vizier's responsibility to establish the cairns of the s3sw was briefly pointed out by Ahnakht and Montuhotep (ex.LD, E). Different from these two antecedents, Rekhmire's inscription does not mention stela set up on the fields associated with their s3sw. Although this action may be implied behind "making the endowment consisting of every shebed-field" and making "the s3sw of every district," as it is mentioned as one of the duties of the vizier Paser under Ramesses II.104 This omission indicates that the s3sw were primarily recorded in an official written document (cf. ex.LG, P) and that the establishment of physical markers on the ground was a practical development of it. Ramesses II, in his dedicatory inscription at Abdos, mentions, as one reason for the lack of temple revenues, that the s3sw of the fields were not fixed (sum) in the land; and his policy will be to make (i.e., write down) the registers (3p3w) of the fields, which were until then only oral (3-mdfr).105

The term s3sw is in Rekhmire's inscription associated with plots and fields of various kinds (i.e., of various legal statuses) and sizes, assigned or allotted through a royal command which the vizier carried out, hence the use of the term s3sw "endowment." In this vein, in ex.C, the king's action of "extending the s3sw" is associated with endowing the gods and establishing gifts within Egypt (cf. ex. LI, O). Ramesses III claims to have acted in favor of the cattle of Apis in the following way: "I extended their s3sw to their correct places, as others had seized them for fields. Their stela were fixed (sum) and carved with your name (i.e., Pa-hi's), and decrees (wgf3) were made for them, for their administration upon earth."106

102 British Museum Papyrus 10474; E.A.W. Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (1923) 41 f. A translation and commentary can be found in L. Grumach, Untersuchungen zur Lebenskultur des Amonmope, MAS 23 (1972); M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature, II (1976) 146-63.

103 Compare with Chester Beatty IV, ss.LI, "[...] do not encroach on another in respect of his border [...]" (n ir s3sw k3y fr 3hsw); see A.H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series, II (1933) ss.LII, and R.J. Williams, "The Alleged Semitic Origin of the Wisdom of Amonmope," JEA 47 (1961) 109.

104 KRI.1 191, 4:III 12, 13.

105 KRI.1 326, 5-6:333, 2-3.

106 Papyrus Harris 149, 5: James E. Pritchard, Papyrus Harris I, BAE 5 (1935) 54.

In example D, Thot's actions in the divine realm are like those of a vizier on earth, assigning endowments to gods as he was told by the supreme deity, among which s3sw are mentioned.107

II.2. The extension of s3sw as goal

A.- "(Amenophis I) He sailed southward to Kush to extend the s3sw of Egypt. His majesty smote that land in the midst of his troops, who were surrounded without their escaping. He who (tried to) flee was placed on one side as non-existent" (URK.IV 7, 1-6). Ahmose son of Ebana's tomb.

B.- "His majesty has seized his inheritance, has sat on Horus' throne to extend the s3sw of Thebes, the fields (3hsw) of Khufu-her-nebs (i.e. western Thebes), so that the sand-dwellers and foreigners work for her" (URK.IV 83, 1-5). Thothmuis I's Tomb inscription.

C.- "(Aman) he has caused that every foreign land [comes] bowing down because of the might of my majesty, fear of me being in the hearts of the Nine Bows, every land under [my] feet. He has caused nht in my arms/actions to extend the [s3sw of Egypt] . . ." (URK.IV 161, 16 - 162, 1).108 Thothmuis III's inscription at Karnak.

D.- "Golden Horus name, Satisfied with nht, who smites the rulers of foreign lands who attack him; as his father Re'-Hebakhety has commanded for him nht against every land united and courage in his arms/actions to extend the s3sw of Egypt" (URK.IV 593, 10-13).109 Thothmuis III's obelisk from Heliopolis, now in New York.

E.- "[...] Sile, on the first expedition of nht [... the s3sw of Egypt in courage, [in nht, in power, in legitimacy]" (URK.IV 647, 12 - 648, 1).110 Annals of Thothmuis III.

F.- "Proceeding from this place in courage, [in nht, in power, in legitimacy, to overthrow that doomed enemy, to extend the s3sw of Egypt, as his father (Amen-re') has commanded a nht [hkeps3] that he may seize" (URK.IV 648, 12 - 649, 1).111 Annals of Thothmuis III.

G.- "Proceeding of his majesty to Retenu, on his first expedition of nht, to extend his s3sw and to give things to those who are loyal to him" (URK.IV 1301, 15-16).112 Amenophis II's Memphis stela.

H.- "Who did not abandon the Lord of the Two Lands in the battlefield in every northern foreign land; who crossed the inverted river behind his majesty (Thothmuis III) in order to make the s3sw of Egypt" (URK.IV 1370, 10-11). Status of Iunu-nehbu.

107 Indeed, Thot was actually described as Re's vizier; see C.J. Bleeker, Author and Thoth, Studies in the History of Religions 26 (1973) 119, 136 ff.

108 See WB III 112, 16 - 113, 7, with the notation of "extension."

109 See Chapter III ex.VIIA.

110 See Chapter III ex.VIIA.

111 See Chapter III ex.VIIA.

112 See Chapter III ex.VIIA.

113 See Chapter III ex.VIIA.


115 Indeed, Thot was actually described as Re's vizier; see C.J. Bleeker, Author and Thoth, Studies in the History of Religions 26 (1973) 119, 136 ff.
L. "The gods ignored this land, (so that) if [troops] were dispatched to Djahi to extend the ḫšw of Egypt, no success at all would come about for them" 415 (Ur.IV 2027, 12-14). Tutankhamun's Restoration stela.

+ The Duties of the Vizier indicate that in the New Kingdom, as in earlier times, there were ḫšw within Egypt, which were established by a royal command, and thus, they were meant to be fixed forever. The vizier was in charge of fixing the ḫšw according to the king's will and of ensuring their permanence (ex. II.1.A, B). On the other hand, the action of making or extending Egypt's ḫšw in foreign territory was carried out not through a royal command, but by the action of the king or the king's troops. Thus, Egypt's ḫšw were not fixed forever, but were established repeatedly as its king's relationship with his foreign vassals and neighboring powers changed through time.

In these passages the expression "to extend the ḫšw," preceded by the preposition r, becomes the purpose of the action mentioned in the main clause (ex. H is an exception, having instead "in order to make the ḫšw"). Example C links this group with the previous chapters by saying that Amun has given or caused ḥpj in the king's arms/action in order to extend the ḫšw; ex. D by mentioning that Amun commanded ḥpjw against every land with the same purpose (cf. also ex. F); and ex. G by pointing out that the expedition of ḥpj was as a goal the extension of the ḫšw.

The making and extending of Egypt's ḫšw in foreign lands is the consequence of the king's ḥpj and of expeditions carried out by his troops abroad. The actions that are mentioned as leading to the extension of the ḫšw are verbs of movement, such as to sail southward, to proceed, to dispatch troops (ex. A, E, F, G, H, I). Another category of verbs expresses a forcible action, such as to smite and to overthrow (ex. A, D, F). However, the action whose purpose is the extension of the ḫšw in example B is the king's seizing of the inheritance and his sitting on Horus' throne. As has been shown in previous chapters, the king's occupation of the throne is associated with the verb ḫšw "to appear in glory," which was shown to be related in its turn to the king as ḥpj. Example B also differs from the rest in making the extending of the ḫšw a policy of the reiō, and not just a goal of a specific occasion.

The ḫšw extended on foreign territory are said to belong to Knrt "Egypt" 416 (ex. G refers to "his," i.e. the king's, with the exception of example B, which points out that the ḫšw Thutmose I intended to extend belonged to Thebes. In this passage Thebes is paralleled by Khedjet-her-nebes, i.e. western Thebes, and the term ḫšw by ḫšw.t "fields"(extension).

Related to the parallel use of a term for the area's boundary line and the area itself, it has to be noted that the verb ṣwḥy "to extend" is generally applied to nouns that refer to a surface area, e.g., ḫšw.t "seat, place" 417 and terms that refer to gods' realms or estates. In this vein, Ramesside texts refer to ṣwḥy Knrt "to extend Egypt," in the same way they refer to the extension of its ḫšw; [... may you (Amun) cause him (Ramesses IV) to appear in glory as king on Horus' throne, may you give ḫšw] (and courage to) his khepesh, in order to extend Egypt forever; may you [assign] him as unique lord [on [... ruler of what the sun-disc encircles." 418 While the term ḫšw takes either the singular or the plural form when used with the verb ṣwḥy "to make," it exclusively takes its plural form with the verb ṣwḥy. This is most reasonably understood as indicating that the plural form ḫšw refers not just to the border lines, but also to the area that they enclose, as it has already been recognized for the end of the New Kingdom onwards. 419

II.3. Actions associated with making or extending ḫšw

A. "... (Thutmose I) Good God who smites the Nubians, lord of strength who causes the smiting of the Mountains. He has made his ḫšw as far as the Horn of the Land, the (northern?) end at the Well of [...]." 420 (Ur.IV 35.5, 3-5). Biography of I że; what follows next is a reference to annual taxes, which his majesty directed to Amun.

B. "The gods rejoice in my time, their temples being in festival after I have made the ḫšw of Ta-mery as far as what the sun-disc encircles. When I cause (an occasion of) ḥpj the inhabitants are under fear as I subdue evil through it, I cause Egypt to be on top, every land being its servant (meri) 421 (Ur.IV 102, 9-15). Thutmose I's stela at Abydos.

C. "Lord of ḥpj, who controls every land, who has made his ḫšw as far as the Horn of the Land, and as far north as Naharina [...]." (Ur.IV 587, 1-3). Thutmose III's obelisk from Karnak, today at Istanbul.

D. "Reaching by his majesty the town of Ḫyv sailing southward, at his majesty's return. He has established his stela (wash) in Naharina, 422 extending the ḫšw of Egypt [...][...]. Reaching by his majesty of Ta-mery [in peace], as he was coming from Naharina, [extending the ḫšw of Egypt] (Ur.IV 698, 17 - 699, 1; 701, 16 - 702, 2). Annals of Thutmose III; between these two passages and also after the latter, there is a list of tribute from various Asiatic and African lands for the year 33. E. "My majesty established newly for him (Amun) a festival of ḥpj after the coming back of my majesty from the first expedition of ḥpj, the overthrowing the doomed Retenu, the extending the ḫšw of Egypt 423 (Ur.IV 740, 6-9). Annals of Thutmose III.

415 WB IV 75.
416 KRI VI 51, 10-14; Grimal, op.cit., 637 (IV 422). This statement was part of one of Ramesses III's names, cf. Beckerath, op.cit., 93, 244 (H 4). See also, referring to Ramesses III, KRI V 309, 12; Grimal, op.cit., 254.
417 WB V 226, 6-14; Lapatin, Dictionary of Late Egyptian, 71.
418 Read ḫšw in ḫšw [...].; cf. above n.323.
419 See Chapter IV ex.1.D.
420 The stela was set up next to that of Thutmose I; see Ur.IV 697 1-9.
421 See Chapter IV ex.1.D.

\[\text{\footnotesize 415 See J. Bennett, "The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun." JEA 23 (1939) 8-15.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize 416 Thutmose I's stele at Abydos (cf. below ex.11.3.B) is an exception, referring to the making of Ta-mery's ḫšw. This expression will be common, however, in Ramesses texts; see, e.g., Grimal, op.cit., 685 (IV 706).} \]
F. "The return of his majesty from Upper Retenu after he has overthrown all his opponents extending the šššu of Egypt on the first expedition of nḫt" [Urk IV.1296, 13-16]. Amenophis II's Amada and Elephantine stela.

G. "...He has seized the Southerners and he has controlled the Northerners. The most distant regions of the whole land (now) Re' shines upon them, (since) he (the king) makes his šššu as far as he wishes without his arm/action being opposed, as that which his father Re' and Amun Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands had commanded" [Urk IV.1298, 5-12]. Amenophis II's Amada and Elephantine stela.

H. "The return of his majesty after he had celebrated on his first expedition of nḫt in this foreign land of the doomed Kush, after he had made his šššu as far as he wishes, as far as the four poles of heaven. He set up a stela of nḫt at the Well of Horus" [Urk IV.1662, 8-12]. Amenophis III's Konosso stela.

L. "Whose mace has smitten" Naharina, his bow²⁷ has trampled Ta-nehesy; who makes his šššu as far as he wishes, as far as the four poles of heaven [...]." [Urk IV.1744, 3-5]. Amenophis III's status base from Karnak.

+ Most of the actions associated with the making or extending of Egypt's or the king's šššu were pointed out in Chapter IV as being associated with expeditions of nḫt, which are mentioned in ex. F. H. Some of them indicate a forcible action, such as smiting or overthrowing opponents (ex. A, E, F, I), while others state the favorable consequence of an action whose nature is not specified, such as controlling and seizing land (ex. C, G) or setting up a stela (ex. D, H).

Example B associates the creation of the šššu with causing a nḫt and subduing evil. The latter action was also mentioned in Khnumhotep II's inscription (ex. I.G) in connection with the king's coming and the appointment of his grandfather as overseer of the eastern hill-land in the town of Menat-Khufu and the establishment of the southern and northern stelae. This shows how the establishing of šššu outside Egypt and the assigning and demarcation of authority over a territory within Egypt shared the same conceptual basis in the ideology of kingship.

II.4. Actions that come about from the šššu

A. "His southern šššu is as far as Khentyou²⁸ of this land, the northern one as far as that inverted river; the likeness of which has not come about to another king. His name has reached as far as what heaven encircles after he has attained the end(?) of the Two Lands, so that one shall swear by it (the king's name) in every land because of his majesty's might" [Urk IV.85, 13 - 86, 2]. Thutmose I's Tombos stela.

B. "The Nine Bows are united under his feet; the Montu of the Levant coming to him bringing gifts, the Iantu of Nubia bringing presents. His southern šššu is as far as the Horn of the Land, the northern one as far as the far (Levant). The Levant is serf (servant) of his majesty, the action of his commissioners not being opposed through the lands of the Senkhru" [Urk IV.138, 4-10]. Thutmose III's Aswan-Philae inscription.

C. "(Amun) He has caused that I rule Egypt and the desert as the inheritance thereof. I have overthrown all land, every land being my serf (servant). He has made my šššu as far as the limits (of) heaven, so that what the sun-disc encircles works for me. He has offered (it) to the one who was with him, as he knew I will direct it to him" [Urk IV.368, 8-14]. Hatshepsut's obelisk at Karnak.

D. "(Amun) He has caused my kingdom of Egypt and the desert, every foreign land united under my feet. My southern šššu is as far as the shores of Punt, (God) land being in my fist; the eastern šššu is as far as the far Levant, the Montu of the Levant being in my fist; the western šššu is as far as Mau, as (the) rule [...]; [the northern šššu is as far as [...] my might being among all the sand-dwellers united" [Urk IV.372, 3-12]. Hatshepsut's obelisk at Karnak; the text continues mentioning the products brought to her from these regions.

E. "His southern šššu are as far as the Horn of the Land, as far as the Khentou of this land, the northern ones as far as the far Levant, as far as the four poles of heaven, as they come to him bowing down, requesting his breath of life" [Urk IV.1230, 17-20]. Thutmose III's Great Gebel Barkal stela.

F. "...the bird-pools with bowl [to] provide their august sanctuary. He has extended [their] šššu... their gifts on their backs [...]. by means of] the strength of my father [Amun], who has commanded for me courage and nḫt [...]."²²² [Urk IV.1259, 17 - 1260, 2]. Thutmose III's block from the Festival Hall, Karnak.

G. "He has seized Egypt united, the south and the north are under his counsels. The desert directs its produce-[tax] to him, every foreign land being [in] his protection. His šššu are as far as what heaven encircles, the lands are in his hand in one group" [Urk IV.1236, 6-10]. Amenophis II's Small Sphinx stela.

H. "...his southern šššu as far as the Horn of the Land, the northern one [...]. like his serfs (servants) of Ta-meru. Their produce-[taxes] [...]. all wealth of their foreign lands [...]. come to him [...]. that land of Naharina, that he may do [...]."²² fragment from Amenophis III's alabaster shrine before Karnak's IV pylon.

I. "(Thutmose III) You have established the šššu in the charge (servant)²³² of the Nine
Bows, as what Re' illuminates is under your authority" (Urk IV 1382, 4-5). Tomb of Aker.

K. - "Appearance in glory (fr) of the king (Ameneophis III) on his throne to receive the document of the harvest-tax (of the South and North). Reading the document of the harvest-tax of the [South and North] in front of the king, consisting of the harvest-tax of a great inundation for the [first] Sed festival of his majesty, by the overseers of the storerooms of the pharaoh l.p.h., together with the administrators of the South and North, beginning from this land of Kush as far as the tit of Naharina " (Urk IV 1841, 7-17). Tomb of Khemkhat.

L. - "[...] (Ameneophis III) he makes his titu as the southern as far as the Horn of the Land, Khent-hen-nerer being under respect of him; the northern as far as the four poles of heaven, every foreign land that did not know Egypt has come humbly because of his fame [...] his action does not have opposition in any land. The chiefs of foreign lands [...] seers (n-dt) of his majesty, with all their gifts on their backs [...] " (Urk IV 1920, 12-20). Stela of Amenemhepet at Gebel Silsileh.

M. - "Pa-aton, he sets your (Akhenaton's) southern tiu as far as [...] winds, your northern one as far as what the sun-disc illuminates. Your khepesh is what protects the Two Lands, your strength what makes the people live," Tomb of Meri-re II.

N. - "Good God, ka of Egypt, august Renenut (harvest goddess) for everybody, divine king who acts beneficently, who joins the Two Lands, who sustains the people, young one whose name has made his titu." Tutankhamun's chest.

O. - "Good Ruler who appears in glory (fr) with his white-crown, who performs muta', who discourses counsel; lord of laws, efficacious of teaching; lord of magnificence, whose name is pronounced, great of respect, splendid of titulary, South and North being in reverence of his might, who makes his titu as far as he wishes." Tutankhamun's staff.

The borders of Egypt were extended in every direction, i.e., towards the four cardinal points (ex. D), although the texts usually refer only to the northern and southern limits. These passages contain various statements referring to what happened within Egypt's or the king's titu. To be under the king's feet (of to be


433 In OD, 107-9.

434 The king's arm/action not being opposed is qualified by an adverb that is usually used for the king's titu in a statement referring to Ramses II: "who makes his titu as far as the end of the lands, his arm/action not being opposed as he has wished" (KRI 211, 57; Grimal, op.cit., IV 705).

435 Lorton, "Journal of the Egyptian Terminology," 39-45, includes "trade" as one of the usages of titu. The king's "breath of life" (ex. E) was understood by Lorton, pp.136-44, as the agreement to enter into a treaty relationship, whether on a sovereignty or a parity basis with independent countries. Livanos, "Prestige and Interest," 33, states that, in celebrative texts, 'every affluent of gods (be they real tribute, or trade, or gifts exchange) is always viewed as an attempt to get the invaluable counter-gift of 'life.' For a review of the bibliography on this term, see J. J. Jansen, "Raa From Work to Product," SAK 20 (1993) 81-94, esp. pp.91 ff. In Ramseside texts, the "breath of life" is associated with having people working (SH) for the king and these being under his feet. Nubian chiefs address Ramses II, saying, "give us the breadth that you give, so that we work for your use, that we work for (you) all (our) possessions, like every foreign land which is under your feet." (KRI 203, 14-15; also KRI 54, 12-14; Grimal, op.cit., 246 ff; see also passages in 228, 244, 247 (771), 248 ff.

436 Ramses II will be referred to as, 'he who protects Egypt, controls foreign lands; who makes his titu as far as he wishes in Retenu, the chiefs of every land being afraid of his name' (KRI 211, 4-5; see Grimal, op.cit., IV 431).

437 Related to oaths and the king's name in foreign lands, see the two stelae set up in Nubia with Thutmose III's titulary (Urk IV 79, 1-81, 81).

438 Note the reference to the king's name by his Levantine vaalins in EA 149: 42-46; 287: 60-63; 288: 5-8. As a later example of the role of the king's 'name' in international relations, Ramses II, in the 'Poem of the Battle of Kadesh, mentions how "the doomed chief of Hatti wrote to me (to me) worshiping (suk) my name like that of Re" (KRI 211, 99-100, 6); Grimal, op.cit., IV 501). Sethi I is said to be like Re in his feasts; his terror has crushed foreign lands, his name is nfr, his khepesh is powerful, without one simpering with him (KRI 211, 3-4).
we may all (including Abdi-ḥeba of Jerusalem, Surata of Akko and Endaruta of Akhapa) wage war and you restore the land of the king, my lord, to its borders.” (EA 366: 28-34). Later on, Rameses II refers to "(foreign) chiefs in charge (r-ḥw) of the lands of the pharaoh.” Rameses III addresses the god Ptah interceding for his son: "Extend for him the s3w of the Nine Bows, so that they come because of his strength, that they do obeisance to him.” Indeed, the term "Nine Bows" does not refer to the enemies of Egypt, but rather to the areas under the king's feet, i.e., under his authority, which explains the references to Upper and Lower Egypt among them.

The passage from Uzer's tomb places the s3w in parallelism with "what Re illumines" (cf. ex. II.3.6) and Thutmose III's action of establishing them in someone's charge with their being under his authority. This overlord-vascular relationship was already known in the Levant, as the Story of Sinuhe and his appointment as chief of a tribe in Yaa by Amunenhsi, ruler of Upper Retenu, reflects (cf. ex. II.Y), and the Mari letters clearly describe.

The term s3w is used in the same way on Hatshepsut's obelisk (ex. D), to refer to the region(s) in which the king's authority was recognized. The use of the term does not imply a permanent Egyptian presence of any kind, but merely the acknowledgement of the king's status, expressed by receiving his commissioners (i.e., not "opposing" them) and handing over goods to them. Exclusiveness and regularity in the relationship was in condition to be regarded as pertaining to someone's s3w, even if temporary, and supposed to move following power structures, as Semnathor III's year 8 letter, structures, as Semnathor III's year 8 letter, states that Semnathor already points out (ex. L.M). For the lack of exclusiveness and regularity, Hatti, Assur, Baylon, from where the king received goods (referred to as ṣ3w), were not regarded as pertaining to Egypt's s3w. Egypt's s3w reached as far as the most distant region where the king's "commissioners" or "troops" arrived at, establishing ties that ranged from submission to trade. Therefore, Hatshepsut could state without exaggerating that her southern s3w reached as far as the shores of Punt.

At the same time foreign rulers within the king's s3w had to hand over goods to him more or less on a regular basis, they received other goods back from king's envoy as well as his protection (ex. G, M). The chiefs of Punt were given goods brought by Hatshepsut's expedition from the Egyptian palace, as also happened to the local Levantine chiefs during the "exploits of nḫt" (cf. ex. II.12.G). Concerning protection, the principle that the king had to protect his s3w was already expressed in Xth Dynasty texts, as shown in sec.I. In this vein, it must be noted that a common request in the letters that the Levantine chiefs addressed to the Egyptian king is "protection" (nḥtah3).

Example K, as well as N, associates the s3w with the harvest of the king's territories. What is also significant in the former example is that the limits of the king's territories are defined by the term s3w "land" and s3w of Kush and Nubia respectively. In the passages from this section and the two previous ones, it can be noted that the sources refer to the location of Egypt's s3w with toponyms for broad regions (when not with "cosmic" references). The term s3w, when it refers to the geographical extent of Egypt's influence in foreign lands, refers not so much to a line, as to a region. In this


442 See U34.IV 323, 14 – 324, 1; 325, 12-17. The scene is reconstructed by W.S. Smith, “The Land of Punt” JARCE 1 (1962) 59-62. See also Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 243, “What takes place is therefore an exchange of goods in two directions, whatever be their economic value.”

443 Rameses II is called "ḫw-Bull, who lights upon his s3w" (KR21 173, 2; cf. also II.406, 2-603, 1). For the connection between nḫt and protection, note that in the letter between Ramesses II and Hattusilis III, the Egyptian statement “come to me in nḫt" is rendered in the Akkadian version as "come to my aid (nḫtah3)”, see Spalinger, SAK 9, 326 ff. (Chapter III, remarks to section IX). The god Ptah says to the king: “I shall make for you a noble Residence to the s3w of the Two Lands of Amarni” (KR1 259, 9-16).

444 See M. Liverani, “Political Lexicon and Political Ideologies in the Amarna Letters’ Berusius 31 (1983) 65-91; idem, Prestige and Interest, 194-96. He argues for a different ideology of "protection" between Egypt's king and the Levantine chiefs, leading to a misunderstanding of one's duties. However, the duty of protecting the border in the Egyptian sources relies on both the king and the local ruler whose territory included the border, in two superposed levels (cf. remarks to sec.I, and in Chapter IV ex.VLC for the use of the term nḫt "protection" in this context).


445 In the construction 3w n Nyr, the indirect genitive should not be understood as possessive, i.e., that Nubaria had a 3w, but referring to the geographical location of Egypt’s 3w. Cf. below remarks to sec.I.5.
In example N, the king is referred to as "kht uf "Egyptian" and is associated with the goddess of harvest in relation to his act of making his etsaw. His role as sustainer of Egypt's people and gods, a facet of the protection of his land, was also pointed out in this context in I.F.0, II.1.C and II.3.B. This association reminds of that of nhk and "nh-life" (ex. M) already present in the Xllth Dynasty. From a later time, referring to Ramses III, note the following statement concerning the king as Egypt's sustainer and his extension of Egypt's territory: "the Good God, who extends Egypt, who nourishes everyone with his kau; the breath of life belongs to the sun-folk, so that they may live when he shines." 444

To sum up, Egypt's etsaw included Egypt proper and the foreign territories which placed themselves or were placed under the king's sphere of influence, whose degree of subjugation and exploitation was variable. Egypt's etsaw extended as far as the most distant region reached by the king's commissioners or troops when its chief established a relationship with the king. A chief was recognized and thus recorded in the sources as pertaining to the king's etsaw if his behavior was that expected from a subordinate, i.e., sending or handing over goods on a regular basis exclusively to the Egyptian king, which was a sign of his acknowledgement of the king's status as overlord.

II.5. Foreigners and the etsaw

A. - "[...] the lands of the Fenkhm, who were plooting to go against (t.kk) my etsaw [...]\)" (Urk IV 758, 6.7); Annals of Thutmose III.

B. - "He is a king to be praised in return for his actions in battle. There is no foreign land that has made a etsaw with him as they live through his breath. The king of kings[,] ruler of rulers[,] who brings in the limits (dwru) of those who attack him" (Urk IV 478, 9-10); Grimal, op. cit., (IV 708); and referring to Ramses III, cf. KRI 403, 16-302, f; Grimal, op. cit., (II 1031). See remarks to sec.II.2.

444 See Chapter II ex.II.12.A; III.1.B.

445 KRI 309, 12; Grimal, op. cit., 254.

446 Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 18-20, however, argues that because nhkt is only applied to the Egyptian king, the translation of the parallel statements nhk nhktb ynm h.tk h.t kau should be "king of those who are nsistw (subject) and ruler of those who are ruled," for the latter construction see pp.33-35. According to him, to render this expression as a suppletive construction referring to previous Egyptian kings (as Seti did) does not make much sense in the context of international relations. This rendering, as he himself recognized, makes the statement tautological, which is not, on the other hand, uncommon in Egyptian. The translation adopted here presents the king as overlord, that is, having authority over other 'lords' who are now his vassals, which fits well in its context, but the problem is still unsolved. As Lorton himself pointed out, this construction started under Thutmose III (there is one attestation of n.nw n.wa referring to Ahmos), coinciding, not surprisingly, with the Egyptian control over foreign regions. Grimal, op. cit., 576 ff. (93), argued against Lorton's rendering; see also McLeod, Self-Bows, 29 n.1. Note the following statements about Ramses II associated with the couplet here discussed: "Mount of the kings, Ramses of the rulers," "Mount of the rulers, Re of the kings" "d.tk-bull of the rulers, king of the kings" (KRI II 1291, 13 - 1292, 4); Amenophis II's Amada and Elephantine stelae.

C- -[...] The khepes-h of Amenemepet-heka-waset brought them (these enemies of lifter). The foreigners among them, men and women, could not (make a) etsaw because of the plans of Horus Lord of the Two Lands, the king Nebmaastr, nhk ihk-bull, powerful of strength, (Urk IV 1660, 5.7); Merimose's stela at Semna; concerning Amenophis III. The trouble in the area was the opposition by those enemies of lifter to paying taxes on their harvest (t.wst) to the royal administration (Urk IV 1659, 10-11). The text mentions also the slaughter that the khepes-h of the king carried out and the plunder that they brought back from the defeated area.

D. - [...] their chiefs are overthrowd because of his slaughter, after they had gone against Osiris the etsaw of his majesty I.H. (Urk IV 2048, 4-6). Block from Karnak (now lost).

E. - He has overthrown the Nubian's chiefs; the Nebesy is incapacitated, prisoner of his (the king's) fist. He has joined up (dhbu) the etsaw of either of his sides; there is no remnant among the evil intentioned who came for his (the Nebesy's) rescue (Urk IV 83, 17 - 84, 4); Thutmose Ps Tombos stela.

The king made his etsaw as far as he wished, or a god was said to do it for him. Foreigners were a passive element in this process: making a etsaw was not a mutually agreed upon action, but was an act of the Egyptian king. The making of a etsaw, or the extension of the etsaw was the exercise of his overlord status over foreign rulers (ex. B); the opposite perspective of this situation was described as living through his breath or requesting 'life' from him, which indicates the acceptance or acknowledgement of someone's status as lord. For that reason, the converse, i.e. foreigners making a etsaw with the king on a territory which he considered under his authority, was contrary to the Egyptian ideology of kingship and foreign relations.

An attempt to make a etsaw by foreigners, referred to as being contrary to Amenophis III's plans (dhbu), is described as a refusal to pay the harvest-tax by a foreign region under the supervision of the overseer of Kush, Merimose (ex. C). This action has to be connected to ex. II.4.K, where Amenophis III acknowledges the document of the harvest from the land of Kush up to the etsaw of Naharin.

Because Egypt's etsaw were not the outcome of a royal command as its inner etsaw were, in which case officials of the royal administration would keep watch over them, it was one of the king's duties to prevent foreigners from transgressing Egypt's etsaw, hence their qualification in the texts as the king's (ex. A, D). This royal duty was

447 KRI 478, 9-10; Grimal, op. cit., (IV 708); and referring to Ramses III, cf. KRI 403, 16-302, f; Grimal, op. cit., (II 1031). See remarks to sec.II.2.

448 See Chapter II ex.II.12.A; III.1.B.

449 KRI 309, 12; Grimal, op. cit., 254.

450 Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 18-20, however, argues that because nhkt is only applied to the Egyptian king, the translation of the parallel statements nhk nhktb ynm h.tk h.t kau should be "king of those who are nsistw (subject) and ruler of those who are ruled," for the latter construction see pp.33-35. According to him, to render this expression as a suppletive construction referring to previous Egyptian kings (as Seti did) does not make much sense in the context of international relations. This rendering, as he himself recognized, makes the statement tautological, which is not, on the other hand, uncommon in Egyptian. The translation adopted here presents the king as overlord, that is, having authority over other 'lords' who are now his vassals, which fits well in its context, but the problem is still unsolved. As Lorton himself pointed out, this construction started under Thutmose III (there is one attestation of n.nw n.wa referring to Ahmos), coinciding, not surprisingly, with the Egyptian control over foreign regions. Grimal, op. cit., 576 ff. (93), argued against Lorton's rendering; see also McLeod, Self-Bows, 29 n.1. Note the following statements about Ramses II associated with the couplet here discussed: "Mount of the kings, Ramses of the rulers," "Mount of the rulers, Re of the kings" "d.tk-bull of the rulers, king of the kings" (KRI II 314, 2; 563, 11-12; 479, 7).

451 BM 6573, Edwards, Hieroglyph Texts, VIII, pl.20. The word etsaw has the ideogram of 'walking legs'; see Gardiner, Grammar, sigil-list, D 54. For a recent commentary, see H. Gooden, Problems concerning Amenophis III (1982) 65. For the word dhbu in this context, see ex.II.4.G.

452 See Gooden, op. cit., 48 f. He relates this revolt to Amenophis III's year 5 expedition to Nubia (pp.37 f.).

453 Gooden, GM 10, 14, takes the etsaw here as referring to the limits of the region (t.t) conquered by Thutmose I, from the Second Cataract to Tombos; followed by Bradbury, Serapis 8, 7. See also Zilinski-Chernov, Expansion nach Nubien, 193.

454 Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 136-47, argues that since independent rulers also requested it, the expression implies the request for a treaty relationship, including parity treaties.
already stated by Sesostris III (ex. I.M) with a specific economic implication. The use of the term "stela" (t3sd) set up on a t3s to refer to the t3s itself, as seen in the opening statement of the Semna and Unorda stelae (ex. I.N), is also behind the following statement from one of Tutanakhmun's chests: "Son of Re who kills with a knife who disturbs (t6h) his stela (t3sd), lord of khepesh." 447

The verbs tlk and thi have in this context the general meaning "to transgress"; the former is related to actions of movement such as "to oppose, confront," and the latter to harmful acts, "to injure, afflict," with the nuance "to attack," and in a political context it stands as the opposite of being loyal (lit., "to be in someone’s water"). A third verb that will be used in Ramesside texts to refer to foreigners’ actions against Egypt’s borders will be bnd, "to tread," associated with reaching, visiting, inspecting, getting to know a place (other non-violent verbs used are spr "to reach," and q3.t "to penetrate").

The Egyptian texts refer mostly to the king’s t3sw. However, the term is not exclusively attached to Egypt. It was pointed out above that Amunemeshu had a t3s in Upper Retenu, on which Sinuhe settled down as a chief of a tribe and its territory, the land of Yaa (ex. LY). Thutmose I mentioned in an inscription at Tombos (ex. E) how he defeated a Nubian chief by joining the t3sw of his two sides, referring most probably to the flanks of (the territory covered by) his mustered troops. Ramesses III refers to his victory over the Sea Peoples, saying: "I have not allowed that the foreign lands catch sight of (nsw) the t3sw of Egypt in order to boast about themselves to the Nine Bows. I have taken away their land and their t3sw, which have been placed upon (i.e., added to) mine; their chiefs and their tribes are coming to me in adoration." (KRI.V 41, 3-7).

III. The expression in rsw "to bring in the limits"

An expression used in the Egyptian sources directly associated with irisiw 3sw "to make/extend the borders" is in rsw "to bring in the rsw", usually in a participial form, serving as a royal epithet. This section will include only those attestations relevant to the understanding of the expression irisiw 3sw. Those prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty will be brought up in the discussion following the selected passages.

A. "Who brings in the rsw of the land upon his area (mdlbt), 448 who treads its far end (pfrj) with his rshr khepesh seeking fight, but did not find one who would confront him" (URK.IV 85, 7-10). Thutmose I’s Tombos stela.

B. "(Thutmose I.) I, who brings in the rsw of the Two Lands bowing down; who protects Egypt; who extends its t3sw." 449 (URK.IV 268, 15-17). Harshepsut’s inscription on the 8th pylon at Karnak.

C. "Thutmose III! Smiter of heart behind those who attack him, who brings in the rsw of him who goes against (t3kt) his t3s" (URK.IV 556, 1-2). Statue of Neferpetet.

D. "Who controls the lands of the far end, who smites the lwtwt of Nubia, who brings in the rsw of the foreign lands which attack him" (URK.IV 1229, 3-5). Thutmose III’s Great Gebel Barkal stela.

E. "There is no foreign land that has made a t3s with him as they live through his breath. The king of kings, ruler of rulers, who brings in the rsw of those who attack him" (URK.IV 1292, 1-4). Amenophis II’s Amada and Elephantine stelae.

F. "The Good God, truly courageous, who subdues Kush, who brings in its rsw as that which does not exist, courageous king with his khepesh like Montu" (URK.IV 1568, 8-10). Thutmose IV’s inscription at Amada.

G. "Who brings in the rsw of Ta-nehesy, who attacks the land of Kush, who wastes its territories (lrj)" (URK.IV 1685, 2-3). Amenophis III’s achse from Luxor.

H. "Who brings in the rsw through the rshr he carries out" (URK.IV 1959, 6-7). Amenophis III’s statue at Sai.

I. "The rshr king who makes his name on the foreign land of Retenu, great of might, strong authority, who strikes the foreign lands which are rebellious against him, who brings in the rsw of him who goes against his 3sw;" 450 Thutanakhmun’s chest.

J. "Good God, powerful of khepesh, who brings in the far end (psfrj) of him who goes against his 3sw, who shoots at a target, who acts with his two arms, rshr of bow, satisfied with rshr" 451 Thutanakhmun’s chest.

Egypt’s or the king’s t3sw reached, ideally, as far as the four poles (i.e., supports) of heaven, as far as what heaven encircles. Heaven (prj) was identified with the course of Re’s solar disc, and thus the extension of Egypt’s t3sw was expressed also with the statement "as far as what the sun-disc encircles," Re’ shining on them. 452 This idea is expressed in royal iconography in the image of the king sitting on the throne inside a kiosk, 453 its roof represented by a "heaven" (prj-sign), supported by four columns (fig.4). While the throne’s side usually bears a depiction of the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, the kiosk’s platform shows foreign people portrayed, 454 making the area of the kiosk’s floor the symbolic equivalent of the extension of the king’s or Egypt’s t3s.

447 Beinlich, op.cit., 32. A loyal vaassal had to respect the king’s t3sw; foreigners address Sethi I, saying: "the foreign land which acts loyally rejoices, but that which goes against your t3sw laments." (KRI.I 11, 1-2). The High priest of Amun, Nebuatenef, emphasizes Ramesses III’s authority abroad by extending the use of the term ssw and probably associating it with the vaassal’s loyalty oath: "Your command (sw) reaches as far as the limit of your Ssw." (KRI.III 284, 11).

448 For t3 ssw mskh (“the entire land”), see WB II 368, 2-10.

449 See ex.II.1.C.

450 See ex.II.5.B.

451 Beinlich, op.cit., 183; see Chapter III ex.I.I.K.

452 Beinlich, op.cit., 125.

453 The Egyptian cosmos is represented on king Djed’s ivory comb (Dynasty I) with its physical realm, i.e. the king’s realm, delimited by poles (t3sd-scapers) located as far as the wings (of the solar disc) reach; see H. Gourdiee, “Unity and Diversity in the oldest Religion of Ancient Egypt,” in idem, J.J.M. Roberts (ed.), Unity and Diversity. Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East (1975) 201-17.

454 For kiosk representations, see J. Vander, Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne, IV (1964) 544-71.

455 The base of the kiosk, which is under the king’s feet, sometimes represents Egypt itself; there are also examples where the podium is decorated with a frieze of dfr-dfr-3sd (signs “all stability/idé-domination”), or rfr-hfr-birds, which stand for the Egyptian population.
The term *g3w* "heaven," is also related to "heaven," but in the opposite way, referring to what is just beyond it. The term is associated with heaven's four poles themselves, e.g., a passage from Hatchepsut's obelisk at Karnak states: *(Anu)m he has made my S3 as far as the g3w of heaven, so that what the sun-disc encircles works for me. An inscription at Deir el Bahari describes how she was encouraged to dispatch an expedition to Punt, saying: *(The gods of Upper and Lower Egypt) they shall set (peri) your S3 as far as the breath (w3t) of heaven, as far as the g3w of total darkness." Here, the "breath of heaven" is placed in parallelism with the *g3w* of what is outside heaven, which was in funerary texts compared with "what is beyond heaven" (*g3w* ps) and "the marshes/well of heaven" (*gq3w* ps).

Besides its cosmic associations, the term *g3w* is used in relation to geographical terms and in relation to persons, as is also the case with the term *S3*. While the *S3w* are mentioned most of the time as belonging to Egypt or to its king, the *g3w* mostly belong to foreign lands or their chiefs. However, in the same way two attestations of *S3* belonging to a foreign chief were pointed out above, the term *g3w* can exceptionally be used to refer to Egypt itself, as in Ex B and in the *Instructions of Amenemhat for his Son*, where the king says: "I descended to Elephantine, I turned to the Delta, I stood up on the *g3w* of the land and saw its interior."  

669 The Coffin Texts refer to the *g3w* of heaven, of the Netherworld, of the land, and of the horizon; see for example CT VII 239 ν, 241 ν, 242 ε, 6-f.

670 Udo IV 368, 11-12; see ex: I.G.A. Seth I's S3 is said to have been made by Re as far as the *g3w* which the sun-disc illuminates; see KRI 17, 15; Giraud, op. cit., 60.

671 At least three hieroglyphic signs have represented the top of the columns/ poles that support the roof/lions' heads, which may stand for one of the logograms for *g3w*, see WB V 585, or for the word "*brjw" meaning "outside." See TT 73, T. Sève-Soderbergh, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Pirotamun's Tomb at Thebes, I (1957), pl. 17; TT 93, N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Re'amun at Thebes (1930), pp. 11, 30; Vanden, op. cit., 245, interpreted the lion's heads as representing the goddesses Bes and Sekhmet (cf. fig. 296, 298), but iconographically they either play the role of gargoyles, which are attuned in temple architecture since the Old Kingdom; see C. de Wa, *Le râle et le sens du lyc dans l'Egypte ancienne* (1979) 84-90. In much later times, in the Ptolemaic period, however, when texts finally accompany gargoyles, their function is specified as to repel (fif) storms (as waterpeosta) and other unnatural foci (as symbolic animals).

672 Udo IV 248, 16-17. Similar statements can be found in KRI 186, 8-9, 192, 6-7. Foreigners say upon witnessing Ramesses III in the window of appearances (equivalent to the kiosk): "Our road with which we march has not, (but) light is upon his seat (st)" (KRI VI 6, 11).

673 What was beyond "heaven" was regarded as the "total darkness" of primordial chaos; see H. Brunn, *Die Grenzen von Zeit und Raum bei den Ägyptern* A/0 (1954-55) 141-45; E. Hornung, "Zweischichtige Berekhe in der geordneten Welt" ZÄS 81 (1956) 28-32, and his articles cited in n.513. For the expression "total darkness," see also O. Neugebauer - R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, I (1960) 52, 56. *Rh3w* ps is the cool (i.e. northern) side of heaven, where its exit door was located.


The term *g3w* was not used to refer to an abstract line, but to a space that could be, as the *S3w*, inhabited, hence the use of the term *ph3w* "end" instead of *g3w* following the verb *int*, or mentioned parallel to it (ex: A). A statement from ex. I, "who brings in the right end of him who goes against his S3w," is rendered in ex. J as, "who brings in the far end of him who goes against his S3w." A significant difference between Egypt's *S3w* and the *g3w* of foreign lands is that while the former is the result of an action, specifically stated to have been made or extended by the king or on his behalf, and which he sought to maintain and defend (since they were not fixed by a royal command), the *g3w* exist as its negative or passive counterpart, i.e., "what is not S3." Both terms are part of the ideal-cosmic view of Egypt's world, as well as part of its geographical, politico-administrative, real world; and both are equally undefined, since they are adjacent in space. Both terms are associated with the king's actions in foreign lands, although carried out in opposite directions and perceived from opposite perspectives; while the king goes forward to make or extend his *S3w*, he comes back bringing in a foreign chief's *g3w*.

The verb *int* to "bring," in the expression in *g3w*, is in most cases a participle referring to the king. The same verb in the same form is used having people as its direct object instead of *g3w*, e.g.: (Thuthmosis IV.) who brings foreign lands, who brings the Southerners as captives, the Northerners as victims of his knife, (I.Horemheb.) who brings the chiefs of the doomed Kush in the context of Egypt's foreign affairs the verb *int* also has goods from abroad as its object: "As for these foreign lands which I have mentioned (Retenu and Ta-nешeysy, being annually taxaed), my lord (Thuthmosis III) brought them from his *right*, with his bow, his arrow and his battle-axe." This passage makes it clear that what the king was bringing to Egypt were not the "lands" themselves, but actually goods from them as their dues. The equation between a geographical area and its population is common in Egyptian sources, as seen in a number of examples in previous sections. For this reason, the *g3w*...
can be said to be brought as "non-existent" (ex. F), an expression used to refer to the fate of king's opponents; and when the term *gaw* refers to a geographical area, this can adopt a human attitude, as "bowing down" in ex. B.

Thus, in the expression "to bring the *gaw* of X," *gaw* "limits" has to be understood as referring to the population and/or the valuable objects on X's land. A passage from a Middle Kingdom text sets in parallel the action of "bringing in the *gaw*" and that of bringing in (its) material goods: "I had surpassed Kush going southward, (when) I brought in the *gaw* of the land, I brought in the gifts to my lord." From the Hkyos period, an inscription states: "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, whose might has brought in the *gaw* of foreign lands, without being a land free from working (bth) for him, the king Auserre', son of Re' Apophis."  

The material aspect of the *gaw* brought in is also implicit in a local-administration context. Patheri, acting as civil official in el-Kab, states: "I have reckoned the *gaw* in writing, the shore (bth) in every book-roll of the king, everything of the palace (p.t), like that of the inundation flowing to the sea." Amennepone relates his action of bringing in the *gaw* to the material profit of being praised and rewarded: "Honored one under the king in the palace, enduring of praises, established chosen one; lord of favor in the Residence, who enters in silence and comes out favored; who brings in the *gaw* of excellence and integrity."

The term *gaw*, as was pointed out for Egypt's *tsw*, is referred to in the sources as the place on which the king uses his *nb* (ex. II). While the *tsw* comprise the territories whose chiefs have ties with the Egyptian king, that is, who hand over goods to the king or his envoys, the term *gaw* refers to the territories just beyond the king's *tsw*, territories whose chiefs ignore him, and against which the king has to use force to bring them (back again) inside his sphere of influence and acquire goods from them (cf. ex. C, D, E).

---

**Conclusion**

The term *tsw* "border" is mentioned both within Egypt and in foreign lands. In the former area it is used to refer to the limit of the territory assigned to an estate, a town, or a province; i.e., administrative divisions of successively larger scope. They were established by a king's command, and for that reason they were not supposed to be ever shifted. The vizier is mentioned fixing them acting on the king's behalf, and watching over their permanence. Although Egyptian sources refer mostly to Egypt's *tsw*, there are attestations that mention a foreign chief's *tsw* with the same meaning, i.e., referring to the extension of their area of action or influence.

The king himself, or a god acting on his behalf, makes his or Egypt's *tsw* in foreign lands as far as the king wants them to. This idea is expressed with a metaphor for the whole extension of the cosmos: "as far as the four poles of heaven," "as far as what the sun-disc/ieaven encircles." With these statements the king was not boasting to be lord of the whole world, which was known not to be the case, but of the Egyptian cosmos, i.e., what Re' illuminates. The land over which the Egyptian king's authority was recognized coincided ideologically with Re's course through heaven, which had a defined/limited extension (marked by 'poles').

The geographical location of Egypt's *tsw* on foreign lands is pointed out by broad regional toponyms, such as 'from the 'Horn of the land' to the 'far end of the North (or the Levant)." The texts generally refer to the *tsw* in a south north axis, although one of Hathepsut's obelisks at Karnak refer to her *tsw* according to the four cardinal points.

Egypt's *tsw* were not fixed by a royal command, and the *tsw* within it, but were the result of the king's relationship with his vassals and neighboring powers. Thus, their location was subject to change, they were not fixed but flexible; this explains why the sources refer to the kings repeatedly making or extending Egypt's borders (through expeditions of *nb*) as far as places were they already had been established.

The term *tsw* takes either the singular or plural form when used with the verb *ir* "to make," but when it is used with the verb *sthw* "to extend," it consistently takes the plural form. This is so even when the action (i.e., an expedition) is explicitly said to be carried out in one direction, which seems to indicate that the plural form *tsw* refers not only to the border line but also to the area that it encloses already before the end of the New Kingdom.

---

*See Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 111-13, who argues for the expression the nuance of losing the previous juridical states. Sethu I is referred to as one "who brings in the *gaw* of Tu-nehezy as captives." *(RRH* 80, 9).*

*Biography of Amenemhat called Ijem, referring to Sesostris I. Urk VII 14, 14-16.*


*Urk IV 118, 9-11; J. J. Tyldor, The Tomb of Patheri (1895) 22, pl.16.*

*Urk IV 1438, 13-16.*

*See Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 124-24, on the term *nb* rendered as "not have relations" to applied foreigners and their lands.

*Two passages from Amenophis III's inscriptions at Luxor, which were not included in the sections above for the lack of context for the term *tsw*, refer to the divine action on the king's behalf concerning the *tsw* "(Amun-rec) May you command for him courage against the south, *nb* against the north. You have extended for him the *tsw* of Egypt." (Urk IV 2039, 6-7), see Chapter III ex. VIII: "Re' has assigned to him his *tsw* [—]" (Urk IV 1695, 16).*  

*Not included in the sections above, a scarab of Amenophis III commemorates and informs of his marriage with Tiy, stating, "she is the wife of the nb king, whose southern *tsw* is as far as Kary, the northern as far as Naharina." (Urk IV 1741, 14-15); see Chapter III ex. XII.F.*
With regard to the making of the š3 in foreign lands the inscriptions refer to various actions by the king as he moves forward, such as smiting or trampling foreigners, controlling (or/?) lands or subduing evil. The foreign lands inside the king's š3 are described as being under fear of him, coming to him bowing down, being under his authority, under his feet or in his grasp. In understanding š3 it is important to note that while smiting and trampling are mentioned in the sources only in connection with foreign lands, additional non-hostile actions and situations are also applied to Egypt and the Egyptians themselves, as was already pointed out in regard to the term nht. These are ways to refer to a subordinate status in relation to the king's position as overseer, which is also expressed by terms like "servant," and with the action of handing him goods.

According to the sources, the territories that Egypt's š3 encompassed were those bringing in, with a certain degree of regularity, their produce (taxes) and gifts; Egypt having the exclusiveness for this relationship. From the Egyptian perspective, this was a sign of being subject to the Egyptian king, of "working" for him. For the same reason, the lack of exclusiveness and regularity in the obtaining of goods from Hu, Assur, Babylon (referred to as nfrtn) placed these regions outside the king's š3šw.

The relationship between Egypt and the territories inside its š3šw covered a wide range of possibilities. For example, Hatshepsut's southern š3šw reached, according to one of her obelisks, as far as the shores of Punt. While the character and details of Egypt's relations with other regions associated with its š3šw is difficult to ascertain, Hatshepsut's funerary temple at Deir el-Bahari provides information concerning the relationship between Egypt and Punt during her reign. The inscriptions and reliefs describe the arrival in Punt of troops dispatched by her, following a divine command. The chief of this region brought all kinds of local goods to the Egyptian camp, in exchange for peace and goods that the ships brought from Egypt. Now, what did it mean that Hatshepsut's š3šw reached as far as Punt? The answer has not so much to do with the common understanding of "border," as with the idea that royal envoys were not stopped and that goods were brought in from that region.

The collection of goods, obtained either as tribute, produce (taxes), gifts or trade, lies behind statements that the king or his cavoy's actions were not stopped, and that the king did not have any enemy or any opposition, which establishes the relation between the making of š3šw and the king's "expeditions (of nht)" through foreign lands.

The dependant status created through the establishment of a š3šw was balanced by the king's commitment to protect and defend it, as well as by the opportunity to exchange goods with Egypt, since one of the duties of the troops dispatched abroad was to deliver goods to loyal chieftains.

As a result of all the various aspects that have been pointed out concerning the term š3šw, the Egyptian idea of "border" referred to the extension of the area over which someone's authority is recognized. In international relations, the king's "border" refers to his sphere of influence, which reached as far as the most distant region where his troops/commissioners went and established a relationship between its ruler and the king. Indeed, Egypt and the extension of Egypt's š3šw did not coincide in space, the latter covering other territories as well and the king kept a different relationship in respect to this two political areas (i.e., king vs. ruler-overlord). The recognition of someone's authority had as consequence conferring on him the sole right to acquire goods on a more or less regular basis (as a form of tribute or trade), which was then taken by the overlord as the sign of others being his subjects, being part of his š3šw.

---

566 See, for example, Urk.IV 60, 4, which mentions how "Egypt bows down the head" to Hatshepsut's authority. Egypt and the desert are usually referred to as being under the king's authority (pr st-frk), but in Urk.IV 559, 4, it is said that "the two shores are united under your feet." The Egyptian noblemen fall down (pr) in front of the king as a sign of respect (Urk.IV 265, 16; 259, 4-5). An inscription of Ty, overseer of the sea under Thutmose III, at Serahit el-Khadim, says: "Egypt and the desert, Upper and Lower Egypt, are in his fist. His might is in the sky, his respect through the land." (Urk.IV 887, 10-13). King Ahmose's stela at Karnak says: "Everybody of the Two Lands has turned to him, after his august father has assigned them to him. Now, he has seized the sun-disc, he has grasped the people. Now, the nobles give praise to him, and everybody is saying: 'he is our lord.'" (Urk.IV 17, 5-11).

567 Lorton, Jeredite Terminology, 144-47, interprets the expression nbš hprw "to request peace" as "to initiate/reinitiate political or diplomatic relations."

VI The Borders and the Setting Up of Stelae

The connection between 2.SI "border" and the setting up of stelae became apparent in some of the examples in the previous chapter. Stelae were set up to demarcate the limits of a territory assigned by royal command under the charge of an individual, ranging from a plot of land to a province. They were also set up in foreign lands in connection with the king's extension of Egypt's borders.

This chapter distinguishes different types of stela associated with the term 2.SI. Border-stelae and donation-stelae were both set up defining a territory's extension within Egypt's borders, but they had different purposes, as shown by their different text structure and content. The border-stela was a cairn placed at the edge of an assigned territory, marking the location of one of its limits; the inscription mentions at least the measurements of the territory and its unaucturary. The donation-stela records a royal command concerning a king's donation and/or assignation of land to an institution or to one or more individuals. Probably because its inscription was meant to last, it was located in a temple or another protected place.

The Amarna stela set up by Akhenaton are of a distinct nature, and thus the subject of a separate section. Fourteen stelae have been found cut into the rock hills in the perimeter of Amarna; however, only six among them were actually referred to as border-stelae (souf mnhbr 2.SI mrit li stela inof riot the border) in an inscription added a few years later on two of them. Indeed, following the distinction made between border and donation stelae, the ancient Egyptian concept of border-stela was a functional one: marking out the limits of an assigned territory by standing at its edge, giving its measurements and other data of interest to its unaucturary. The remaining eight stelae at Amarna were monuments commemorating the king's deed of setting apart an area of land for a new settlement in honor of the god Atum. The Amarna stelae are a good example of how stelae set up on a territory's border were not regarded as border-stelae by the Egyptians, their purpose being other than locating and delineating a territory's limits.

The third and last section studies stelae set up in foreign lands in connection with Egypt's 2.SIw "borders" and references to them in the sources. The extension of Egypt's 2.SIw(mw) was not established by a royal command as the 2.SIw within it, but was the consequence of the king's policy vis-a-vis his vassals and neighboring powers. Thus, the stela set up in foreign lands are not referred to as border-stelae in the sources. Regarding them as such would stand against the notion of the flexibility of Egypt's borders (cf. Chapter VI), or against the fixed character of the borders demarcated by 2.SIw(mw).

790 The earliest Egyptian border-stelae that have been found are, however, of a slightly different nature. They were set up at the edge of king Djoser's pyramid complex at Saqqara: see C.M. Firth: J.E. Quibell, The Step Pyramid (1935) pl.86-87.

791 Egypt itself was regarded as having a defined extension, as shown in Schlott-Schwab, Asmalfie Agypten, but its 2.SIw, which included also foreign lands as shown in the previous chapter, were not fixed.

border-stelae within Egypt. The sources, in fact, use on various occasions the expression "stela of nfrtw" referring to the stelae that the king set up in foreign lands, indicating that they were meant to commemorate the king's nfrtw(wn) "success, achievements." They were set up in the most distant region reached by the king's expeditionary troops (i.e., his "expedition of nfrw"), that is, as far as the king's direct influence or authority reached at a particular moment (i.e., his 2.SIw). The relationship between the making or extending of Egypt's 2.SIw "borders" and the king's expeditions of nfr, as well as the flexible character of the borders in foreign lands explains why the sources refer to these stelae not as border-stelae, but as "stela(e) of nfrtw."
Treasury and overseer of works Benen-meret coming upon it (to be in charpel)[707] the western field being of 20 aouras], the eastern field of 40 aouras.[708] Stela with Thutmose III's name on the lunette, from Helipolis(?).

F. "[ ...] Schabti, the plots (39et) of the court in the fields (39eyt) of Tayyret(?),[709] in the area (w) of Kha-em-maat (Soled) on the east, west(?)[710] Stela fragment reused under Ammenophis III's pylons at Soled.

G. *South-eastern 39tj of the donated (39npk) land to the statute of the king, Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperure - given life given as a favor of the king to the waab-priest, Chief craftsmen of Amun, Khaut, on low-lying land (39pwh) fields (39et) of 5 aouras of now land (39eyt) of Tanasthenau in the temple-estate.[711] Stela with Thutmose IV's name on the lunette, from Thebes(?).

H. *Northern 39tj of the endowed land (39ef) to the first prophet [. . .] fields (39et) of 5 aouras in the area (w) of Perwakhejwa.[712] Stela with Thutmose IV's name on the lunette, from Bubastis.

I. *[ ...] 3rd month of Shemen, day 16, (of) the life of his majesty, the king Nebkheperure - given life [Son of Re] Tutankhamun-ruler of southern Heliopolis, like Re'. On this day, his majesty made a present (to) his father Pahh Lord of maat [. . .] in the horizon of Pahh-proper-of-face. His majesty commanded to give a land endowed (39ef) to the priest of Pahh, beloved of [. . .] Mery-meru: a land endowed of a field (39eyt) of 20 aouras in the fields of Pahh's temple. [The royal scribe] Mery-meru coming upon it[713] Stela with Tutankhamun's name on it, from the area of Memphis.

J. *Year 4 of the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands Nebkheperure', Son of Re', [. . .] land endowed (39ef) for the waab-priest of Harbor resident of Memphis [. . .] fields (39et) of 10 aouras in the [. . .][714] Stela with Tutankhamun's name mentioned in the horizontal inscription, from the Memphis area(?).

707 For the expression 39br, see Mekos, op.cit., 664 f.; S. Quirke, The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom (1990) 102 f.
709 See H. Ranske, Die ägyptischen Personenamen, I (1935) 303 (9).
710 See Zdenka, Afrikanische Ort- und Völkernamen, 179.
712 CC 34021; Urk.IV 4611, I-122; Lacau, Stèles, pl.12, p.41 f.; Bryan, Thutmosis IV, 274.
714 An alligned third donation stela bearing the name of Thutmose IV was found at Giza; see S. Hassan, Excavations at Giza, VIII (1953) 266 fig.187; C.M. Zivie, Giza au deuxieme millenarie, BDÉ 70 (1976) 138 f. According to Hassan, the text mentioned that the king set aside land to provide daily offerings to the Sphinx. Bryan, op.cit., 133 f., raises reasonable doubts for the dating of this stela, which is now unlocated.
715 CC 34186, 144 IV 2078, 1-13; Lacau, Stèles, 232 f.
716 Berlin-Charlottenburg 345.67, W. Kaiser, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, Ostlicher Stützraum am Schlos Charlottenburg (1967) 73 (n.776); Heise, Historisch-biographische Texte, 142.

K. *Year 3, third month of Shemen, day 1, (of) the life of the Horus[717] Tjenhenkhau, the Two Ladies Sekhempehuty-dersetet, the Golden Horus Hekamta-sekhpehuty, the king Lord of the Two Lands Khaperkheperure-irimaat, the Son of Re' Imetjer-Anejat-beka-weret - given life! On this day, being in Memphis, his majesty commanded to assign (39wd) these fields (39eyt), (as) rewards to the [overseer of the royal [lauren], [juntta], and to his wife, Mutnedjemet; made (39et) in the area called 'The field of the Hires', in the fields of the estate of 'Aekherporkare and the estate of Menkheperure'. The fields being of 54 aouras: the southern one being at the estate of Menkheperure, the northern one at the estate of Pahh and the estate of 'Aekherporkare', in which there is a water-canal(?); the western one being at the hill side and the eastern one being at the estate of Menkheperure, in which there is a water-canal(?). The royal scribe, overseer of the granary Ramose, the scribe Meryre', the scribe Tjay coming upon it. It has been placed in front of the chief of retainers Re' in order to assign it.' Stela with A's name mentioned on the lunette and on the horizontal inscription, from Giza; found inside Isis' temple.

717 For the term 39et, see Weh II 74. 4.
718 CG 34187 = Cairo JE 28019; Urk.IV 2109, 1 - 2110, 4; Zivie, op.cit., 177-82; pl.13; R. Hapi, Horemheb et la reine Montuemutet (1964) 181-83.
719 Note the reference in p. Harris I 49, 5 to the fixing (39tj) of stela to prevent the usurpation of fields. The stela were carved with the god's name, and decrees (39tj) were made for their administration (39et). Cf. Chapter V n.606.
private person, to perform the necessary cult offerings in exchange for its usufruct. The term for endowment in these texts is šb. The plots of land could be assigned to one or more individuals of variable importance in the administration (civil or religious), who are said to be "at the charge" (i.e., of the fields, also referred to through the expression "(he) who comes upon it" (ii br.ii). The inscriptions do not give much details on the service that the usufructuary of the endowment has to perform in return, which indicates that they were carved following the interests and needs of the usufructuary, stating his right to a field and the justification or origin of his right. However, they include information indicating that the expected service was associated with cult practices. In examples C, D, F, G, I, J, the recipients are referred to with cult-personal titles. In example E and K, although the recipients' titles do not associate them directly with any temple administration, they received the land to be used as pasture for the cattle of Menevis, or for the funerary cult(?) of the overseer of the royal harem and his wife, respectively. Example F specifies that the donation is meant for (the cult of) a statue of the king Thutmose IV.

The inscriptions point out the size of the arable land donated, its area varying a great deal, probably related to the service to be performed and the favored status of the usufructuary under the king. The type of land or the area in which the field is or has to be located is generally, but not always, specified; only in example K does the inscription provide more precise details for the location of the donated fields.

This imprecision as to the exact location of the endowed land was due probably to the peculiar circumstances of the lower Nile valley's agriculture, where the fields were submerged under the river's water during the inundation season and the land needed to be surveyed, re-divided and assigned again afterward. Thus the king's command concerning a donation or an endowment of a field could refer to its extension and to the area in which it ought to be located, but could not refer to the location of its borders. The re-location of each endowed field was carried out by local authorities and established by the location of cairns on the fields. The vizier was responsible to keep justice in this whole process, as mentioned in passages cited in the previous chapter (cf. remarks to sec.II.1), which also attested to the existence of a land-register recording information on the fields šalu in the XVIIIth Dynasty and earlier.

The stelae assembled in this section can be divided into two groups according to their inscriptions. One group has the form of a royal command: they open with a regnal year date (ex. E, I, J, K), their texts are longer than those of the other group and they focus on the king's donation. The person to whom the donated land was assigned, i.e., its usufructuary, is mentioned secondarily. The inscription can refer to the land donated as being divided into more than one field (ex. E) or assigned to more than one person (ex. K). The term šalu is not mentioned in the donation, since the royal command was not concerned with the field's borders, which had to be surveyed after each inundation season, but with the field's dimensions within an area.

Donation stelae of similar characteristics are attested from the XXIIth Dynasty. However, their record of the king's command does not focus on his donation, but just on the undividedness of the endowed land and its measurement, and the stelae use a of a smaller size. The only one among these that has been found in situ comes from a temple, as it is the case for the XVIIIth Dynasty stelae gathered above (ex. K). Other inscriptions dealing with division of land also found in temples are Sesostris I's Karnak stela and Sobekemafu I's stela at Medamud (cf. Chapter V ex. L.I, P). It must be mentioned, with respect to the latter, that land donations were also recorded on other types of monuments such as statues, whose location was generally a temple.

The second group of stelae begin their inscriptions indicating that "(it is) a šalu of the donated/endowed land." The inscription focuses more on the acquisition of the donated land's usufruct as a royal favor, than on the king's donation itself. The text refers always to an undivided field, belonging to a single beneficiary. None of these stelae has been found in situ.

Some New Kingdom private Theban tombs have represented agricultural scenes the measuring of the fields and harvest for tax collection purposes, the crop being already full grown. A group of men are stretching a cord next to an overseer, who holds a staff and is followed by a scribal team. In a few of these scenes a man holding a sasu-scepter is represented leaning towards a small stela placed at the edge of the cultivation. In two of them this man is represented with one hand in front of his mouth as an indication that he is calling out. Only part of the speech of one of them is preserved, which consists of an oath: "At the great god who is in heaven endures, the precise stela (m:wITY) is standing up, its [. . .]" This scene recalls the reference in the Duties of the Vizier to a team of scribes being in charge of the supervision of fields; and from a later time, the reference to an official swearing in the fields concerning someone's šalu in the Instruction of Amenemope (VII 12-19).
Stele represented on the tomb walls seem, from their relative size, close to those recording land donations and endowments, but the circumstances concerning their placement remain unclear, and thus the identification with one another is uncertain. However, considering how the second group of the surveyed stele start their texts, "[it is a] kudurru...", it is reasonable to identify the kudurru mentioned in writing with the ground on which these stelae were set, and thus to identify this group of stele with those depicted at a field's edge, serving to mark out the location of a field's limit, acting as border-stelae. The term kudurru mentioned in these inscriptions refers to the division of land endowments (kudurru), i.e., land placed in someone's charge (i.e.), which implies the performance of certain duties in exchange for the field's usufruct.

The stelae that record a dated royal command, on the other hand, must have been placed in a temple, where they could last. Their purpose was not to serve as an actual border marker, but to record the king's donation to a temple. Royal donations and endowments of land played an important part in the temple's income, which was then redistributed among favored members of the society.

Meeks, op.cit., 609 n.12, "Rien n'exclut, dans notre cas, qu'il y en ait une stèle destinée à l'affichage et d'autres destinées au bocorage."

It is interesting to note that donation stele in Egypt have certain similarities with kudurru stele in Mesopotamia. The latter are attested after 1400 B.C., and were mainly concerned with land donations granted by the king to an official of his administration or a god. J.A. Brinkman, "Kudurru," in Reallexikon der Assyriologie 6 (1980-83) 267-74, argues that the narrative portion of the stele, which contained the legal transaction, "had to be based on a sealed legal document written on clay." The kudurru, he continues, "was a documentary monument intended to strengthen or confirm the efficacy of the legal action; it was essentially for display (..) the landowner in many instances wished to obtain further security by putting his title to the property under additional special protection of the gods (..) by placing the monument on display in a temple. (All three kudurru discovered in their original locations by controlled archaeological excavations have been found in temples.)." They are prominent in religious aspects - iconographic, textual, and functional. "Real estate was carefully surveyed and measured (..) most land plots dealt with in the kudurru were carefully described by size, by the neighbors on each side, and by tripartite administrative classification (..) Land ownership entailed significant responsibilities and taxes."


II. The Amarna border stelae

The stele that Akhenaton set up at Akhetaton, modern El Amarna,214 are related to border and donation stelae. They are of a much bigger size than the ones cited above,215 and they were not free standing, but carved into the rock of the hills surrounding the settlement plain. The inscriptions on them have a narrative character, referring to the special nature of the occasion leading to their carving. Their lunette in most cases shows the king in front of an offering table, followed by his wife and daughter(s), adoring the Aton. In the inscriptions, the king endows Akhetaton to the god himself (as it is the case on the Medamud statue base, cf. Chapter V ex. 1P), for the offering cult of Aton's statue in his temple in the new capital city.

A. In Akhenaton's year 5,216 two stele were placed on the eastern side of the Nile, separated from each other by about 12 km, recording the foundation ceremony and the king's intentions for the site (a third one was added a few meters south of the southern stela when it started to decay).217 The inscription states that the land chosen for the endowment (tnm) did not belong to any god, ruler or [chief], so that nobody was making a profit (nk3) from it.218 Then, it says: "I shall make Akhetaton for the Aton, my father, in this place (št). I shall not make Akhetaton for him south, north, west or east of it (i.e., of this place). I shall not surpass (ššt) southward the southern stela (ššššš) of Akhetaton and I shall not surpass [northward] the northern stela of Akhetaton in order to make Akhetaton for him therein. I shall not make for him on the western side of Akhetaton either, but I shall make Akhetaton for the Aton, my father, on the eastern side of Akhetaton" (Urk IV 1972, 4-12).

The year 5 inscription does not establish the exact dimensions and delineation of the endowed area, but refers to the king's intended actions, his promise to the praised deity. The stela bearing the inscription were set up at the northern and southern limits of the endowed area where the king said he will "make" for the Aton, i.e., the eastern side of Akhetaton, which indicates that the borders of the assigned area were then established. However, the circumstance that they were located on the limits did not make them border-stela from the Egyptian point of view, as the carving of a new set of stelae next to them one year later and bearing a new inscription clearly shows. The year 5 stelae have common features with an earlier stela found at Abydos: the inscription records a royal edict protecting an area within the Abydos precinct for the
god Wepwawet and instructs on the policy to follow; moreover, it announces the setting up of four stelae, two at the northern limit and two at the southern limit of the area restricted for the deity, to function as border markers.\footnote{A. Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty" \textit{JEA} 75 (1989) 41-60. He argues that this stela was one of the four border-stelae (p.50); however, from our discussion on border and donation stelae and the Amarna stelae, this seems unlikely. For another example of stela setting aside an area for a god, see above n.698.}

B. In year 6, at least eleven new stelae were carved at the already established borders of Akhetaton. Following Murnane, they \textit{were} begun in year 6 but \textit{were} finished, at the earliest, only very late in year 8.\footnote{Murnane, \textit{SAK} 14, 242; \textit{ibidem} – van Siclen III, \textit{op. cit.}, 69.} Their inscriptions are shorter than those of the previous year, but still much longer than the standard border-stela seen in section I. They record the king's oath (which functions as a royal command) concerning the foundation or measurement (or) of his endowment to the Aton made in year 5, including its exact dimension and limits.\footnote{See Lichtleben, \textit{Literature}, II, 48-51.}

The first part of the oath refers to the setting up of six stelae defining Akhetaton's area: "As for the southern stela (of) which is on the eastern hill of Akhetaton, it is the stela of Akhetaton at which side I shall stop myself, and I shall never\textsuperscript{7} surpass (and) it southward. The south-western stela was made to balance it exactly on the southern hill of Akhetaton. As for the middle stela which is on the eastern hill of Akhetaton, it is the stela of Akhetaton at which side I shall stop myself on the eastern hill of Akhetaton, and I shall never surpass it eastward. The middle stela, which is on the western hill of Akhetaton was made to balance it exactly. As for the north-eastern stela of Akhetaton, I shall stop myself at its side, (as) it is the northern stela of Akhetaton, and I shall never surpass it northward. The northern stela, which is on the western hill of Akhetaton was made to balance it exactly" (Urk.IV 1984, 3-19).

These six "stela(e) of Akhetaton" were meant to fix the limits of the territory endowed the previous year. The inscription mentions that the stelae should not be surpassed north, south or eastward. Because the king was not supposed "to make" for the Aton on the western side of the Nile, according to the year 5 inscription, there is no reference preventing him from surpassing the middle stela westward. As it is explicitly said, the stela of the western side were only meant "to balance" their eastern counterparts. Indeed, the northern and southern borders were the most important ones (and thus established in year 5) because they follow the valley’s territorial division, which was mainly concerned with the partition of farmland. Concerning the so-called "middle" stelae mentioned in the texts, which are said to establish the eastern and western borders, it must be noted that the land division took generally a rectangular configuration, hence the delineation of an area’s border needs at the most four stelae, one at each corner, and not six, as will become clear below when the measurement of the area’s extension mentions only four stelae. The eastern and western borders of Akhetaton are marked out probably for a religious significance rather than for a practical use, as they symbolically stand for the horizon of the sun-disc (\textit{akhet Aton}).\footnote{\textit{ibidem}.}

The second part of the year 6 inscription specifies the measurements of the border lines defining the area: "As for Akhetaton, beginning from the southern stela up to the northern stela, \textit{it} measures between stela to stela on the eastern hill of Akhetaton a total of 6 \textit{iterus}, 1 and 3/4 \textit{rod} and 4 \textit{cubits}\footnote{For the use of this expression, \textit{rafe dšt} in donation stelae, see Moens, \textit{op. cit.}, 625 n.74.} likewise, beginning from the south-western stela of Akhetaton up to the north-western stela on the western hill of Akhetaton, (it measures) a total of 6 \textit{iterus}, 1 and 3/4 \textit{rod} and 4 \textit{cubits}\footnote{See Gardiner, \textit{Grammar}, 926b (2,3).} (Urk.IV 1985, 1-7)."

The third and last part records the endowment itself: "As for the area within these four stelae, from the eastern hill to the western hill of Akhetaton entirely, it belongs to my father..." (Urk.IV 1985, 8-15). After specifying what was included in the area endowed, namely fields, lands, cattle, people, etc., the text continues: "I shall never neglect this one (field) which I have made for the Aton, my father. Moreover, it is established on a stone stela in the south-eastern \textit{s3} and in the north-eastern \textit{s3} of Akhetaton; likewise, it is established on a stone stela in the south-western \textit{s3} and in the north-western \textit{s3} of Akhetaton\footnote{See Kemp, \textit{op. cit.}, 267.} (Urk.IV 1985, 16 - 1986, 1)."

The extension of Akhetaton, as pointed out in the previous chapter for any assigned territory, was established by a royal command. Then, for practical reasons stela(e) were carved recording the king's decision. The rest of the year 6 stelae that were not demarcating the limits of the endowed territory (these were mentioned in the first part of the oath as the six "stela(e) of Akhetaton"), five in number, were also standing on the border line. However, their purpose was to assert the royal oath/commands concerning the area behind them, as it is pointed out in the third part of the text. They were carved, through a span of about 2 years, at both sides of the audi entrance coming from the east, from the Hatshepsut quarry area into the east side of Akhetaton, and at the margins of the settlement plain.

C. The oath was repeated in year 8 and recorded below the year 6 inscription, meant to corroborate the fixed borders of Akhetaton. A version of this text, which is not even two lines in length, is different and longer in those stelae set up on the western side. They refer only to six stelae set up on Akhetaton's \textit{s3}u (\textit{w3w} n f3 \textit{s3} lit. "stela of the border;\textsuperscript{8} \textit{w3w} n \textit{s3} lit. "stela at the borders\textsuperscript{4} "), which indicates, as the year 6 inscription already pointed out, that not all the stelae were regarded as actually delineating the borders. The inscription reads, "concerning the setting up (\textit{sonm}) of the stelae of Akhetaton's \textit{s3}u (\ldots) As for the six stelae which I have set up (\textit{sonm}) at the \textit{w3w} of Akhetaton, three stelae are on the eastern hill of Akhetaton and (the other) three stelae are their balance. The [southern] stela which is on the eastern hill of Akhetaton comes about matching the southern stela which is [its] balance on the western hill of Akhetaton, and it comes about to be the southern \textit{s3} of Akhetaton. The northern stela which is on the eastern hill of Akhetaton is the match of the stela [which is its] balance [on] the western hill of Akhetaton, and it comes about to be the northern \textit{s3} of Akhetaton. Likewise, the middle stela which is on the eastern hill of Akhetaton is [the match of] the middle stela which is its balance on the western hill of Akhetaton. As for the breadth (\textit{us3}) of Akhetaton, hill to hill, from the eastern horizon of heaven up to the western horizon of heaven, it belongs to my father" (Urk.IV 1989, 1-19). The inscription ends by repeating that everything within the defined area belongs to the Aton, and more specifically to his temple in Akhetaton, to be offered to his \textit{ka}.\footnote{In the previous section, the border-stelae, set up on a field's edge and recording its donation by a king to a god, but mainly concerned with the land endowment and its use, see above n.699.}
usurp, the stelae were shown to be distinct from the stelae recording a royal command for a land donation (only mentioning its usurp in some of them), which were most probably placed in temples. The Amarna stelae have features of both, the border and the donation stelae: from the former group, the fact that six stelae were set up in order to demarcate the area’s perimeter; from the latter, that eight of them were not regarded as fixing the territory’s borders but that their inscriptions begin with a regnal year date, leaving unmentioned the usurp of the territory.

The borders of a territory were conceptually defined according to the four cardinal points, but the number of border-stelae set up on its edge depended to the practical needs of each case. For Akhetaton, two stelae were set up at the north and two at the south, one on each side of the valley, and a “middle” pair marked the eastern and western borders; however, a Xlith Dynasty inscription, for example, shows how natural barriers could make unnecessary the setting up of a border-stela therein (cf. Chapter V ex. lG).

The inscriptions of the Amarna stelae point out that the Egyptian concept of border-stela was not based on the location of the stela (i.e., on the border), but rather on its function: marking out a territory’s limits. Stela standing on a territory’s border were not necessarily meant for demarcating and fixing its limits, but rather could have been carved and set up on the border for other purposes, and thus the Egyptians did not refer to them as being border-stelae. This is the case for eight of the Amarna stelae and also for Sesostris III’s Senna and Uromart stelae of year 16, as will be shown.

III. Stelae and Egypt’s borders

A. The earliest example of a stela set up outside Egypt and referred to as being on Egypt’s or the king’s c82, dates to the reign of Sesostris III. It was located at Senna West in his year 8 (cf. Chapter V ex. lM) after a military expedition in the area. Its funerary contains the sign for the west with a (Horus) falcon mounted on it. The inscription, of which only the upper part is preserved, begins with the specification that “it is the southern border,” following the pattern of the border-stela seen in section I. The indication of the year date which follows, however, puts it in the line of stelae recording a king’s command (i.e., donation-stelae). The text does not refer to the area’s extension, nor to any donation or endorsement, but indicates the purpose for the making of the border, or rather, its consequence: northward from it, foreign trade would have to go through Egyptian control, established some 47 km

ng, at Iken (Mirjiss). The strictness of Egyptian control over foreigners’ movements in the area, especially concerning trade, is shown in some preserved dispatches sent from the fortresses in Nubia and found in Thebes. A difficult question to decide is whether the stela was indicating Egypt’s southern border, or rather that of the territory administered by Iken, since they coincide at that time. While the setting up of stelae to demarcate the limits of Egypt’s territory seems to have been unprecedented at that time, this practice was common for demarcating an administrative area under the king’s authority. The fact that the border at Senna had the peculiarity of restricting the actions of foreigners, rather than of Egyptians, may explain its unusual text, which serves as a sort of functional definition of a border.

Two very similar stelae were set up in the same area in Sesostris 16th regnal year (cf. Chapter V ex. lN), one at Senna West and the other on Uromart island, probably following a military action in the area, as in the case of the year 8 stela. The lunettes have a symmetrical representation showing a winged sun-disc with two uraei hanging from it and the name Behdet inscribed twice, added to it are the five royal names and a wish for him of “life, duration and dominion like Re” forever. The main text begins with a regnal year date, which does not refer to the creation of the border at Senna (this had taken place in Sesostris year 8), but to the setting up of the stelae at the time of the building of the fortress ‘Opposing the Irruption’. The setting up of stelae and the building of a fortress are related to each other in that they are directed towards the protection of the border: the inscription follows as if it transcribed a speech of the king, meant to encourage the defense of the border, which is in this case specified as being his. The stelae of year 16 were not meant to demarcate the king’s southern border, since it was already marked out by the stela of year 8 and now also by at least the fortress at Uromart; but rather they were meant as an Instruction to his successors and followers, a literary genre widely practiced at that time. Their inscription states that they were

834 See Smith, JEA 31, 3-10, above n.585.

835 See W. Helck, Zur Vorstellung von der Grenze in der ägyptischen Frühgeschichte (1951). It is interesting to note how Ramesses VI was acclaimed: “Praise to you! Who has come to his father, npjw and b3w being before him; whom years are assigned (as numerous) as sand, Sed-festivals (as perennial) as the constellations. The four monuments (numa) have been set in place, each one at the corner of every district (w3) of Egypt; every foreign land comes to you with gifts, this house being joyful.” (RER VI 334, 9-16); see Grabner, op.cit., 425 f. (II 1456). Note that in the Ramesside period, the toponym Kmt is used for Egypt’s realm, i.e., the territory within its c83w, which included vassal foreign lands too (cf. Chapter V, remarks for sec.II.2).

836 C.J. Eyre, “The Sesostris Stelae: Quotation, Genre, and Functions of Literature,” in S. Iselle-Croll (ed.), Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim, I (1993) 134, says that “(the Senna stela) marked the border and described its administration,” but then he adds (p.136) that “it is a simple boundary stone, closely related to the simple field marker,” which is a misleading statement since field markers, as seen above, never contain such a description of their purpose.

837 See Siwe-Séderhöfer, op.cit., 77 f.; Lichtheim, Literature, 1, 118-20.

838 See A.H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite” JEA 30 (1944) 46-52.

839 A fortress at Senna West and at Senna East were also built by Sesostris III, see PMVII 144 f., 152.

840 Note how the king Sethi I addresses officials and future kings concerning the maintenance of his decree on gold-washing transport contingents at Kanvas (Wadi Mau), RER 67, 12-70, 4.

841 See G. Poesen, Littérature et politique dans l’Égypte de la XIIème dynastie (1956) 134 f. On wisdom texts see, for example, G. Borkard, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren
carved and placed on the śīlā made by the king as a "model" (ṛṣṭa), "so that you (i.e., "any of my sons") may be firm concerning it, you fight concerning it;" that is, they record an encomium and were not meant to serve as a marker per se. Eyre suggests that the text of a border-control and the categorisation of foreigners are standard themes in 'teaching' or 'wisdom' literature in the Middle Kingdom (5) may well have influenced the decision to erect an essentially literary text at the border itself. 734 The fact that the Uronarti stela was found on a mound in front of the temple also supports the idea that these stelae did not have a practical use, like the border-stelae. Trigger referred to these stelae as "Victory Stelae," and Eyre has argued that Sesostiris III's second Senms stela is comparable in function with the Great stela of Thutmose III at Gebel Barkal, as "both marked the limits of Egyptian authority by a literary text that emphasized the claim to superiority, and occupation by might and victory."735 rather than by a "simple border marker." However, his argument comes apart when he asserts that "Gebel Barkal/Napata is admittedly some 250 km downstream from the true border marker at Kurgas, and separated from it by the fourth cataract." Indeed, an inscription was carved at Kurgas by Thutmose I and redecupated by Thutmose III, beginning: "As for any Nebhedy [who shall go] against [this stela], which my father Amun-re has assigned to me [...]." Thus the Senms and Uronarti stelae of year 16 were placed at the border not to fix its location, but to celebrate the king's domain in its most distant region. That the content of the inscription refers to the king's or Egypt's borders does not mean that the stela functioned as a border-stela by ancient Egyptian criteria.736

B. Thutmose III set up a stela in Naharin in his year 33. The event was regarded as being so important that it was recorded in at least three different inscriptions. (1) The Karnak Annals mention that the king established a stela (aṣl) in Naharin, extending beyond Egypt's borders. 737 It was placed at the side of another one already existing there, carved by his grandfather Thutmose I. The setting of the stela took place after "his majesty travelled downstream plundering towns, hacking up settlements of that
des Alten und Mittleren Reiches (1977); Eyre, op.cit., 149-52; R.B. Parkinson, "Teaching, discourse and tales from the Middle Kingdom," in S. Quirke (ed.), Middle Kingdom Studies (1991) 103-09.

734 Eyre, op.cit., 142. He argued on pp. 148 f. that the second part of the inscription is a speech "published" to the king's political audience, his successors, the royal court and the great magnates of the realm. However, on p.142 he implies that the inscription was addressed (also) to foreigners beyond that border. R.D. Delia, A Study of the Reign of Senms III (Diss. Columbia University, 1980) 76 f., argues that the text rather addresses "the foreign garrisons who had to live, hopefully prosper, fight, and perhaps die upon it."

735 Trigger, op.cit., 75.


738 See Zilbélus-Chen, op.cit., 202 f. On the difference between stela recording royal decades concerning śīlā and actual śīlā border-stelae, see sect.

739 Uruk IV 697, 3-5; 698, 15 - 699, 1.

740 Although not included in the Annals, Thutmose III's Great Gebel Barkal and Arman stelae mention an elephant hunt at Niy (Uruk IV 1233, 13-19; 1245, 18-19), also recorded in Amenemhab's biography (Uruk IV 693, 14 - 894, 3). An elephant hunt was carried out there before by Thutmose I as recorded in Harkhepht's funerary temple (Uruk IV 103, 6 - 104, 13).

741 Uruk IV 1232, 7-12. The destruction carried out in Naharin is described in Uruk IV 1231, 2-19.

742 Uruk IV 1245, 20 - 1246. 2. Helck restores "eastern" in the lacuna, which is not very likely in view of the Gebel Barkal reference to the stela being set up at the western side of the river; see W. Helck, "Wo errichtete Thutmose III. seine Siegstelen an Kush?" CBE 56 (1981) 241-44, who supports his restoration in view of the stela fragment published by Spalinger in JNES 37 (1978) 35 ff.


744 Uruk IV 1246, 3-5.

745 The royal scribe Minmilt left an inscription in Turah, dated to the fourth regnal year of Amenophis II, where he refers to himself as "the (he) who established stela(s) ... on the foreign land of Naharin and [Kasry]"(Uruk IV 1448, 13-14).

746 See Delia, op.cit., 56-68.
territory. Moreover, the Armant inscription refers to the Naharina stela as "a stela of nṯru (victories)," which is the only mention of the content of the stela and, thus, its purpose (including that of Thutmose III). 764

C. Amenophis III carved a stela on Konosso island in his year 5, recording his first expedition of nṯru in the foreign land of Kush. The inscription mentions that, "He has made his sḫi as far as he wishes, as far as the four poles of heaven. He [established] a stela (wḫn) of nṯru at the side of the Well of Horus. No king of Egypt has done the like, except for his majesty, courageous one, satisfied with nṯru." 765 The "Well of Horus" is a symbolic term referring to the farthest region south reached by the king's authority,766 which under Amenophis III extended beyond the Third Cataract. Indeed, the other monument dating to this reign on which the "Well of Horus" is mentioned is a ram originally located in the Soleb temple. 767

A stela has been found at Semna recording a military campaign in that region during Amenophis III's reign,768 carved by the viceroy of Kush, Merimebu. The inscription makes it clear that the king did not come all the way down, but that the action was carried out by his khnepedj, i.e. his troops. 769 There is no definite proof that the Konosso and Semna inscriptions are referring to the same event, but it is highly probable; two stelae referring to Amenophis III's power abroad were carved between Aswan and Philae, one of them dated to his year 5.770 Thus, from the reference to the "Well of Horus" it seems that the stela mentioned in the Konosso inscription would have been placed near the Soleb temple, but the qualification of the content of this stela as nṯru makes it possible that it is referring to the Konosso stela itself, as the First Cataract was as far south as the king seems to have accompanied his troops.771

* The evidence from the reigns of Sesostris III, Thutmose III and Amenophis III presented above shows that there is a relationship between making or extending Egypt's nṯru and setting up a stela. However, it is nowhere said that these stelae were fixing the limits of a territory (i.e., of Egypt), acting as border-stelae. Sesostris III's year 16 stelae were referred to as the king's "image/model," meant to encourage his successors and followers to defend the border where it was placed through a reference to his experience doing so and reminding them of how an "ideal" king acts. Thutmose

764 Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 134, however, referring to Thutmose I, says "we hear of a boundary stele in the king set up on the banks of the Euphrates, a sure indicator that he was thinking in terms of permanent conquests." 765 Urk.IV 1662, 11-14; see Chapter IV ex.II.5.8. 766 See above n.323.
767 PM VIII 216 (1-6); LD.III 89 (e); Urk.IV 1751, 15-18. The ram was relocated at Gebel Barkal in the last millennium; see B.M. Bryan - A.P. Kuhrt, *Egypt's Dazzling Son*, Amenhotep III and his World (1999) 321 f.
768 Urk.IV 1659, 1-1661, 5.
769 See the remarks on the term khnepedj in Chapter III's conclusion.
770 Urk.IV 1663, 7 - 1666, 20. Amenophis III's "first expedition of nṯru, of seizing the demoted Kush" is also mentioned in a stela from his itinerant temple, concerning gold that was brought in from Kary; see Chapter IV ex.II.3.R.

772 See the beginning of sec.II.2 in Chapter IV.
773 See Chapter IV ex.I.C. For the location of the stela, see FM.V 157.
774 Redford, *King-lists*, 128 n.3.
775 Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 142. Note that he classifies the Armant stela not as a triumph or victory inscription, but as "escomia, or later 'song' (ḥdr), a compilation of king's deeds making a litanary hymn.
776 FM.II 89 f. (240-47), 97 f. (280-82, 284) map XII, rooms V and VIII, and FM.VII 70 (49) with map in p.66.
777 Spalinger, *Military Documents*, 230. See also *Idem*, JNES 37 (1978) 40 f., where he gives a list of "stelae of victory," to which a fragment, now in University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (n.39-12-3), has to be added; however, only two out of the seven examples cited explicitly qualify the stela as nṯru.
limit of territory." However, it is unlikely that those "stelae of victory" located inside or next to a temple were meant to delineate a territory by themselves, or that the Egyptians believed that their size and hieroglyphic inscriptions would psychologically affect foreign populations.

Eyre diminishes the relevance of the text by saying that "a 'literary' stela erected at or near a border might well serve simply as an elaborate and impressive boundary marker: that is a physical manifestation of declared policy. ... on the border the direct function of the stela was carried rather by its physical presence than the content of its texts." However, the Great Gehel Barkal stela of Thutmosis III, for instance, was located quite far away from what Eyre regards as the "true border," as pointed out above; thus, this was not a boundary marker.

The evidence reviewed above shows that from the ancient Egyptian point of view, the criterion for the category border-stela, as seen also in sections I and II, was a functional one: they marked out and fixed the limit of a territory in someone's charge. Therefore, a stela was not always regarded as a border-stela because its inscription refers to the dimensions of a territory (thus, donation-stelae as seen above in sec.I), while some stelae set up on a territory's border line (e.g., stelae set up at Amarna, Semna, etc.) fall into other Egyptian categories (commemorative stelae, "stela of nfr", etc.).

Redford's definition of a border-stela is "a nfr hr s3, 'stela (placed) on the border of ...'" and indeed, this expression or similar is not used for any stela set up in foreign lands. The function of stelae in the most distant foreign region reached by an Egyptian expedition, referred to as "victory stelae" by Spalinger and "literary" stelae by Eyre, was to commemorate that event; it was not to fix the limit of a territory (i.e., Egypt).

A number of expeditions abroad were directly associated with making or extending Egypt's borders, as seen in the previous chapter, and the setting up of these stelae was a part of this process. However, while borders within Egypt were the result of a king's command concerning the extension of the assigned territory and were fixed by setting up stelae or cairns, a border's edge, Egypt's borders were always capable of flux, subject to the relative success of the king's policies vis-a-vis that of foreign chiefs. The limits of Egypt's influence and effective control abroad could only last through the king's continuous actions, military and diplomatic, hence the setting up of a commemorative stela proclaiming the king's success, challenging and encouraging future policy concerning the area in which the stela was established. Indeed, the policy of carving stelae/inscriptions in foreign lands commemorating the king's nfr reminds one of the Sinaí rock-inscriptions, which date back to Dynasty I. 780

780 Spalinger, op.cit., 46 f.
781 Eyre, op.cit., 138.
782 Redford, King-lists, 128 n.3. The preposition, however, can vary: m "in," n "of," r "at (the border)" in the Amarna stelae.

Liverani refers to the question of stelae set up on the border, arguing that their meaning is "to be sought for in the border landmarks used to limit the lands properties inside the territory of the community, or also to limit the state border in a technical sense." Metaphorically speaking, "the stela set up at the very end of the world marks the possession of the universe by the king. ... the stela (with name and image of the king) acts as substitute of his presence in order to keep the perimeter fixed at the farthest point, even when the king returns to a more central position." It remains to be noted, in the first place, that the border-stelae do not demarcate property, but an area assigned to and under the authority of a person, who becomes its usufructuary in exchange of taking care of duties concerning it. Secondly, since border-stelae are meant to fix a territory's limits ideally "forever," the "victory" or "literary" stelae set up in foreign lands cannot be regarded as border-stelae since Egypt's territory had no fixed limits, as Liverani himself argues. 784 They rather are monuments commemorating the furthest region reached by a royal expedition of nfr, i.e., the maximum extension of Egypt's influential presence or area of authority, of Egypt's s3 at one particular moment. Their inscriptions fall within a genre of texts, often literary (so Eyre) in style, dealing with the king's success. Some such texts were set up at borders, but they can be found elsewhere as well. 785

Conclusion

The relationship between the Egyptian expeditions of nfr in foreign lands and the making or extending of Egypt's s3w "borders" has been shown in previous chapters. Related to these actions the Egyptians set up stelae in foreign lands. Their nature and purpose is not as simple and evident as it has generally been considered, and the label "border stela" has been used without adequate consideration of ancient Egyptian perceptions.

Within Egypt, royal commands assigned territories of different sizes to private persons, establishing their extension and area to be located. The exact locations of fields or administrative districts were indicated by the setting up of one or more stelae on their limit(s). The Egyptians considered border-stelae only those fixing the limits of a territory, for the reason that they was their sole function.

Egypt's s3w "borders" encompassed foreign lands too, as seen in the previous chapter. Egypt's s3w were not the result of a royal command, but of a continuous interaction between the Egyptian king, his foreign vassals and the neighboring powers. Thus, the extension of Egypt's territory was not fixed, and consequently its borders could not be fixed either by border-stelae. For this reason, to regard the Egyptian stelae in foreign lands as the border-stelae of Egypt's territory would be contradictory. Indeed, the Egyptians themselves never referred to them as such.

784 Liverani, Prestige and Interest, 59.
785 See the introductory remarks of Chapter V.
786 An attempt to understand this material was carried out by G. Dignentro, Selbstdarstellung des ägyptischen Herrschers im Ausland (Maiestas rerum, 1993).
The stelae that Thutmose III and Amenophis III set up in foreign lands were considered the apex of an "expedition of nḥt" abroad and, in fact, they were referred to as being "stela of nḥtswt" accordingly. Their purpose was not to fix Egypt's š3k, but to commemorate the expedition in the most distant region reached by it, to assert the king's nḥtswt "success," "achievements," at the furthest area possible. The stelae that Egyptian kings commanded to be set up in foreign lands establish the conceptual relationship between the king's nḥt and his expeditions of nḥt abroad and the making or extending of his or Egypt's š3kswt "borders".

Appendix

Border-stela from the reign of Thutmose III
(fig. 5, pl. 1)

Pelizaeus Museum n.5952.
Round-topped stela.
Sandstone.
Height 51 cm., width 29 cm.
Technique: incised relief and hieroglyphs.
Provenance: unknown; most probably from the area of Thebes.
Date: New Kingdom, XVIIIth Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III (c.1470 B.C.).

The lunette is framed by an incised line. On top of the scene there are two opposed wings, with two uraei hanging down from their junction. There are no incision traces of the sun-disc. Thutmose III is represented standing, offering two small vessels to Amon-re', who is standing facing him. The action is referred to as "Offering wine." The king is wearing the Blue crown with uraeus, and a skirt with a tail hanging down from it. The god wears the double plumes... (description continues...)

On the other hand, in this period, Amun receives offerings standing alone, without being followed by a second deity. It is difficult to think of a deity associated with Amon-re' and/or Thutmose III that would have suffered a damnatio memoriae; indeed, there is no certainty as to when the figure was erased. The horizontal inscription underneath the lunette is arranged in three registers separated by an incised line. The text is of the common border-stela type. The translation is as follows: (North-western border of the field[s],) which the majesty of the king Men-keper-re' - given [life forever] assigned as reward to the chief sculptor of Amon [...].

---


79 This possibility was suggested by Dr. Matthias Seidel, author of the piece's "Gutachten" for the Pelizaeus Museum. He admitted, however, that this identification is problematic for the lack of parallel, as can be seen in W.J. Mannie, Ancient Egyptian Corregencies, AAOE 40 (1977) 34-44.

80 See Sennefer's stela, MM 32005, where Thutmose III offers wine to the god Amon-re' Lord of heaven, whose figure has been erased, presumably in the Amarna age; cf. B.J. Peterson, "Two Egyptian Stelae" Orientalia Suecana 14 (1965) 7, fig.2.
Conclusion

The texts of the XVIIIth Dynasty contain two expressions that were used to summarize the king’s actions in foreign lands: *wdjyt st nfr* “expedition of victory,” and *ir'resdyf tšš(w) “to make/extend the border(s).” These two expressions can be considered the closest equivalents in Egyptian to the notion of imperialism, which is used by modern scholars to refer to the policy that the monarchs of this dynasty carried out towards neighboring regions.

Trying to grasp how the Egyptians perceived and understood the king’s actions abroad, as expressed in the surviving sources, one has to raise the question of what “victory” and “border” meant for them. Indeed, the answer is to be found in the sources themselves, in the contexts where the words *nfr* and *šš* were used. The survey focused not only in the attestations of the terms in the context of XVIIIth Dynasty foreign affairs, but also in every context where the terms were used prior to their adoption in royal phraseology, since they formed the background from which the later usages emerged.

In the Old Kingdom, the terms *nfr* and *šš* are mainly found in funerary inscriptions. The former is used to refer to the deceased in his ability to act, overcome obstacles and prevail over rivals who challenge him, that is, who challenge the continuation of the deceased’s status as social leader and lord of a territory (which he had held in life) in the Netherworld.

Referring to a living person, *nfr* is used to indicate a position of power within a group, achieved through the acquisition of property. Forming a compound with “heart,” it also refers to a positive state of mind concerning an action (e.g., “to be proud,” “convinced,” “confident,” “determined”).

In the Old Kingdom the basic meaning of the word *nfr* is very close to that of *wšr* “power,” the shade of difference between them being that the former refers to the ability to act and succeed, while the latter has a static character.

The context(s) in which the word *šš* is used in this period is, however, of no help in elucidating the meaning of the term.

In the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom the attestations of the two terms increase, as well as the type of texts in which they appear and their uses. The term *nfr* is gradually associated with someone’s “arm,” and by extension it is used to qualify any means used to defeat an opposition (e.g., “horn,” “bow,” etc.). The term *šš* is, on the other hand, gradually associated with “heart” and “throat,” as the location of someone’s status as “powerful one” and his corresponding role as speaker. The relation between the two is reciprocal, one causing the other and vice versa.

In private inscriptions and in literary compositions, *nfr* can refer to and qualify the different elements involved in a forceful action, such as in warfare (e.g., “troops”), or it can refer to their achievements, thus “victory” or “victorious.” But *nfr* can also refer to an action that does not entail physical violence and to its outcome, in the sense of “success.” The term *nfr* does not so much refer to the nature of an action, as to its positive outcome and the victorious or successful character achieved by its actor following a challenge (sometimes hypothetical or not taken up). Thus, someone is qualified as *nfr* when he has authority over a group, and when he seizes land or goods from outside the group’s territory, though the term *nfr* itself does not specify how these achievements were made possible.

The term *nfr* used to qualify someone or something refers to his being well equipped (i.e., protected) to take up or issue a challenge (thus “powerful,” “strong,”) and to his protective disposition toward his people. The idea of protection includes the defense of the leader’s territory and the well being of its people, what could imply actions against neighboring lands as potential challengers or as source of income.

The term is used in private and funerary inscriptions with a positive connotation, referring to the Egyptian ideal regarding a leader’s character: what someone boasts of being or having been in life, and what the deceased expects to continue being in order to be able to enjoy a meaningful afterlife. However, the term itself is morally neutral, and it is its context that adds to it a positive quality (e.g., *m nfr lw.n “in legitimacy”*). Hence in the literature the term is used to refer to people without ascribing to them a specific moral stand (e.g., the *nfr* two from Retenu in the Story of Sinuhe), and it is even used with a pejorative nuance (e.g., the expression *nfr lw “nfr of face,” “aggressive”*).

The inscriptions from the Second Intermediate Period use the term *nfr* in a way similar to the private inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.

The term *šš* “border” in the sources prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty refers to the territorial delimitation of someone’s authority. Authority implied, among other aspects, the right to be the sole collector of revenues from a defined territory and, at the same time, the duty of protecting its population. This reciprocal relationship between administrator or overlord and subject is what ultimately brings together the terms *nfr* and *šš*.

The borders within Egypt were established by royal command, and were then fixed by the setting up of one or more stelae at the limits of each territorial division.

In the XIXth Dynasty, Egypt intensified its presence in foreign lands, especially in Lower Nubia, establishing its southern border beyond the Second Cataract. Although the relationship between the person holding authority over a territory and its population was a multiform one, the economic aspect of the establishing of a “border” is stressed in the sources, presenting it as the most significant one from the lord’s point of view, who is the one giving account of his “border.” Within Egypt, officials refer to the establishing of their territory’s borders as a royal gift.

The XVIIIth Dynasty sources use the term *nfr* in much the same line as the inscriptions of the previous historical periods, although it is now used almost exclusively in relation to the king. The *nfr* king is the leader of Egyptian society, who stands out from his
followers and protects Egypt by his actions. Some contexts in which the term is used describe the king succeeding in the performance of physical actions, such as shooting and rowing, or in forceful and violent ones in the battlefield but contexts can also describe the king performing political, peaceful actions, such as appearing on his throne (iBi), and receiving foreign envoys who are bringing gifts to him.

The king receives nft as a divine gift, and in the XVIIIth Dynasty it becomes a necessary attribute of a successful king (i.e., to reign as Re' once did). Nft is closely associated with the god Seth, with his "daring" attitude against his rivals, which is presented in parallelism to Horus' role as ruler of Egypt.

The king is described as being nft in Egypt, among his subjects, but he uses his nft only against foreign lands. The gods bestow nft on the king's arms, or on any other of his means of action, so that he will succeed over his rivals and expand Egypt's territory.

In regard to terms with related meanings, nft refers to the success of the whole action, while nfm is considered a means to achieve nft, thus "strength," and hnt qualifies singled out components of the action, thus "courageous."

The term nft is associated with the king seizing land, extending the borders, and with having foreigners come bringing goods to him and prostrating themselves at his feet. As seen in the sources prior to the XVIIIth Dynasty, nft does not refer to a specific kind of action through which the king achieved and exerted an overlord status, but rather it refers to the positive consequence of actions regardless of the action's nature. The sources focus on the material outcome of the king's successful actions, the goods brought in from abroad thus being the sign and proof of the king's nft.

The Egyptian kings intervened in the neighboring regions to maintain and exert their overlord status by sending expeditions to reach the centers of power in the various regions. When the king took an active part in them they were recorded with an ordinal number relative to each king's participation (e.g., nftf.t pt n ft "his first expedition of victory"). These expeditions did not consist exclusively in forceful actions; political, peaceful events are also recorded from them, such as rewarding loyal vassals. In the preserved sources, Thutmose III was the first king to systematize the recording of expeditions in this form.

Probably because the policy of periodically dispatching expeditions became firmly established under Thutmose III, his successors did not see the need to go personally to foreign lands on a regular basis, and thus few "expedition(s) of victory" are recorded for them. However, this fact does not mean that expeditions ceased to be sent on a (theoretically) yearly basis, but rather that the kings personally participated only sporadically, and it is only when there was royal participation that the Egyptian sources record the occurrence of an "expedition of victory." The Amarna letters and other indirect evidence indicate that pharaonic troops continued to march throughout foreign lands, carrying out the same policy of active presence and intervention established by Thutmose III.

Pharaonic expeditions are perceived as military campaigns mainly because they were qualified as nft, and on the grounds that they were effected by troops. However, in the same way nft encompass other actions besides military, the Egyptian terms for "troops," nft and pes, need not imply a heavily armed group, whose only occupation was related to warfare, but rather they imply an organized group of men who could carry out a wide variety of missions, such as quarrying. From the Egyptian records and the Amarna letters it can be inferred that the goal of the expeditionary troops was the collection of goods from vassal foreign chiefs; military activity only occurred when the troops met an unresistant chief.

The sources pay special attention to the goods brought to Egypt from these expeditions. Because the expeditions comprised both forceful and political actions, the goods brought in included booty, tribute and product (taxes), as well as gifts and trade goods. Nevertheless, the sources refer to all of these as nftu "achievements," since they were regarded as the consequence, direct or indirect, of the king's nft. For this reason, even the goods sent by rulers who never had an Egyptian expedition marching through their territories and had no reason to fear it might happen (e.g., Hatti, Assur, Babylon, Crete), but were sending goods as diplomatic gifts (expecting something back, thus a form of trade) to acknowledge the king's might and their unwillingness to challenge it, were labeled in the sources as nftu. These occasions, as well as the king receiving foreign goods, were qualified as nft. Thus, the term nft in the context of foreign affairs was used to refer to any action or situation where the king was acknowledged, i.e., not challenged, as an overlord and was accordingly able to obtain goods, no matter under what circumstances.

One of the goals of the "expedition(s) of nft" is expressed as "to extend the hntw (borders)" of the king or of Egypt. This expression need not imply military conquest or forceful annexation, rather it refers to the territorial limits of the king's authority. Because the king's authority was exerted by dispatching periodic expeditions, the king's and Egypt's "borders" reached as far as the most distant region where his troops were able to make the local foreign chief accept the king as his overlord. Thus, the "borders" included Egypt proper and the lands of vassal foreign chiefs.

The king's authority was exerted and acknowledged at different levels in various regions, the relationship between the king and foreign chiefs ranging from subjugation to trade. Although the consequences of being inside Egypt's "borders" were of various kinds, from the king's point of view a foreign region was included inside his "border" if he was obtaining goods from its chief on a regular basis and no other ruler was. For this reason, Hatti, Assur and Babylon, from where the king occasionally received goods (regarded as nftu) were not considered inside Egypt's "borders."

As pointed out for the use of the term nft, the material outcome of the king's status and policy becomes its sign, and is an aspect that receives special attention in the Egyptian sources; as opposed to the vassals' letters from Syria-Palestine sent to the king, which focus on protection issues.

The extension of Egypt's territory was not established by a royal command, it was the result of the king's continuous actions, military and diplomatic, to maintain and
extend it via-a-vis local foreign chiefs and neighboring powers. Thus, Egypt’s "borders" could not be fixed by stelae, as was the case for the "borders" within Egypt. The stelae that the Egyptian kings set up in foreign lands, in the most distant region reached by their "expedition of nfr," were not regarded as border-stelae by the Egyptians, who followed a functional categorization, but rather as "stelae of victory/ success" (wadj n nfrtw), meant to proclaim the king’s nfr as far as his "expedition of nfr (victory)" went. Their locations coincided with the limits of the king’s authority or overlordship at that given moment, that is, with his and Egypt’s s3i.

This survey of the terms nfr "victory" and s3i "border" shows how the Egyptians adopted and adapted existing vocabulary to refer to the foreign policy of the XVIIIth Dynasty monarchs. This fact indicates that they perceived this policy as a development of that of Middle Kingdom and as an extension of the basics of individual and group behavior and organization within Egypt (although not restricted to Egypt). The terms nfr and s3i are most of the time used in relation to the king, pointing out the character of Egypt’s policy as one based on personal bonds with the king. In the sources, the Egyptian perception and expression of the king’s actions in neighboring foreign lands focus on the material rewards. The material consequence of the imperialistic policies of the Egyptian monarchs was taken to be the visible sign and proof of their might, and thus a major concern in contemporary records.

The study of the terms nfr and s3i exemplifies the relevance and fruitful results of the study of semantic structures if we are to understand a culture from the inside, i.e., on its own terms. This is especially true for terms in the conceptual realm, that is, hierarchical structures of experience classification. For these two Egyptian terms the immediate context has been taken as the source to reconstruct their semantic structures, their basic meaning and various nuances. Indeed, the study of semantic structures would not produce a complete image of a people’s world view, but it can provide significant clues to it because it deals with classifications of experience which are subject to change as the perception of referents changes. Coming back to our subject, the study on the terms nfr and s3i has shed fresh light on how the Egyptians perceived and categorized the actions/policy that the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty carried out in neighboring lands; a policy that is commonly referred to with the vague term ‘imperialism’.

Bibliography cited


Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, I-II (1913).


Aharoni, Y. The Land of the Bible (1967).


---. Akhenaten, King of Egypt (1988).


Antrobus, R. Die Felsenschriften von Hatnub, ÚGÄ 9 (1928).


---. "Note concerning the Great Corporation of Heliopolis" JNES 13 (1954) 191 f.


Baer, K. Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom (1960).
Barsanti, A. "Stelle inedita au nom du roi Radadouhotep Doudoumes" ASAE 9 (1908) 1 f.
Berg, S. "A Note on Some Scenes of Land-measurement" JEA 20 (1934) 54-56.
Bisson de la Roque, F.-Clère, J.J. Rapport sur les fouilles de Médiamoud, FIFAO 5 (1928).
------. "Notes on certain Passages in various Middle Egyptian Texts" JEA 16 (1930) 63-72.
------. Middle-Egyptian Stories, BAe 2 (1932).
--------. Aspects of the Political, Religious, and Economic Basis of Ancient Egyptian Imperialism during the New Kingdom (Diss. University of Toronto, 1984).
--------. "Historical Texts as Political Propaganda during the New Kingdom" BES 7 (1985/6) 5-13.
--------. "The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt: an Examination of B3kw(t)" JARCE 25 (1988) 137-68.
Breasted, J.H., Ancient Records of Egypt, I (1906).
Buck, A.de. Egyptian Readingbook (1948).
--------. On the Meaning of the name Ifj, in Orientalia Neerlandica (1948).
Budge, E.A.W. Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (1923).
Chassagnat, É. - Palanque, Ch. Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d’Assiout, MIFAO 24 (1911).
Clère, J. J. - Vandier, J. Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XIIè dynastie, BÂe 10 (1948). (Abbr.: TPP)
Davies, N. de G. The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebräui, I-I (1902).
——. The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, V (1908).
——. The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamen (1926).
——. The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes (1930).
——. The Tombs of Mentuhotepersarab, Amenmose, and Another (1933).
——. “The Tomb of Amenmose (No.89) at Thebes” JEA 26 (1940) 131-36.
——. The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re’ at Thebes (1943).

Eggerbrecht, A. Schlachtungsgeschenke im Alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches (1973).
Engelbach, R. “Notes of Inspection” ASAE 21 (1921) 188-96.
Erichsen, W. Papyri Harris I, Bge 5 (1933).
Erman, A. Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele, APAW (1896).
——. Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Graberbildern des alten Reiches, APAW Jahrgang 1918 n.15 (1919).
——. The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians (1971, translated into English from the 1927 ed.).
Eyre, C. J. “Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead” SAK 4 (1976) 103-114.
Farag, S. "Une inscription memphite de la XII dynastie" REdE 32 (1980) 75-82.
——. “The Man who was Tired of Life” JEA 42 (1956) 21-40.
——. Coffin Texts Spell 313* JEA 58 (1972) 91-98.
——. A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (1986).


--- "Der Vorwurf an Gott in den 'Maatserien des Ipnu-p'*, AHAW (1972).


Feucht, E. "Kinder fremder Völker in Ägypten" SAK 17 (1990) 177-204.


Firth, C.M. - Gunn, B. *Tei Pyramid Cemeteries* (1926).

Firth, C.M. - Quibell, J.E. *The Step Pyramid* (1935).


--- "A God and a General of the Oasis on a Stela of the Late Middle Kingdom" JNES 16 (1957) 223-35.

--- "Land records on stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty" Rinde 13 (1961) 107-09.


--- "Further Evidence for the Logic of Ancient Egyptian: Diminishing Progression" JARCE 10 (1973) 5-9.

--- "Hands and Hearts (Berlin 1157)" JEA 59 (1973) 224-226.


---. "Bullfight Scenes in Ancient Egyptian Tombs" JEA 80 (1994) 81-96.


---. "Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (1916).


---. "The Eloquent Peasant* JEA 9 (1923) 3-25.


---. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies, BAn 7* (1937).

---. "Horus the Behdetite" JEA 30 (1944) 46-52.

---. "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt" JEA 31 (1945) 11-28.

---. *The Wilbour Papyri,* II (1948).

---. "The first two pages of the Wörterbuch" JEA 34 (1948) 12-18.

---. "Thutmose III Returns Thanks to Amun" JEA 38 (1952) 6-23, pl.2-5.


---. *Egyptian Grammar* (1957).

---. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (1960).


Gardiner, A.H. - Sethe, K. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (1928).

Gardiner, A.H. - Peet, T.E. *The Inscriptions of Sinis* (1952), revised and augmented by Černý, J.

Gauthier, H. - Lefebvre, G. *Sarcophages du Moyen Empire provenant de la nécropole d'Assiout* ASA 23 (1923) 1-33.


Gilula, M. "Egyptian nṯḥ = Coptic naht 'to believe'" JNES 36 (1977) 295 f.


---. "Die Laufbahn des Mpu" MDAIK 21 (1965) 1-71.


---. "Sinuhe's Reply to the King's Letter" JEA 51 (1965) 29-47.


---. *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich, WZKM, Beihfelt 5* (1970).


---. Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik I. Der stilistische Bau der Geschichte des Simuhe, VfO 10 (1952).

---. "Der Liederkrantz zu Ehren Königs Sesosret der Dritten aus Kahun" MfO 1 (1953) 189-209.


Griffith, F.L. The Inscriptions of Säut and Dhr Rifib (1889).

--- Hieratic Papryus from Kahun and Gerob (1898).


Grimal, N.-C. La stèle triomphale de Pt-fankwy au Musée du Caire, MIPAO 105 (1981).

--- Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre (1986).

Grunmich, L. Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope, MÄS 23 (1972).


---. The Second Stela of Kamose, ADAIK 8 (1972).

--- Building activities of Sesosret I in the area to the south of Thebes" MDAIK 31 (1975) 33-37.

Hall, E.S. The Pharao Smites his Enemies, MÄS 44 (1986).

Hari, R. Hereinheb et le reine Montuesjetem (1964).

Hassan, S. Excavations at Giza, VIII (1953).
Hayes, W.C. "Statue of the Herald Yanu-nedjeh in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo" AASE 33 (1933) 6-16.


----. "Die Herkunft des Abydenischen Osirisrituals" ArOr 20 (1932) 72-85.


----. Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, AA WLM 11 (1960).


----. "Die Lehre für König Merikare" (1977).

----. "Wo errichtet Thutmosis III. seine Siegesstele am Euphrat?" Giff 56 (1981) 241-44.


Herzog, R. Punt, ADAIK 6 (1968).


James, T.G.H. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, I (1961).

Jannsen, J. De traditionele egyptische Autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk (1946).


Jannsen, J.J. "Prolologen to the study of Egypt’s Economic History during the New Kingdom" SAK 3 (1975) 127-86.


Kanawati, N. The Rock Tombs of El-Hauwah, the Cemetery of Ahmmin I (1980).


----. Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol" ZDPV 93 (1977) 141-77.


Kitchin, K.A. "Punt and how to get there" Or 40 (1971) 184-207.

Klebs, L. Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches, AHAW 6 (1922).


Knudtzon, J.A. Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (1915).


Lacau, P. Stèles du Nouvel Empire, I (1909).


Lange, H. O.- Schäfer, H. Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I-II (1902).


----. "La 'masacrame' des beaux grès et le triomphe de l'Égypte" MDAIK 14 (1956) 128-45.


Legrain, G. "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak" ASAE 4 (1903) 1-10.


----. "A New Look at an Old Object" JSEEA 12 (1982) 75-76.


----. Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom, OBO 84 (1988).


----. "Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts" OR 42 (1973) 178-94.


----. "L'auteur de l'enseignement pour Mérîkâra" RDeE 25 (1973) 181-91.

Lorton, D. "The So-called 'Vile' Enemies of the King of Egypt (in the Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XVIII)" JARCE 10 (1973) 65-70.


Lutz, H.F. Egyptian Tomb Stoles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California (1927).


Mariette, A. Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire (1889).


McLeod, W. Composite Bows from the Tomb of Ta'ankhamun, Ta'ankhamun's Tomb Series III (1970).

----. Self Bows and other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Ta'ankhamun, Ta'ankhamun's Tomb Series IV (1982).


Menu, B. Le régime juridique des terres et du personnel attaché à la terre dans le Papyrus Wilbour (1970).


Mofarah, R. Studien zum Ägyptischen Königsdogma im Neuen Reich (1985).

Mohr, H.T. The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhty (1943).
Mond, R. - Myers, O.H. *Temples of Arment* (1940).
Monter, P. "Notes sur les tombeaux de Béni-Hassan" BIFAO 9 (1911) 1-30.
----. *Les scénes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire* (1925).
----. "Der Mythos vom Ritus 'Erstachen der Feinde'" GM 105 (1988) 69-76.
----. "Rethorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III's First Campaign in Western Asia" JARCE 26 (1989) 183-89.
----. *The Road to Kadesh, a Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of the King Seti I at Karnak*, SAOC 42 (1996).
Neville, E. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, I, III (1898, 1907).
Saleh, A.Z. "Some Problems relating to the Pweter Reliefs at Deir el-Bahari" JEA 58 (1972) 140-158.
Säve-Söderbergh, T. Ägypten und Nubien (1941).
———. Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Private Tombs at Thebes I (1957).
———. "Das Niederschlagen der Feinde" WZKM 54 (1957) 168-76.
Schmidt, H. "Foreign Affairs under Egypt's 'Dazzling Sun'" RDe 44 (1993) 153-60.
Schulman, A.R. Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom, MAŠ 6 (1964).
Sethe, K. Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte (1908-1922).
———. Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches, APAW 1926, Nr.5.
———. Ägyptische Lesetücke (1928).
Several, M.W. "Reconsidering the Egyptian Empire in Palestine during the Amarna Period" PEQ 104 (1972) 123-33.


Shaheen, A.M. Historical Significance of Selected Scenes involving Western Asiaties and Nubians in the Private Theban Tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty (Ph.D. Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1988, Philadelphia).


Shupak, N. "Some idioms connected with the concept of 'Heart' in Egypt and the Bible," in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity (1985) 202-12.

---. Where can Wisdom be found? OBO 130 (1993).

Silverman, D. Interrogative Constructions with 'JN' and JN-JW' in Old and Middle Egyptian (1980).


---. (ed.) The Literature of Ancient Egypt (1972).


Smith, H.S. - Smith, A. "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Text" ZÄS 103 (1976) 48-76.


Smith, W.S. A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom (1946).


Smith, P.C. "The Sennah Despatches" JEA 31 (1945) 3-10.


Speleers, L. Traduction, index et vocabulary des Textes des Pyramides (1936).

---. Textes des cercueils du Moyen Empire égyptien (1946).

Spiegel, J. Das Auferstehungsrimal der Usas-Pyramide, AA 23 (1971).

Steward, H.M. Egyptian Seals, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, I (1976).


Te Velde, H. Set, God of Confusion (1967).

Trigger, B.G. Nubia under the Pharaohs (1976).


Tylor, J.J. - Griffin, F.L. The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab (1895).


Valloggia, M. Recherche sur les 'messagers' (tauwtyn) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes (1976).


Vercoutter, J. L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique, BDe 22 (1956).

---. "New Egyptian Texts from the Sudan" Kush 4 (1956) 66-82.


Vogelsang, F. Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern, UGAA 6 (1913).

Index

A. Terminology

Related to nfr:
kd-bull ("leader-bull")
lf ("to appear in glory")
war ("power")
qfr ("to stand up")
Bw ("senior")
by ("to be exalted")
ib ("to seize")
in inw ("to bring in goods")
m3-brw ("legitimate")
"ny ("life")
drs ("control, authority")
h3(w) ("fighter")
bru ("courageous")
"sfr ("power")
wf ("control")
nk ("to protect")
phry ("strength")
hr ("respect")
lm ("fame")

Related to stt:
tst ("land")
w (rural "territory")
fr ("fields")
sh ("endowment")
spnt ("province")
"w ("water")
dfr ("authority")
mm ("protection")
nmrnt ("movements")
Kmt; Tš-Mry ("Egypt")
rs ("to subdue evil")
fr ("to be on top")
mm bry ("the arm not being opposed")
in inw ("to bring in goods")
rn ("name")
Pg ("Nine Bows")
Pqfr ("what Re illumines")

Ward, W.A. Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom (1982).


-----, "Une épitaphe de Min comme explorateur des régions orientales" RêD 9 (1952) 125-37.


Zabkar, L.V. "The Egyptian Name of the Fortress of Senna South" JEA 58 (1972) 83-90.


Zivie, C.M. Giza au deuxième millénaire, RêD 70 (1976).

-----, "La stèle d’Amenophis III à Giza - A propos d’une interprétation récente" SAK 8 (1980) 269-84.
Opposites to alt and £38:

m3w ("poor, defenseless") 12, 29
net ("sorceress") 78, 87
bry ("to be under the feet") 58, 62, 122
m tpf ("to be in the fist") 123
w3lt ("to bow down") 87, 123
ik ("to transgress") 128
jlu ("limbs") 130
lbbu ("well/marshes") 130
flw ("end") 131

B. Translated passages

Before the XVIIIth Dynasty

Inscriptions

Urk.I 85, 14 10
133, 16 – 134, 2 11
145, 2–3 11
195, 5 11
221, 4–5 11
Arkhify (Moalla) 20, 23, 25
Iti-hb (Siut) 21, 104
Khety (Siut) 21, 22, 23
Arn’s coffin (Siut) 20
Block from Deir el-Ballas 20
U. California, Box D 136
Stela from Hierakonpolis 21
CG 20318
Djehutyhotep II (El Bersheh) 22
Urk.IV 47, 17–18; 47, 21 – 48, 2
Tomb at Deir Rife 22
Hekaib, stela 22
Mery I (Athribis) 22
Nesumontu (Louvre C.1) 22
Intefker (Naq el-Girgwil) 24
Stela Turin Suppl. 1310 24
Hapdjeifa (Siut) 24
Urk.VII 55, 11–13
Ikherneferet (Berlin 1204) 24, 26
Kay (Hatnub) 26
Intef son of Ka (BM. 99[1203]) 26
Sehetepibre (CG 20538) 27
Djari (JE 41437) 27, 104
Horakeh (JE 46998) 35
Neferhotep III (CG 59635) 36

Ahmose, stela from Buhen 36
Ramose 36–38, 71
Wenekemur (CG 20089) 36
Intef II (CG 20512) 104
Ahankht (El Bersheh) 104
Montuhotep (CG 20539) 104
Amenemhet–Imeny (Reni Hasan) 105, 132
Urk.VII 16, 9–11; 14, 14–16
Khnumhotep II (Reni Hasan) 105
Urk.VII 26, 11 – 32, 3 107
Neferkhnum (Deir Rife) 107
Siahot (BM. 569) 107
Intef (MFA. 13.3967/20.1222) 107
Hor (JE 71903) 107
Sesostris I (JE 88802) 108
Sesostris II (Berlin 14753) 108, 146
Sesostris III (Berlin 1157) 108, 147
Sesostris III (p. Kahun) 109
Sobekemsaf I (Medemud) 110
Auerre‘-Apsiphs (Almufecar) 132

Pyramid Texts

269 a – 271 b 16
290 a – 291 d 17
301 a–c 17
320 a–b 17
622 a – 623 c 19
1147 b–c 17
1231 a – 1232 d 19
2112 a–b; 2116 a–c 19

Coffin Texts

I 194 c–d 34
II 242 b–d, 251 g – 252 h 34
III 262 c–j 35
IV 67 f–i 32
IV 180 a 35
V 392 d–i 33
VI 168 a – 169 c 34
VI 207 h–n 34
VI 238 k–q 32
VI 240 c–g 33
VI 281 m–n 33
VI 320 b–j, n–s 33
VII 236 m–p 33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letters to the dead</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tomb scenes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mereruka</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senedjemnib</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesepherakhbi</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shedu (Deshasheh)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mery II (Athribia)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senbi son of Ukhhotep (Meir)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat (Beni Hasan)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djehunhotep (El Bersheh)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Story of Sinuhe (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–52</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71–73</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78–81</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101–106</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109–113</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133–134</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217–218</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Shipwrecked Sailor</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99–101</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Eloquent Peasant (B 1)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116–18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121–22</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167–68</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5, 10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 3</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 2–3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dispute of a Man with his Ba</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104–8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachings for King Merikara' (P)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III 8–9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 3–4</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 5–7</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 3–4</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII 10–VIII 1</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII 1–2</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 9–10</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X 1–2</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instructions of the XVIIth Dynasty</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urk.IV 5</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 1–6</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 8–14</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55, 3–5</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83, 1–5</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83, 12–84, 13</td>
<td>76, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 7–10</td>
<td>76, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85, 13–86, 2</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87, 10–11</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89, 6–8</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102, 9–15</td>
<td>76, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118, 9–11</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138, 4–10</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138, 15–139, 1</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140, 3–17</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161, 14–162, 1</td>
<td>56, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184, 4–9</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186, 16–17</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248, 16–17</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265, 15–269, 5</td>
<td>115, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271, 14–272, 7</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277, 1–2</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366, 5–5</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368, 8–14</td>
<td>121, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372, 5–12</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>524, 7–10</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556, 1–2</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556, 9</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556, 11</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556, 12</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>573, 32–13</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574, 8–9</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587, 1–3</td>
<td>46, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>587, 13–15</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>593, 10–13</td>
<td>56, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612, 7–9</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>613, 8–11</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>614, 4–9</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>615, 4–6</td>
<td>97 n.492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616, 3–4</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>618, 2–5</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620, 9–10</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
<td>References</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1302, 7-15</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1303, 4-5, 11</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1305, 14-16</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1307, 9</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1309, 12-20</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310, 11-13, 18</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1321, 15-16</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1323, 13-1326, 6</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1333, 18-1334, 3</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1334, 9-11</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1342, 14-18</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1345, 9-12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351, 2-5</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1363, 9-10</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370, 10-11</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1372, 15-1373, 6</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1382, 4-5</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1442, 13-14</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1467, 20-1468, 3</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1512, 1-5</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1512, 6-9</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1539a, 19</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1545, 16-1546, 6</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1546, 10-11</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1548, 14-17</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551, 14-18</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1554, 17-18</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556, 15</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560, 2-4</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1562, 1-9</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1568, 8-10</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570, 4-8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597, 14-1598, 2</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1611, 1-12</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637, 8-14</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1654, 14-15</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656, 8-12</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1660, 9-10</td>
<td>61, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1661, 14-15</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662, 2-4, 15-19</td>
<td>61, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662, 8-1663, 2</td>
<td>84, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664, 1-5</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1664, 13-15</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666, 3-6</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1666, 19</td>
<td>61 n.338, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1667, 19-20</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684, 13-14</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685, 2-3</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1685, 4-12</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685, 14-16</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693, 13-19</td>
<td>93 n.476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693, 5-13</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696, 10-13</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697, 4-5</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698, 3</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707, 10-17</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722, 20-1723, 2</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724, 18-1725, 2</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727, 3</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741, 14-15</td>
<td>45, 133 n.695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1744, 3-5</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747, 9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751, 16-18</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794, 11</td>
<td>48 n.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822, 2</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841, 7-17</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857, 11-12</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864, 9</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866, 12-14</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869, 5</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875, 8-11</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920, 12-20</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959, 6-7</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963, 4-5</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964, 4</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972, 4-12</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984, 3-1986, 1</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989, 1-19</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2027, 12-14</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2031, 19-2032, 2</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2039, 6-7</td>
<td>58, 133 n.694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2041, 11-2042, 7</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2044, 17</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2048, 4-6</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2057, 17-2058, 1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2058, 13-14</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2059, 3-4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2060, 1-6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2070, 5-19</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2074, 6</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2078, 1-13</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2084, 22</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2085, 9-10</td>
<td>122 n.632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2096, 1-3</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2109, 1-2110, 4</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2112, 15</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ahmose's stela (Deir el Bahari)  
Thutmose III's stela (Berlin 14994)  
Thutmose III's stela (UC 44466)  
Thutmose III's bark shrine (Karnak)  
Thutmose III's stela (Pelizaeus-Museum 5952)  
Thutmose III's inscription (Kurgus)  
Amenophis II's block (Karnak)  
Wall paint (BM 37982)  
Amenophis III's statue (Luxor)  
Amenophis III's shrine (Karnak)  
Amenophis III's stela (Soleb)  
Tomb of Mereruka II (Amarna)  
Tutankhamun's stela  
(Berlin-Charlottenburg 345.67)  
Sennedjem's bowl  
Horemheb's cenotaph (Gebel Silsileh)  
Inscriptions from Tutankhamun's tomb:

Chi/GT:  
22 (48 i, I) 50  
27 (50 xx) 46, 52  
32 46 n.254, 128  
34 (87, 15) 52  
62 (153) 46 n.254  
66 122  
72 (244) 87  
97 (266) 50  
125 122, 129  
170 43  
173 50  
174 58  
183 46, 129

Ramesside passages

KRI.  
16, 16 - 7, 1 122 n.638  
17, 10 - 11 122 n.638  
111, 1-2 128 n.667  
117, 15 124 n.650, 130 n.677  
121, 3-4 123 n.645  
180, 9 132 n.688  
199, 10-11 122 n.634  
1102, 10-12 84 n.438  
1190, 11-13 54  
1269, 9-16 125 n.656  
12, 3 81 n.424  
12, 10 81 n.424  
1102, 7-11 81 n.424  
1107, 6-16 64  
1111, 5-8 64  
113, 5 - 115, 16 124  
1166, 6-7 122 n.638  
1173, 12 125 n.656  
1203, 14-15 123 n.642  
1209, 4-5 122 n.638  
1218, 4-5 123 n.643  
1228, 8-11 94  
1228, 4, 9 62  
1226, 5-6; 333, 2-3 116  
1415, 13 123 n.641  
12478, 9-10 126  
12479, 7 43 n.235  
12737, 6-7 86 n.445  
12750, 7-8 55 n.315  
12773, 2-3 124 n.650  
12284, 11 128 n.667  
V 26, 12-13 64  
V 40, 6-7 113 n.589  
V 41, 5-7 128  
V 59, 1-2 81 n.424  
V 59, 4-6 113 n.589  
V 61, 2 64  
V 24, 2-3 64  
V 27, 16 - 28, 1 73  
V 39, 4 73  
V 39, 9-10 62  
V 41, 8-9 54  
V 66, 2 62 n.345, 73 n.394  
V 66, 9 54  
V 76, 10 54  
V 95, 10 73  
V 309, 12 126  
VI 51, 10-11 119  
VI 334, 9-16 147

P. Harris  
149, 5 116  
156, 8-9 124  
176, 7-8; 77, 5-6 64

P. Anastassi  
II 1, 1 81 n.424
 Figures 1-5,
Plate 1
Fig. 1: Bullfight scene from the tomb of Mery II in Hagarsch.
Fig. 2: *Triumph Scene* of Thutmose III on the 7th pylon at Karnak.

Fig. 3: Ivory wristlet of Thutmose IV from El Amarna (Berlin 21685).
Fig. 4: Kiosk Scene with Amenophis III and queen Mutemwia from the tomb of Menkheperreseneb.

Fig. 5: Border-stela with Thutmose III as donor (Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 5952)
Pl. I (= fig.5): Border-stela with Thutmose III as donor (Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 5952).