

REIGN OF AMENHOTEP II

ASIATIC CAMPAIGN

780. Syria, of course, revolted on the death of Thutmose III, and already in his second year we find his energetic son, Amenhotep II, on the march into northern Syria to quell the rebellion. Doubtless the harbor cities had also rebelled, and hence the young king is forced to proceed by land. Leaving Egypt in April, as his father had done on the first campaign thirty-three years before, he had already in early May won a battle at Shemesh-Edom in northern Palestine. On the twelfth of May he crossed the Orontes, and gained a skirmish near the river. He celebrated a feast of thanksgiving to Amon there, and fourteen days later (May 26) he arrived at Niy, which opened its gates to him and received him with acclamation. June 5 he reached and punished the rebellious city of Ikathi, which was plotting against its Egyptian garrison. Somewhere in Naharin he set up his tablet of victory,^a as his father and grandfather had done before him. Here the sources fail, and the further course of the campaign is unknown until the king's return to Egypt; but it is clear that the coalition against Egypt was crushed in Tikhsi, probably at the battle on the Orontes, for on his return in the autumn the king brought back with him to Thebes "*the seven princes who were in the district of Tikhsi*," and sacrificed them himself before Amon. Early in the following July we find the king in Nubia, arranging the completion of his father's temples at Elephantine and Amâda. In both he set up a

^aTurra inscription of Minhotep (§ 800).

tablet bearing the same inscription, recording the building and mentioning the seven princes, six of whom he says he hanged on the walls of Thebes, and the seventh on the walls of Napata. At Napata or above it he set up a tablet marking his southern boundary (§ 800). It is perhaps on his return from this last errand that he stops at Amâda for the foundation ceremonies of the temple.

The said Amâda and Elephantine stelæ, another at Karnak, and a Karnak chapel are the only sources for this campaign.^a

I. KARNAK STELA^b

781. Above is a relief in two parts, each showing the king offering to Amon-Re. Between the two parts is a vertical line of text recording the restoration of the monument by Seti I, just as on the Building Inscription of Amenhotep III.

Date and Introduction

782. 1[Year 2]° ——— under the majesty of:

°Horus: Mighty Bull, Great of Strength; ——— Part of Atum;

^aAn inscription from a tomb at Shekh Abd-el-Kurna probably refers to his campaigns in calling the deceased "a follower of the king on his journeys on water, on land, and in every country; to whom has been given favors of the king's-presence, consisting of rings of electrum" (Piehl, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, 135).

^bA pink granite stela, found by Champollion against the second of the southern pylons at Karnak, in a deplorably fragmentary condition. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 185, 186 (only ll. 1-10; l. 9 is not omitted as indicated); Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XVII, 56, 57 (only ll. 3-10, copying Champollion); Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 175, 176; Bouriant, *Recueil*, XIII, 160, 161; Wiedemann, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XI, 422, 423; a new fragment by Legrain, *Annales*, IV. The text is corrupt, being full of errors, like the omission of the determinative (important emendations by Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, 39-41). The reason for these errors is the careless restoration of the text after its erasure by the emissaries of Ikhnaton. See Legrain, *Annales*, IV.

^cThe tablet of Amâda below (§§ 791 ff.), dated in year 3, speaks of an Asiatic campaign already completed; it can hardly refer to any other than this campaign to Niy. Hence the latter would have taken place in the year 1 or 2, more probably the latter. The lacuna at the beginning of each line is four or five words long.

^dThe complete titulary of Amenhotep II.

Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Mighty in Opulence, Who is Crowned in Thebes;

Golden Horus: Who Seizes by His Might in all Lands;

²[King of Upper and Lower Egypt] ——— Opet: Okheperure, Lord — of the Sword, Who Binds the Nine Bows;

Son of Re, of his Body, Lord of All Countries: Amenhotep (II), Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, Giver of Life, Forever, like Re.^a

Battle of Shemesh-Edom

783. ³[His majesty was] in the city of Shemesh-Edom (*Š-m-šw-y-tw-my*);^b his majesty furnished an example of bravery there; his majesty himself fought hand to hand. Behold, he was like a fierce-eyed lion, smiting the countries of Lebanon (*[R-m]-n-n*)^c ^{4f} — — — — — *-s-ḥw*^d was his name.

Booty

List of that which his majesty himself captured on this day: Asiatics, 18 living persons; 16 horses.^e

Battle on the Orontes

784. First month of the third season (ninth month), day 26; his majesty crossed over the ford of the Orontes^f on this day, caused to cross *šf* — — — — — *ḥ* — — — — — like the might of Montu of Thebes. His majesty raised his arm, in order to see the end of the

^aThe complete titulary of Amenhotep II.

^bA town of northern Palestine, which occurs in the first of Thutmose III's town-lists as: *Š ḏ-my-š ḏ-y-t ḏ-my* (No. 51).

^cThe undoubtedly correct restoration of Erman, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1889, 39. Wiedemann's variants only show the decay of the stone since Champollion.

^dRemnant of the name of a chief or a country.

^eAll the texts but de Rougé have "oxen," but "horses" is certainly confirmed by the context.

^fTexts all have *y-r ḏ-s-ḥ*, but Brugsch read "Arinath," hence the wavy-lined *n*, which is straight in hieratic, has been transferred to the stone straight; it has been read as an *s* by all modern copyists but Brugsch. There is no question, therefore, concerning the emendation to *n* first made by Maspero. Geographically, the emendation is also convincing. From a northern Palestinian city the king marches northward to Lebanon; this course continued would bring him to the Orontes. Moreover, the identical phrase, "crossed over the channel of the Orontes," with the same rare word (*mšd' t*) for "channel" (or "ford?") occurs in Ramses II's Kadesh campaign (III, 308, l. 12). The objections of Bissing (*Statistische Tafel*, 34) are not convincing. Petrie's identification with Harosheth on the

earth;^a his majesty descried a few Asiatics (*Sṭtyw*) coming on horses ḫr—¹ coming at a ḫgallop¹ (*rkrk*). Behold, his majesty was equipped with his weapons of battle, his majesty conquered with^b the might ḫof Set¹ in his hour. They retreated when his majesty looked at one ḫof^c them. Then his majesty himself overthrew their ḫ—^{1d}, with his spear ḫ— — —¹. Behold, he carried away this Asiatic ḫ—¹,^e his horses,^e his chariot, and all his weapons of battle. His majesty returned with joy of heart [to]^f his father, Amon; he (his majesty) gave to him a feast ḫ—¹.

Booty

785. List of that which his majesty captured on this day:^g ḫhis horses, 2; chariots, 1; a coat of mail; 2 bows; a quiver, full of arrows; a corselet; and ḫ—^{1h}.

Arrival at Niy

786. Second month of the third seasonⁱ (tenth month), day 10; passing¹⁰ southward toward Egypt, his majesty proceeded by horse to

Kishon (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 155) is impossible, for the king is already in the Lebanon, and has left the Kishon far behind. The route by which Amenhotep advanced northward from Shemesh-Edom is not certain, but the crossing of the Orontes is doubtless the last one as he turned toward the Euphrates. This would be most naturally at Senzar. He would then march by way of Aleppo to Niy, which was about 175 miles from Senzar. That he reached Senzar is shown by his list in § 798A. This suits his marching speed also, as he would have made about 12½ miles a day from Senzar to Niy.

^aThere may be a reference here to the common designation of this remote region as the "end of the earth," but it more probably refers merely to the king's shading his eyes that he might scan the horizon.

^bLit., "behind."

^cLegrain's lacuna of 24 cm. is of course impossible; it is improbable also at the head of the next two lines.

^d*ḫntw*. ^eLit., "his span" (*ḫtry*).

^fRestore *n*, "to," according to Amâda tablet, ll. 16, 17 (§ 797).

^gThere is no line omitted here, as Champollion indicates.

^hThe same word (*ḫntw*) applied to the corselet (*ḫḫ nr*) is found in Thutmose III's first campaign, l. 23 (*ḫntw-ty*?).

ⁱThe texts of de Rougé, Bouriant, Wiedemann, and Brugsch's translations show "month II," not III, as usually read from Champollion. That Shemu (not 'akhet) is to be read here is clear from the determinative and the other dates (ll. 4 and 13; note, l. 13). Maspero now accepts this (Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 291), although he formerly read 'akhet. Petrie's date (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 155) is therefore about five months too late; for had this date been in another year, the year must have been added. The arrival at Niy is therefore fourteen days after the crossing of the Orontes.

the city of Niy. Behold, these Asiatics of this city, men as well as women, were upon their walls praising his majesty, ¹¹— — — to the Good God.

Revolt of Ikathi

787. Behold, his majesty heard saying, that some of those Asiatics (*Sṯ tyw*) who were in the city of Ikathi (*Y-kʷ-ty*) had [plotted¹ (*ngm gm*) to make a plan for casting out the infantry^a of his majesty ¹²[who were]] in the city, in order to overturn — — — who were loyal to his majesty. Then [his] majesty put them in [— — —] in this city ¹³— — he —^b them immediately, and he pacified [this] city — against the entire country —.^c Second month^d of the third season (tenth month),^d day 20 (+x). ¹⁴— [— — —], made the city of Ikathi [*Y-kʷ*]-*ṯ*² — — — ¹⁵— — — ¹⁶— — —.

788. The remainder as far as l. 29 shows but a few scattered traces, of which the following are significant: “of his children. Statement of that which [his majesty] captured” (l. 21); “his chariot” (l. 26); “list of captives” (l. 27); “[weapon]s of war without number” (l. 28); “his majesty was adorned with [his] regalia” (l. 29). The record then becomes more connected:

Overthrow of Khatithana

789. ³⁰— — — His majesty —^e the tribe of Khatithana (*Hʷ-ty-ṯʷ-nʷ*) united ³¹— —. Behold, the chief^f — — — — the city, for fear of his majesty. His chiefs, his wives, his children were carried captive, ³²and all his people likewise. Statement of that which his majesty himself captured — — — — his horses.

^aProbably the Egyptian garrison of the town.

^bVerb.

^cPossibly the name of the country, containing *kh*.

^dThis date is very important, showing (1) that we must read Shemu (the third season, not *ḥʷt*, the first season) in l. 10 above, and (2) that we must read second month (in l. 10) with all the copies (except Champollion).

^eVerb.

^fThe position of the introductory words (before the lacunæ) in ll. 31 and 32 is not certain.

Return to Egypt

790. ³³— — day 27; his majesty went forth from the house of the Beautiful-of-Face (Ptah)^a and proceeded [to] — Memphis, bearing the plunder which he had taken in the country of Retenu. List of that which was taken:

Nobles (<i>my-r 2-y-n</i>) ² alive	34550 (+x)
Their [wiv]es	240
[Vessels wrought] of gold	6,800 ^b deben
Copper	500,000 ^c deben
<hr/>	
Horses	210
Chariots	300

The whole land beheld the victories of his majesty.

³⁵By the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offerings — — — —^d beloved of Amon, protector of him who is in Thebes, celebrator of the feasts of the house of Amon, lord of Thebes, [— —], Son of Re, Thutmose (IV),^e given life [forever] and ever.

II. AMÂDA^f AND ELEPHANTINE^g STELÆ

791. Both are dedication tablets, the upper half of which is occupied by an oblation scene: at Amâda, Amenhotep II offering wine to Harakhte and Amon-Re, all in a sacred boat; at Elephantine, the king once with Amon and

^aOr: "the beautiful house, proceeding" (*hr wd*), etc.

^b1,657½ pounds, troy. Nearly 100,000 pounds.

^dRoyal name is lost.

^eIf this is correct, the stela was erected by Thutmose IV, son of Amenhotep II.

^fOn the interior of the back wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Amâda. Text: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 105-7 (very imperfectly and incorrectly copied); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 65, a; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1280 (only ll. 12-20). I had also the Berlin lexicon copy, collated by Erman with the squeeze of Lepsius, and a collation of the original by Steindorff.

^gFrom a similar position in the Elephantine temple (now perished); the upper part with the relief and parts of thirteen lines of text is in Vienna (No. 141); the lower portion is in Cairo (No. 158). I had: my own photograph and von Bergmann's publication (*Recueil*, IV, 33 ff.) of the Vienna fragment; two copies of the Cairo fragment, one by Steindorff and one by Schaefer, which they kindly loaned me; and a photograph by Borchardt.

Anuket and once before Khnum, receiving “*life and stability*.” Both tablets were intended to mark the “*station of the king*,” both record similar buildings in the year 3 (material at Elephantine is better), and the same facts regarding the Asiatic princes. The differences in wording are almost nil. The Elephantine stela has an interesting addition from the year 4.

Date and Introduction

792. ¹Year 3, third month of the third season (eleventh month), day 15,^a under the majesty of^b Amenhotep^c (II), beloved of Harakhte and Amon, lord of Thebes, ²Good God, creation of Re, sovereign who came forth from the body, mighty; likeness of Horus upon the throne of his father; great in strength, whose like does not exist; of whom a second is not found. He is a king very weighty of arm; there is not one who can draw his bow^d among his army ³among the hill-country sheiks (or) among the princes of Retenu, because his strength is so much greater than (that of) any king who has ever existed; raging like a panther, when he courses through the battlefield; there is none fighting before him; an archer mighty in smiting; ⁴a wall protecting Egypt; firm of heart, [—] in the hour of [conflict]; trampling down those who rebel against him; [instantly] prevailing against all the barbarians with people and horses,^e when they came with myriads of men, while they knew not that Amon-Re was ⁵his ally, (nor) that he would be seen to [approach] instantly, strength in his limbs;^f likeness of Min

^aThe date of the Elephantine tablet is lost; but it was earlier than the “*year 4*,” in which an addition was made to it.

^bFull five-name titulary.

^cChiseled away and reinserted (Steindorff).

^dThis is the basis for the well-known legend of Herodotus (III, 21), which represents Cambyses as unable to draw the bow of the king of Ethiopia (Schaefer, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 38, 66 f.). It is a not uncommon statement. Curiously enough, the bow of Amenhotep II was found in his tomb; it bears an inscription designating him as “*smiter of the Troglodytes, overthrower of Kush, hacking up [their] cities the great wall of Egypt, protector of his soldiers*” (Cairo, *Catalogue*, 24120).

^eThis is not a generality, but doubtless specifically refers to a battle with the Asiatics in the campaign of the previous year.

^fThe god’s strength in the king’s limbs.

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