

Some Comments on the Reports of Rebellion to the King in the New Kingdom Military Inscriptions

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Abstract

This paper provides a collection and commenting of the passages about the theme of reporting to the king of a rebellion somewhere in his empire which occur in a number of New Kingdom royal inscriptions focusing on the king's military success. The reports of rebellion included in the inscriptions here studied are presented in transliteration and translation, and a comment is provided for each inscription. The comments focus on how the content is developed in each text. Then, the comparison assesses the commonalities and differences among the reports. The comparison of the reports shows a variety in terms of form and content.

Keywords: Report of rebellion, New Kingdom military inscriptions, the *iw.tw* formula, Battle of Megiddo, *Qadesh Bulletin*.

Introduction

This paper presents the compilation of a theme occurring in a group of New Kingdom royal inscriptions with military content: the theme of reporting to the king of a rebellion somewhere in his empire. The theme in question is first attested in the Aswan Stela of Thutmose II. Other inscriptions of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties are known which present parallels with Thutmose II's Aswan Stela. The following inscriptions include the theme of the report of rebellion:

1. Aswan Stela of Thutmose II,
2. Thutmose III's Annals of the Battle of Megiddo,
3. Konosso Stela of Thutmose IV,
4. Aswan Stela of Amenhotep III,
5. Buhen Stela of Akhenaten,
6. First Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I,
7. Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I,
8. Seti I's Karnak reliefs of the Shasu Campaign,
9. Sai/Amarah West Stela of Seti I,
10. *Qadesh Bulletin* of Ramesses II,

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11. Cairo and Heliopolis Columns of Merenptah,
12. Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah,
13. Nubian War Stelae of Merenptah, and
14. Medinet Habu Inscription of Ramesses III.

The theme of reporting to the king about the occurrence of a rebellion is followed by the king's reaction to the report and the campaign by the army. The reports of rebellion included in the inscriptions mentioned above are presented in transliteration and translation, and a comment is provided for each inscription. They are seen in the context of the secondary literature about royal inscriptions and military activities.

The reports of rebellion are sections of inscriptions which had the purpose of commemorating the king's military achievements. In the traditional historiography of the New Kingdom, the texts here presented have been mined as source of historical information, to reconstruct events and courses of campaigns, creating a narrative in a paradigm of *histoire événementielle*. Therefore, taking into account the commemorative purpose of these texts and the mention of events, we compile the reports of rebellion and assess them individually and then comparatively. Below are the texts:

1. Aswan Stela of Thutmose II

The Aswan Stela of Thutmose II¹ records a rebellion in Upper Nubia. It begins with the full date "Year 1, II *akhet* 8," followed by the formula *ḥṯ hr ḥm n* + the full titulary of Thutmose II + *hr st*

¹ Rock-cut stela on the east side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae, PM V, 245; Robert D. Delia, "First Cataract Rock Inscriptions: Some Comments, Maps, and a New Group," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): 81–82, Map IV.

Publication: *Urk.* IV, 137–41.

Main studies: Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund: Ohlsson, 1941), 1512; G. Posener, "Urk. IV 139, 2–7," *Revue d'Égyptologie*, no. 10 (1955): 92–94; Donald B. Redford, "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25, no. 2 (1966): 117; Anthony J. Spalinger, "A Critical Analysis of the "Annals" of Thutmose III (Stücke V–VI)," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977): 50; idem, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*. Yale Near Eastern Researches 9 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 3–4, 89–90; William J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 42, 2nd ed. revised (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 81 (6), 83; David Lorton, "The Aswan/Philae Inscription of Thutmose II," in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Vol. II, ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1990), 668–79; Patrik Lundh, *Actor and Event: Military Activity in Ancient Egyptian Narrative Texts from Thutmose II to Merenptah*. Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 2 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2002), 33–39; Andrea Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca 8 (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 2002), 83–87; Peter Beylage, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte vom Beginn der 18. Dynastie bis zur Amarnazeit*, Vol. I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 21–29; idem, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte vom Beginn der 18. Dynastie bis zur Amarnazeit*, Vol. II: *Methodik und Analyse der Texte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 575–79; Luc Gabolde, "La stèle de Thoutmosis II à Assouan, témoin historique et archétype littéraire," in *Séhel entre Égypte et Nubie*, ed. Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot. Orientalia Monspeliensa XIV (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, 2004), 129–48; Anthony J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 59.

Hr nt ḥnw (“Appearance of the Majesty of (Thutmose II) upon the throne of Horus of the living”).¹ The narrative starts with a setting of the king in his palace: *st ḥm.f m ḥ.f* (“Now, his Majesty was in his palace”).² The setting phrase is marked grammatically by the presence of the particle *st* followed by an adverbial sentence. Directly attached to the setting is a eulogy of the king’s reign.³ The king is then informed of a rebellion in Upper Nubia (Kush) as follows:

<i>ii.tw r rdit wd3-ib n ḥm.f r-ntt</i>	One came to inform his Majesty that:
<i>Kš hst (6) w3.ti r bšt</i>	‘Doomed Kush has begun to conspire,
<i>wnw m ndt nt nb-t3wy ḥmtw n k3t</i>	those who were subjects of the Lord of the Two Lands
<i>sbywt w3.w r ḥwtf rhyt Kmt</i>	contemplate a revolt,
<i>r ḥnp mnmnt ḥr-s3 nn (7) mnnw</i>	The enemies have begun to plunder the people of
<i>kd.n it.k m ḥwtw.f nsw bity 3-ḥpr-k3-</i>	Egypt,
<i>rḥ ḥnt dt</i>	to steal cattle behind these fortresses
<i>r ḥsf ḥ3swt bštwt iwntyw T3-Sty nw</i>	that your father (Thutmose I) built with his
<i>Ḥnt-ḥn-nfr</i>	achievements ⁴ , King of Upper and Lower Egypt
<i>st wn (8) wr ḥr mḥtt Kš hst</i>	Aakheperkare– may he live forever–
<i>w3.f r tr n rtt (= rkt)</i>	to hold back the revolting foreign lands of the
<i>ḥnḥ iwntywy nw T3-Sty m msw wr n</i>	tribesmen of Nubia of <i>Ḥnt-ḥn-nfr</i> ⁵ .
<i>Kš hst</i>	Now, there is a chief to the north of doomed Kush,
<i>wthw ḥr-ḥ3t nb-t3wy (9) [hr]w šḥt nt</i>	and he has begun hostilities,
<i>ntr nfr</i>	together with two tribesmen of Nubia, who are the
<i>psš ḥ3st tn m 5 wwt</i>	sons ⁶ of the chief of doomed Kush,
<i>wḥ nb m iry n ḥrt.f</i>	who fled before the Lord of the Two Lands on the
	[da]y of the slaughter of the Good God.
	This foreign land has been divided into five parts,
	each one (was) with the guardian of his portion. ⁷

¹ *Urk.* IV, 137: 9–12; Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 8. On the use of the verb *ḥi* to refer to any formal appearance of the king, see Redford, *History*, ch. 1, 122.

² *Urk.* IV, 137: 16.

³ *Urk.* IV, 137: 17–138: 10.

⁴ For the term *ḥwtw* (“victories” or “achievements”) as referring to the king’s actions abroad, see José M. Galán, *Victory and Border: Terminology Related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 40 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1995), 86–87.

⁵ On this locality, see Hans Goedicke, “The Location of *ḥnt-ḥn-nfr*,” *Kush* 13 (1965): 102–11.

⁶ On *msw*, lit. “children,” see Schafik Allam, “*msw* = Kinder/Volksgruppe/Produkte/Abgaben,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 19 (1992): 1–13.

⁷ *Urk.* IV, 138: 12–139: 7; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 84–85; Beylage, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte*, 22–24; Gabolde, “La stèle de Thoutmosis II à Assouan,” 133.

The narrative specifically locates the king in his palace, when he receives the report of the rebellion in Upper Nubia which occurred in his first regnal year. The person who reports the news is not identified; it does not matter who reports the news, or by whatever means. The phrase *ii.tw r rdit wd3-ib n hm.f r-ntt* (“One came to inform his Majesty that”) is employed to introduce the report.¹ This formula was later replaced by the simpler form *iw.tw r dd n hm.f* (“One came to tell his Majesty”), an introductory formula for announcing news. Spalinger noted that the *iw.tw* formula, first attested in the reign of Thutmose II, was often inscribed on stelae, which do not allow enough space for a detailed description, to record the military reports to the king briefly.²

The use of the setting phrase *st hm.f m h.f* (“Now, his Majesty was in his palace”) followed by the *iw.tw* formula was to make a setting of the king in his palace performing his daily administrative duties while receiving the report of the Nubian rebellion from a messenger.³

The report describes how the enemy started the rebellion. The king was informed that the Nubians had attacked the Egyptians, and had taken the cattle from the fortresses (*mnnw*) built by his father, Thutmose I.⁴ Spalinger has suggested that the fortresses of Thutmose I referred to in Thutmose II’s Aswan inscription were located at Tombos (at the Third Cataract) and Sai (between the Second and Third Cataracts).⁵ Morris, on the other hand, has argued that Thutmose I may have built fortresses at Tombos and Kurgus (beyond the Fourth Cataract). She based her argument on the archaeological remains in these sites and the textual evidence of Thutmose I: the Tombos stela of Thutmose I and his inscription on Hagar el-Merwa, located in close proximity to Kurgus.⁶

The report also provides important information about who started the rebellion and the motivation for rebellion. It is reported that a local chief (*wr*) to the north of Kush together with two other locals, identified as the “sons of the chief of doomed Kush,” were the ones who sparked the rebellion, and that they were previously defeated by Thutmose I and fled from battle.⁷ Their defeat by Thutmose I led to the division of Nubia into five parts ruled by five local administrators. Morris has suggested that the rebels may have plotted the rebellion upon

¹ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 3–4, 107, 115.

² Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, chap. 1; Lorton, “The Aswan/Philae Inscription of Thutmose II,” 670 n. 13; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 29.

³ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 104.

⁴ Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 59.

⁵ Anthony J. Spalinger, “Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt’s Domination over Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 350.

⁶ Ellen Fowles Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt’s New Kingdom* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 73, 90, 108–10.

⁷ Lorton, “The Aswan/Philae Inscription of Thutmose II,” 671–72 n. 21; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 59.

receiving the news of the death of Thutmose I.¹ Thutmose II reacted to the report by sending the army to put down the rebellion, and was absent from this campaign.²

2. Thutmose III's Annals of the Battle of Megiddo

Thutmose III's Annals of the Battle of Megiddo³ include reports of the rebellion of the former Egyptian allies headed by the ruler of Qadesh (on the Orontes) and based in the fortified Canaanite city of Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim, northern Israel).⁴ In the military council of Yehem, the king speaks to his "army of victory" as follows:

<i>h3t-sp 23 tpy šmw sw 16 r dmi n Yhm</i>	Year 23, the first month of <i>Shemu</i> , day 16, in the town of Yehem,
<i>wḏ [hm.f] (19) nḏ.tw r hn^c mš^c.f n nḥtw r dd r-n[tt]</i>	[His Majesty] commanded that advice be taken with his army of victory, to say to the effect that:
<i>hr pf [hsi] (20) n ḳdš iw ḳ(.w) r mkt</i>	'This [vile] enemy of Qadesh came and entered Megiddo;
<i>sw [im] (21) m t3 3t</i>	he is [there] at this moment;
<i>šḥwy.n.f n.f wrw nw h3swt [nbt wnw] (22) hr mw n Kmt hn^c š^c-r n-h-r-n m [...]</i>	he assembled for himself the chiefs of [all] foreign countries which had been loyal to Egypt and as far as Naharin, consisting of [...],
<i>(23) H3rw Ḳdw ssmwt.sn mš^c.sn [rmt.sn]</i>	Kharu, Qode, their horses, their army (and) [their troops].'
<i>(24) r-ntt sw hr dd hr.tw</i>	That he is saying—it is said—

¹ Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 75.

² *Urk.* IV, 140: 3–10; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 120; Galán, *Victory and Border*, 76; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 37–38.

³ The inscription concerning the Battle of Megiddo was carved on the south external wall of the northern rooms of Hatshepsut at Karnak, now the north wall, south side around the bark sanctuary of Amun, PM II, 97 (280–82), plan XII, room VIII; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine*, 3.

Publication: *Urk.* IV, 647–67.

Main studies: R. O. Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 28 (1942): 2–15; Hermann Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1949); James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 234–35; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. II: *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 29–35; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 134–42; Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 213–14; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 155–61; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 73–93; Hans Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 3–18; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 83–100.

⁴ Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 234. Megiddo is located near the south west corner of the Jezreel Valley in northern Israel. It had a strategic location controlling the military and commercial road between Egypt and the ancient Near East, known as the *Via Maris*, Yohanan Aharoni, "Megiddo," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 3, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York: Carta; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 1003–12; James M. Weinstein, "Megiddo," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 2, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 368.

ḥꜥ.i r [ḥ3 r ḥm.f ʿ3] (25) m mkt

‘I shall stand to [fight against his Majesty here] in Megiddo!’

ḏd.tn n.i [ntt m ib.tn]

You shall tell me [what is your opinion].¹

The military council took place in the town of Yehem in Year 23, I *shemu* 16.² Thutmose III starts his speech by asking for the advice of the “army of victory” concerning the report he presumably received from his intelligence service of the rebellion of the ruler of Qadesh together with the former Egyptian allies. The report informs that the ruler of Qadesh and his allies are rebelling in Megiddo, and that the ruler of Qadesh allegedly said that he is waiting there to fight the king. The expression *ḥr.tw* (“it is said”)³ is used to mark the report. The king finally asks for the advice of the “army of victory.” Here the report is not presented in a physical interaction, in which the king is presented receiving the news of a rebellion from a messenger.

The “army of victory” replies by asking about the reason of taking the difficult narrow road, the Aruna Pass, and reports to the king the news presumably received from the intelligence service about the location and advance of the enemy. The argument goes as follows:

sw mi ih šmt ḥr m(27)tn pn nty w3 r ḥns

What would it be like, going over this road that becomes narrow?

iw.tw [ḥr smit r] (28) ḏd

It is reported as follows:

ḥrwyw im ḥꜥ(.w) ḥr [bnr]

‘The enemy is there, standing [outside];

[iw.sn] (29) w3 r ʿš3

they amount to a multitude.’⁴

Here the phrase *iw.tw [ḥr smit r] ḏd* is employed to introduce the report included in the reply of the army. The enemy is described as being numerous and waiting at the mouth of the Aruna Pass. This report is used by the army to convince the king not to take the difficult narrow road.⁵

The “army of victory” then argues that the army could not wholly fight the enemy if they took the narrow Aruna Pass, since the front of the army will fight the enemy waiting outside while the rear of the army will be still marching in the pass and cannot fight. They advised the king to take

¹ *Urk.* IV, 649: 3–14; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 30; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine*, 14.

² Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 87.

³ For the verb *ḥr*, see Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 348 (§ 437); Michel Malaise and Jean Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée de l'Égyptien classique*. *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 6 (Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres, Université de Liège, 1999), 390 (§ 627).

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 649: 15–650: 14; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 30–31; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine*, 14–15.

⁵ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 22, 136.

one of the other two roads: the Taanach and Djefthi roads, which are easier and would eventually lead to Megiddo.¹

Here the person who reports the news to the king is not identified. The reports on the coalition, position, and advance of the enemy are included in the king's speech and the reply of the army in the Yehem council.

3. Konosso Stela of Thutmose IV

Thutmose IV's Konosso Stela² opens with the titles of the king (except the birth name) followed by the full date "Year 8, III *peret* 2."³ The narrative begins with a setting of the king in Thebes at Karnak performing his religious duties to Amun: *ist hm.f m niwt rsyt r dmi n Ipt-swt wy.fy w' b m [w' b]w [ntr]*, "Now, his Majesty was in the Southern City (Thebes), within the town of Karnak, his two arms were pure with the [oblations] of the [god]."⁴

The report concerning a Nubian rebellion reads as follows:

<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i>	One came to tell his Majesty:
<i>Nhsy h(4)3w m h3w W3w3t</i>	'The Nubian has descended from (or near) Wawat.
<i>k3.n.f bšt r Kmt</i>	He has planned rebellion against Egypt,
<i>shwy n.f šm3(5)w nbw bštw nw kt</i>	assembling for himself all nomads and rebels of the
<i>h3st</i>	other foreign land. ⁵

The text demonstrates that the king was in the temple of Karnak, when he received the report of the Nubian rebellion. This is expressed by the use of the setting phrase *ist hm.f m niwt rsyt r dmi n Ipt-swt ...* followed by the formula *iw.tw r dd n hm.f* ("One came to tell his Majesty").⁶ The report either indicates that the Nubian (*Nhsy*) has descended from Wawat and attacked Egypt, or that the skirmish took place in an area within Egypt near Wawat.⁷ The report informs that the

¹ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 136; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 84 Map 4, 103; Adam Zertal, "The Arunah Pass," in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*, ed. S. Bar, D. Kahn and JJ Shirley (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 343–44.

² Rock-cut Stela on the island of Konosso, PM V, 254.

Publication: *Urk.* IV, 1545–1548.

Main studies: Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 156–57; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 5, 108; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 83 (10); Betsy Morrell Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1991), 333–36; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 40–44; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 345–52; Beylage, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte I*, 29–37; idem, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte II*, 580–88.

³ *Urk.* IV, 1545: 4–6.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 1545: 7–9; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 40.

⁵ *Urk.* IV, 1545: 10–13; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 41; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 346; Beylage, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte I*, 30–31.

⁶ *Urk.* IV, 1545: 7–10; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 5, 108.

⁷ Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 333–34; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 346 n. 2705.

enemy has planned rebellion against Egypt (*k3.n.f r Kmt*), and that he was joined by the nomads (*šm3w*) and rebels (*bšt w*) of the other foreign land.

This text was considered by scholars as referring to a rebellion in Nubia.¹ However, the text does not mention Kush or Wawat in the king's journey description. The text states that Thutmose IV set out on his expedition from Edfu, "traversed the Eastern Desert, opening the paths like the jackal of Upper Egypt, seeking the one who had attacked him."² The king then stopped at Konosso.³ The Konosso Stela appears to describe a journey by Thutmose IV over the gold-mine routes east of Edfu in the Eastern Desert. As Bryan has stated, the text seems to refer to a punitive expedition of Thutmose IV within Egypt not in Nubia, in the first Upper Egyptian nome (*T3-Sty*), against a group of Nubians who attacked the gold routes between Egypt and Nubia.⁴

4. Aswan Stela of Amenhotep III

Amenhotep III's Aswan Stela⁵, commemorating the Nubian campaign of Year 5,⁶ records a report of a Nubian rebellion. It opens with the complete date "Year 5, III *akhet* 2," followed by the formula *h' t hr hm n Hr* ("Appearance by the Majesty of Horus") and the fivefold titulary of the king.⁷ The report of the Nubian rebellion follows immediately:

(4) <i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i>	One came to tell his Majesty:
<i>p3 hrw n Kš hst k3.n.f bšt m ib.f</i>	'The enemy of the doomed Kush, he has planned rebellion in his heart.' ⁸

The *iw.tw* formula is employed to introduce the report of the Nubian rebellion, which is limited to a statement employing the expression *k3i bšt*, "plan rebellion." The report just informs that the

¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 156–57; George Steindorff and Keith C. Seele. *When Egypt Ruled the East*. 2nd ed. revised (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 71; Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 204; David O'Connor, "New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, 1552–664 BC," in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, ed. B. G. Trigger et al. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 259; Nicolas Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, trans. by Ian Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 219.

² *Urk. IV*, 1547: 5, 1547: 17–19; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 43–44.

³ Konosso was one of several First Cataract expeditions' stop points, Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 198.

⁴ Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 334–35; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 40.

⁵ Rock-cut stela on the east side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae, PM V, 245.

Publication: *Urk. IV*, 1665–1666.

Main studies: Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 158–62; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 6; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 83 (11); Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1992), 8–9; David O'Connor, "Amenhotep III and Nubia," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 264–68; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 45–46; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 422–24; Beylage, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte I*, 149–156; idem, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte II*, 644–47.

⁶ This campaign is described as *wdyt.f tpt nt nht* ("his first campaign of victory"), *Urk. IV*, 1666: 6.

⁷ *Urk. IV*, 1665: 15–1666: 2.

⁸ *Urk. IV*, 1666: 3–4; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 45; Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 423; Beylage, *Aufbau der Königlichen Stelentexte I*, 150.

enemy of Kush has planned rebellion in his heart (*k3.n.f bšt m ib.f*). Later on, the text states that Amenhotep III was at the head of the campaign, which culminated in the victory of the king and his subjugation of the enemy.¹

5. Buhen Stela of Akhenaten

Akhenaten's stela from Buhen (north of the Second Cataract)² records a report of a rebellion in Lower Nubia. It starts with the date "(Year 10-12?), III *akhet* 20."³ The setting phrase can be restored as [*ist hm.f m ḥ.f*], "[Now, his Majesty was in his palace]."⁴ The report of the Nubian rebellion to the king then follows:

[*iw.tw r dd n hm.f*]

(4) *n3 n hrw n h3st Ik3y(t3 ...)*

(5) *nḥsi hr nḥm ḥnḥ{t} (?) nb(t) r.sn (...)*

[One came to tell his Majesty:]

'The enemies of the land of Ikay(ta ...)

the Nehesy are seizing all upon which one lives for themselves (...)'⁵

Spalinger restored the common *iw.tw* formula (*iw.tw r dd n hm.f*) at the beginning of the report of the rebellion of the people of Ikayta.⁶ Säve-Söderberg located Ikayta in the desert east of Kubban in Lower Nubia (located south of the First Cataract on the east bank of the Nile at the mouth of the Wadi Allaqi).⁷ Scholars suggest that Ikayta is to be identified with the Wadi Allaqi known for its gold mines.⁸ The Buhen Stela demonstrates that Akhenaten received the news that the enemies of the land of Ikayta, described as Nehesy, were seizing the food supplies, possibly of the Egyptians working in the gold mines there.⁹ The king reacted to the news of the rebellion by commissioning the viceroy of Kush (*s3 nswt n Kš imy-r h3swt rswt*, "king's son of Kush and

¹ *Urk.* IV, 1666: 7–12; O'Connor, "Amenhotep III and Nubia," 264.

² Publication: H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions*. EES Memoir 48 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976), pl. 29. For the parallel text of the Amada Fragment of Akhenaten commemorating the same event, see *Urk.* IV, 1963.

Main studies: Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 124–29; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 7.

³ For the restoration of the year date, see Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 126 n. 1, pl. 29.

⁴ This restoration of the setting phrase is based on the parallel text of the Amada Fragment of Akhenaten: *ist hm.f [m ḥ.f]*, *Urk.* IV, 1963: 9; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 7.

⁵ Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 125–26, pl. 29.

⁶ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 7.

⁷ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 163. For Kubban, see Geoff Emberling and Bruce Beyer Williams, *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 276.

⁸ Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 315, 318, 320, 653; Rosemarie Klemm and Dietrich Klemm, *Gold and Gold Mining in Ancient Egypt and Nubia: Geoarchaeology of the Ancient Gold Mining Sites in the Egyptian and Sudanese Eastern Deserts* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), 294. Ikayta is mentioned in the Kubban Stela of Ramesses II in the context of digging a well upon its road to provide water supply for the gold miners working there on behalf of the Egyptian government, *KRI* II, 355: 1–7; Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 129 and n. 1.

⁹ O'Connor, "New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period," 260; idem, "The Location of Irem," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 127.

overseer of southern countries”), Thutmose, to punish the people of Ikayta and to protect Egyptian possessions there. Akhenaten did not participate personally in this Nubian campaign, which was led by the viceroy of Kush.¹

6. First Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I

The First Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I² starts with the full date “Year 1, III *shemu* 10,” followed by the fivefold titulary of the king and the royal eulogy.³ The text then narrates the report to the king of a rebellion of the Canaanite cities of Hammath (Tell el-Ḥammah, Palestine)⁴ and Pella (Khirbet /Tabaqat Fahl, Jordan)⁵, located in close proximity to Beth-Shan (Tell el-Hosn, northern Israel)⁶, as follows:

hrw pn iw.tw r dd n ḥm.f r-nty

p3 ḥrw ḥsy nty m dmi n Ḥmt nwy.f n.f rmt ʿš3

iw.f ḥr nḥm dmi n Btšr

ḥr sm3 m-di n3 Pḥr

bw di.n.f pry p3 wr n Rḥb r-bnr

On this day one came to tell his Majesty that:
‘The vile enemy who is in the town of Hammath has gathered to himself a multitude of men

and he has taken the town of Beth-Shan,
and has allied with those from Pella,
and he does not let the chief of Rehob come out.’⁷

The stela announces the arrival of the messenger through the phrase *hrw pn iw.tw r dd n ḥm.f r-nty*.¹ Here the report is introduced by the *iw.tw* formula, which is preceded by *hrw pn* (“On this

¹ Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 125–26.

² Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, S.884.

Publication: *KRI* I, 11–12.

Main studies: Anthony J. Spalinger, “The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 16 (1979): 31; idem, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 8–9; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 42–46; *RITA* I, 9–10; *RITANC* I, 17–19; Benedict G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty* (Jonsered: Paul Åströms förlag, 1997), 29–34.

³ *KRI* I, 11: 15–12: 7.

⁴ Hammath is located 16 km south of Beth Shan. The site was given the Arabic name Tell el-Ḥammah for its hot springs, Jane Cahill and David Tarler, “Ḥammah, Tell el-,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 2, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York: Carta; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 561.

⁵ Pella / Pehel is located on the eastern side of the Jordan Valley, about 27 km south of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) and 12 km southeast of Beth-Shan, Lee I. Levine, “Pella,” in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. IV, ed. Michael Avi-Yonah and Ephraim Stern (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1975), 939.

⁶ Beth-Shan is located in northern Israel between the Jordan Valley and the eastern end of the Jezreel Valley. The ancient name of the city became Beisan following the Arab conquest, Amihai Mazar, “Beth-Shean,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 1, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York: Carta; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 214; idem, “The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean,” in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*, ed. S. Bar, D. Kahn and JJ Shirley (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 156.

⁷ *KRI* I, 12: 7–10; Spalinger, “The Northern Wars of Seti I,” 31; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 32, 33.

day”) to refer to the opening date of the stela. The report states that the ruler of Hammath was the one who sparked the rebellion. The ruler of Hammath is reported to have gathered a great number of troops, seized Beth-Shan, allied with Pella, and is besieging Rehob (Tel Rehov/Tell es-Sarem)². The report states that Rehob was under siege and was not among the rebellious towns. Seti I reacted to the news of the rebellion by sending three divisions of his army to the cities of Hammath, Beth-Shan, and Yenoam to quell the rebellion.³ These three cities together with Pella also appear in Seti I’s topographical lists of captured cities and localities at Karnak (east and west sides of the north exterior wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall).⁴ The king did not participate personally in this campaign, and the mission was accomplished within one day.⁵

7. Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I

The Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I⁶ starts with the date (lost) followed by the fivefold titulary of the king and a series of epithets.⁷ The narrative begins with the report to the king concerning a rebellion of the Apiru as follows:

<i>hrw pn ist</i> (10) [<i>iw.tw r dd n h</i>]m.f <i>nh wd3</i> <i>snb</i>	On this day, now, [one came to tell his Majesty], l.p.h.:
<i>n3 n prw n p3 dw Yrmt hn Tirw</i> (11) [... <i>hc.w] thm(.w) hr n3 n 3mw Rhm</i>	‘The Apiru of the mountain of Yarmuta together with the Tayaru [... are standing] attacking the Asiatics of Ruhma.’ ⁸

¹ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 8–9; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 31.

² Rehob was the major city in the Beth-Shan Valley, about 6 km west of the Jordan River and 5 km south of Beth-Shan, Amihai Mazar, “Rehov, Tel,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 5, ed. Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Biblical Archaeology Society, 2008), 2013; idem, “The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean,” 159.

³ Hassan El-Saady, “The Wars of Sety I at Karnak: A New Chronological Structure,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 19 (1992): 287.

⁴ KRI I, 29: nos. 54–57, 32: nos. 49–52; Spalinger, “The Northern Wars of Seti I,” 38.

⁵ KRI I, 12: 10–15; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 32, 33; Mazar, “The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean,” 159.

⁶ The stela was discovered by Clarence S. Fischer in Tell el-Hosn (Beth-Shan) in 1921, now in Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, S.885 A/B, PM VII, 380; Albright, “The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele of Sethos I,” 24.

Publication: Bernhard Grdseloff, *Une stèle scythopolitaine du roi Séthos Ier* (Le Caire: Le Scribe Egyptien, 1949); W. F. Albright, “The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele of Sethos I (1309-1290 B. C.),” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 125 (1952): 24–32; KRI I, 15–16.

Main studies: Albright, “The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele of Sethos I,” 24–32; Spalinger, “The Northern Wars of Seti I,” 29–47; idem, “Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II,” 32; idem, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 9–10; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 43; RITA I, 12–13; RITANC I, 20–21; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 35–40; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 47–49.

⁷ KRI I, 16: 2–8.

⁸ KRI I, 16: 8–9; RITA I, 13; Spalinger, “The Northern Wars of Seti I,” 32; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 38, 39; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 48.

The expression *hrw pn* is employed in both the Beth-Shan Stelae of Seti I to introduce the *iw.tw* formula to refer to the date in the beginning of the text.¹ The difference is the use of the particle *ist* in the Second Beth-Shan Stela. The report refers to the attack by the *ḥprw* of the mountain of Yarmuta allied with the *Tirw* on the Asiatics (*ḥmw*) of *Rhm*. Yarmuta has been identified with Yarmuth, which is probably the site of Kaukab el-Hawa, approximately 10 miles to the north of Beth-Shan.² The words *ḥprw* and *Tirw* are written with the determinatives for warriors (warrior, plural sign) and for foreign people (throw stick, man, woman, plural sign), respectively.³ The Apiru were probably a warlike people from the hills close to Beth-Shan who were causing trouble to settled populations.⁴

Albright identified the Apiru with the Ḥabiru, who appeared for the first time in the Amarna letters as a source of trouble and rebellion in many city-states of Canaan under Egyptian control. According to the Amarna letters, the rulers of the Canaanite city-states frequently requested the Egyptian king's protection from the Ḥabiru.⁵

Seti I reacted to the report of rebellion by ordering a contingent of his infantry and chariotry to return to Djahy to put down the rebellion of the Apiru (*ḥḥ.n wd.in ḥm.f ḥnh wḏ3 snb rht rmt m p3y.f [mšḥ t3y.f nt-ḥ]tri ḥ3wt wḏb ḥr.sn r ḥ3st D3hy*, "Then his Majesty, I.p.h., ordered a number of men from his [infantry and his] numerous [chari]otry to turn back against the foreign land of Djahy").⁶ It appears that Seti I received the report of the attack by the Apiru and Tayaru on their neighbors in the vicinity of Beth-Shan on the return of the Egyptian army from a campaign in Syria. Within two days, the mission was accomplished, and the prisoners were brought from Yarmuta.⁷ The Second Beth-Shan Stela of Seti I refers to a rebellion of the Apiru people in vicinity of Beth-Shan, in contrast to the First Beth-Shan Stela which refers to a rebellion of the Canaanite cities around Beth-Shan.⁸

Both of the Beth-Shan stelae record campaigns of Seti I in Palestine, in which the king was not present.⁹ Beth-Shan served as an Egyptian administrative center following the conquest of Palestine under Thutmose III. The main purpose of these two stelae was the commemoration of

¹ Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 48.

² Albright, "The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele of Sethos I," 28 and n. 14; *RITANC I*, 20; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 40.

³ *KRI I*, 16: 8–9.

⁴ *RITANC I*, 20.

⁵ Albright, "The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele," 27. For the equation of the Ḥabiru with the biblical Hebrews, see Nadav Na'aman, "Ḥabiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, no. 4 (1986): 271–88.

⁶ *KRI I*, 16: 13–14; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 39; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 49. For the interpretation of this passage, see Albright, "The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele," 27–28, 29; *RITANC I*, 21.

⁷ *KRI I*, 16: 14–15; *RITANC I*, 21.

⁸ Albright, "The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele," 27.

⁹ Anthony Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38, no. 4 (1979): 277.

the king's military success to reassert the Egyptian control of Canaan at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, after the negligence of the foreign affairs during the Amarna Period at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹

8. Seti I's Karnak reliefs of the Shasu Campaign

Seti I's Karnak reliefs of the Year 1 Shasu Campaign² are preserved on the east side of the north exterior wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, bottom register.³ The text of the king's triumphal return to Egypt from the Shasu Campaign, which is a caption to the scene of the king riding his chariot, bringing the Shasu prisoners to the border fortress of Tjaru (Tell Heboua I)⁴, and being welcomed by priests and High officials,⁵ records a report of a rebellion of the Shasu. The text begins with the date "Year 1 of *wḥm mswt*" followed by the prenomen of the king (Menmaatre).⁶ The report to the king concerning the rebellion of the Shasu immediately follows:

(3) ḥ^c.n.tw iw r dd n ḥm.f

(4) n3 n ḥrw n š3sw šn(5).sn bdš

n3y.sn ʿ3w n mhw(t) (6) dmd m bw w^c ḥ^c ḥr n3
n tswt n Ḥ3rw

(7) šsp.sn sh3 ḥnn

w^c im (8) ḥr sm3 sn-nwt.f

b<w> ḥmt.sn ḥpw (9) n ḥ

Then one came to tell his Majesty:

'The Shasu enemies, they are plotting rebellion!

Their tribal chiefs are gathered in one place, standing on the foothills of Kharu, and they are engaged in turmoil and uproar.

The one of them is killing his fellow.

They don't respect the laws of the palace.'⁷

The report refers to the king receiving the news of the rebellion started by the Shasu. The leaders of the Shasu are described as rebelling on the foothills of Kharu, a term which probably first

¹ Amihai Mazar, "Beth-Shean," 216–17.

² Publication: The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, Vol. 4: *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*. Oriental Institute Publications 107 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986), 3–26, pl. 2–8; *KRI I*, 6–11.

Main studies: Anthony J. Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Seti I," *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 9 (1979), 237–39; idem, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," 277; idem, "The Northern Wars of Seti I," 29–30; idem, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 8; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 39–42, 68 n. 5; *RITA I*, 6–9; *RITANC I*, 10–17; El-Saad, "The Wars of Sety I at Karnak," 285–94; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 2–7.

³ See *KRI I*, 6 for the diagram of the Karnak war reliefs of Seti I; Spalinger, "The Northern Wars of Seti I," 29.

⁴ The border fortress of Tjaru (Tell Heboua I) on the north eastern frontier of Egypt was seized by Ahmose, and was reconstructed in or prior to the reign of Thutmose III to protect Egypt against the incursions of Asiatics. Other constructions were carried out during the Nineteenth Dynasty to improve the fortress, Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*, 45–50, 56–58, 116, 136, 509–11, fig. 9.

⁵ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* 4, pl. 6. For the diagram, see *KRI I*, 6 (east side, bottom register, scene d).

⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* 4, pl. 6 = *KRI I*, 9: 3.

⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* 4, pl. 6 = *KRI I*, 9: 3–5; Spalinger, "The Northern Wars of Seti I," 30; *RITA I*, 7–8; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 5; Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*, 347.

designated southern Palestine and later included Phoenicia and Syria.¹ The *iw.tw* formula is here preceded by the narrative verbal form *ḥḥ.n (ḥḥ.n.tw iw r dd n ḥm.f)*. The king was at the head of the campaign which set out from Tjaru to suppress the Shasu. The reliefs describe the king's victory over the Shasu near the city of Pa-Canaan.²

9. Sai/Amarah West Stela of Seti I

The two almost identical stelae of Seti I from Sai and Amarah West³ commemorate the king's Nubian campaign of Year 8 against Irem.⁴ The Sai and Amarah West stelae begin with the date "Year 8" followed by the royal titles and royal eulogy.⁵ The setting phrase appears only in the Sai Stela as follows: *[ist] [ḥm].f m dmi n W3st hr irt ḥs[st it.f Imn-rḥ]*, "[Now] his [Majesty] was in the city of Thebes performing [what his father Amun-Ra praised]."⁶ The two inscriptions contain a report of the rebellion of the people of Irem to the king as follows:

(6) *iw.tw r dd n ḥm.f ḥnh wd3 snb
n3 n hrw n ḥ3st Trm k3.n.sn bšt*

One came to tell his Majesty, l.p.h.:
'The enemies of the foreign country Irem, they
have planned rebellion!'⁷

The narrative starts with Seti I in Thebes, when someone comes to report to him on the rebellion in Irem. The *iw.tw* formula is employed to introduce the report of the rebellion,⁸ which is limited

¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Vol. I (London: Oxford, 1947), 180–87*; Spalinger, A. J. "The Historical Implications of the Year 9 Campaign of Amenophis II," *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 13, no. 2 (1983): 93 n. 26; Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*, 283 n. 257.

² KRI I, 8: 8–12.

³ The fragmentary Sai Stela of Seti I was discovered by Vercoutter at Sai in 1970, now MAF F.25.11+, Vercoutter, "Une campagne militaire de Sétî I en Haute Nubie," 201–08, pl. 17. The Amarah West Stela was found in the inner court of the temple of Ramesses II at Amarah West, now Brooklyn Museum 39.424, PM VII, 159.

Publication: Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia," in *Ägypten und Kusch*, ed. Erika Endesfelder et al. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), 214–19; Jean Vercoutter, "Une campagne militaire de Sétî I en Haute Nubie," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 24 (1972): 201–08, pl. 17; KRI I, 102–04 (49), revised in KRI VII, 8–11 (184); Jean Vercoutter, "Le pays Irem et la pénétration égyptienne en Afrique (Stéle de Sai S. 579)," in *Livre du Centenaire 1880-1980*, ed. Jean Vercoutter. MIFAO 104 (Le Caire: l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1980), 157–63, fig. 1, pl. 21 A/B.

Main studies: Kitchen, "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia," 214–19; Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," 279–81; idem, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 10; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 43, 86 (14), 100–02; RITA I, 85–87 (49); RITANC I, 81–90 (49); Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 47–54; Peter James Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 34 n. 167, 291, 292, 364; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 50–54.

⁴ Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 86, 100; Anthony J. Spalinger, "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and other Ramesside Temples in Nubia," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980): 89 and n. 27. For the location of Irem, see O'Connor, "The Location of Irem," 99–136. This Nubian campaign is not included in the war reliefs of Seti I at Karnak, Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II," 281; idem, "Historical Observations," 91; Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, 121 n. 8.

⁵ KRI VII, 9: 2–8.

⁶ KRI VII, 9: 10. The setting is not included in the Amarah West Stela, Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 51.

⁷ KRI VII, 9: 9–12; RITA I, 86; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 48, 49; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 51.

⁸ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 10.

to a statement employing the expression *k3i bšt*, “plan rebellion.” Later on, the text states that Seti I dispatched the army to suppress the rebels, but did not take part personally in the campaign.¹

10. *Qadesh Bulletin of Ramesses II*²

The Campaign of Qadesh, which took place in Year 5 of Ramesses II, was recorded in three compositions which were inscribed on the walls of this king’s major temples. The compositions are: 1) the so-called *Qadesh Poem*, which is the longest composition on the battle of Qadesh and emphasises the relation between the king and Amun; 2) the captions accompanying the reliefs and providing details on the scenes of the battle; 3) the so-called *Qadesh Bulletin*, not as long as the *Qadesh Poem* and providing an account of the king’s journey up to Qadesh and the battle.³

The *Bulletin* is the only of the three compositions that includes an episode with the theme of report of rebellion. The narrative goes that Ramesses II was approached by two Shasu on his way to Qadesh at the town of Shabtuna. They provide false information concerning the location of the Hittites.⁴ The report of the two Shasu to the king reads as follows:

- (8) *iy.in Šsw 2 m n3 n mhwt Šsw r dd n hm.f* Then two Shasu of the tribes of the Shasu came to tell His Majesty:
- (9) *m n3y.n snw nty m 3w n mhwt m-di p3 hrw* ‘It is our brothers, who are chiefs of the tribes
n Ht3 (10) *di iwt.n n hm.f r dd* (11) *iw.n r irt* with the enemy of Hatti, who have sent us to
b3kw n pr-3 3nh wd3 snb mtw.n rwi.n m-di p3 His Majesty to say that we shall act as
hrw n Ht3 servants of pharaoh, l.p.h., and we shall
remove ourselves from the (the company of)
the enemy of Hatti.’
- (12) *dd.in hm.f n.sn* Then His Majesty said to them:
st tnw n3y.tn [snw] [di] (13) *iw.tn r dd p3y shr* ‘Where are they, your [brothers, who caused]
n hm.f you to come and tell his Majesty this affair?’
- (14) *dd.i[n.sn n hm.f]* Then [they] said [to His Majesty]:
st m p3 nty p3 wr hsy n Ht3 im (15) *p3 wn p3* ‘They are in the (same) place in which the

¹ KRI VII, 10: 5–13.

² Publication: KRI II, 102–24.

Main studies: Alan H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960), 28–34; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 57–62; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 161–69; Thomas von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses’ II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht: Analyse und Struktur* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1984); RITA II, 14–18; RITANC II, 7–8; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 86–95; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 164–77; Frédéric Servajean, *Quatre études sur la bataille de Qadech* (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier 3, 2012).

³ Publication: KRI II, 2-147.

Main studies: Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 153–69; Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses’ II*; RITA II, 2–26; RITANC II, 3–55; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 55–96.

⁴ Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses’ II*, 120; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 211, 212.

hrw n Ht3 m p3 t3 n Hrb hr mht Twnp (16) vile chief of Hatti is, for the enemy of Hatti is
snd.f n pr-3 ʿnh wḏ3 snb r iyt m hntw (17) *ḏr*
sdm.f r ḏd [pr-3 ʿnh] wḏ3 snb iw [m] ḥd in the land of Aleppo, to the north of Tunip,
 and he is (too) afraid of pharaoh, l.p.h., to
 come south, since he has heard it is said that
 [Pharaoh, l]p.h., had come north.’¹

The common *iw.tw* formula (*iw.tw r ḏd n ḥm.f*), which includes the indefinite particle *tw* (“one”), is not employed to introduce the report of the two Shasu. Instead, the narrative forms *iy.in Ṣsw 2 m n3 n mḥwt Ṣsw r ḏd n ḥm.f* and *ḏd. i[n.sn n ḥm.f]* are employed. Here the person who reports the news to the king is identified: two Shasu of the tribes of the Shasu. The suffix pronoun *sn* in the second reporting phrase refers to the two Shasu.

The report of the two Shasu is presented in the form of a dialogue between Ramesses II and the two Shasu. They claimed that their brothers, who are tribal chiefs loyal to the Hittites, caused them to defect from the Hittites and to become in the side of the Egyptians. They misinformed Ramesses II that the Hittite king was in Aleppo, north of Tunip.² Next, the *Bulletin* states that these two Shasu were sent by the Hittites to mislead King Ramesses II.³ Later on, the *Bulletin* tells that the Hittites were actually hidden “behind Qadesh (*n-ḥ3 Ḳdš*) / behind Qadesh, the old (*n-ḥ3 Ḳdš t3 ist*).”⁴

The *Bulletin* then states that Ramesses II had camped “to the north of Qadesh, on the western bank of the Orontos (*hr mḥty Ḳdš hr t3 rit imntt nt Irnt*).”⁵ Then follows the account of the capture of two Hittite spies (*ḥ3pwtw 2 n p3 hrw n Ht3*, “two scouts of the enemy of Hatti”) and their interrogation by Ramesses II.⁶ The report of the two Hittite spies to the king of the rebellion of the Hittite king and his allies is narrated in the *Bulletin* as follows:

(40) *ḏd.n.sn [n] ḥm.f* They said [to] His Majesty:
ptr p3 wr ḥsy n Ht3 iw (41) *ḥnᶜ ḥ3swt ḵnw nty* ‘See, The vile chief of Hatti has come,
ḥnᶜ.f in.n.f m-di.f m nḥtw (43) *p3 t3 n Drdny p3* together with many foreign countries who are
t3 n Nhrn (44) *p3 ḵšḵš n3 Ms n3 Pds* (45) *p3 t3* with him, and whom he has brought as allies:
n Ḳrḵš ḥnᶜ Rk p3 t3 n Krkmš (46) *p3 t3 n Irṯw* the land of Dardany, the land of Nahrin, the
p3 t3 n Ikrṯ p3 Irwn (47) *p3 t3 n Ins Mwšnt Ḳds* Keshkesh, those of Masa, those of Pidasa, the
 (48) *Hrb p3 t3 n Ḳd r-ḏr.f* land of Qarqisha and Luku, the land of
 Carchemish, the land of Arzawa, the land of
 Ugarit, the Arwen, the land of Inesa,

¹ KRI II, 103: 12–105: 15; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 86, 87.

² Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 211, 212.

³ KRI II, 106: 1–108: 10.

⁴ KRI II, 108: 2–5, 112: 5–8; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 213.

⁵ KRI II, 109: 7; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 88, 89.

⁶ KRI II, 109: 7–15; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 11.

	Mushanet, Qadesh, Aleppo, and the entire of Qedy.
(49) <i>st ḥr mšꜥw ḥnꜥ nt-ḥtrw ḥr nꜣy.sn ḥꜥw nw r-ḥt</i>	They were equipped with their army and their chariotry, carrying their weapons of combat.
(50) <i>šꜣw st r šꜥ wdbw</i>	They were more numerous than the sand of the sea-shores.
(51) <i>ptr st ḥꜥw ḥr r ḥꜣ n-ḥꜣ Kdš tꜣ ist</i>	See, They are standing, ready to fight, behind Qadesh, the Old.’ ¹

The formula *dd.n.sn [n] ḥm.f* is employed to introduce the report of the two Hittite spies, where the suffix pronoun *sn* refers to them. The report provides important information on the position of the Hittites and their allies. After Ramesses II has already camped to the west of Qadesh, he was informed by the Hittite spies that the Hittite king and his allies were behind Qadesh and not in Aleppo. The king discovered that the false information reported by the two Shasu was a plot planned by the Hittites to attack the Egyptians by surprise.²

According to the *Bulletin*, King Ramesses II summoned his officials to inform them of the news he received from the spies. He lays blame upon the vassals of Egypt, who misinformed the king that the Hittites were in Aleppo. The vassals of Egypt are specified: the “overseers of foreign countries / overseers of fortresses” and “chiefs [of the] lands of Pharaoh (B55) / chiefs under whose authority are the lands of Pharaoh (B66).” The king then reports to his officials the report of the Hittite spies concerning the exact location of the Hittites. He finally criticizes the failure of the vassals of Egypt and local administrators to report on the location of the Hittites. The text reveals the incompetence of the king’s intelligence service.³

The officials next describe the failure of the vassals of Egypt– “overseers of foreign countries” and “chiefs of Pharaoh”– to give accurate information on the location of the Hittites as a “great crime (*btꜣ ꜣ*)”. There is a reference here to the fact that daily reports are supposed to be given to the king in emergency situations.⁴

The Qadesh Bulletin describes in details the report of the two Shasu and of the two Hittite spies. The two Shasu misled Ramesses II, while the two Hittite spies provided accurate information of

¹ KRI II, 111: 1–112: 8; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 88–91. The common accompanying scene shows the king receiving the news from the two Hittite spies of the exact location of the Hittites, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 3 and n. 2, 28; Anthony J. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 153; RITANC II, 7.

² Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 10–11; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 210–11.

³ KRI II, 113: 1–115: 16; RITA II, 16; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 90, 91. It should be noted that the “overseers of foreign countries (*imyw-r ḥꜣswt*)” in the Luxor versions (L₁ and L₂) are replaced by the “overseers of fortresses (*imyw-r iwꜥt*)” in the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel versions (R₁ and I) in *Bulletin* 55, KRI II, 113: 5– 9; Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 33 n. to B55; Spalinger, *P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, 150 and n. 25.

⁴ KRI II, 116: 7–117: 4; RITA II, 16; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 211; Spalinger, *P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, 150, 154.

the position and advance of the enemy after their interrogation. The officials who are supposed to report to the king on the position of the Hittites are specified: the “overseers of foreign countries / overseers of fortresses” and “chiefs under whose authority are the lands of Pharaoh.” The person who reports the news to the king is here identified: two Shasu / two Hittite spies.

11. Cairo and Heliopolis Columns of Merenptah

The Cairo and Heliopolis Columns of Merenptah¹ commemorate this king’s victory over the Libyans and the Sheklesh in his Year 5. The historical text on the Cairo Column is broken; the Heliopolis text is complete and begins with the date Year 5, II *shemu*, followed by the report of the Libyan invasion to the king as follows:

(1) *h3t-sp 5 3bd 2 šmw iw.tw r dd n hm.f*

Year 5, month 2 of *shemu*, one came to tell his Majesty:

thm p3 wr hsy n Rbw p3 t3 n Rbw m t3yw hmwt
Škrš (2) h3st nb<t> nty hn^c fr thi t3šw Kmt

‘The vile chief of Libu has mobilized the land of Libu, consisting of men and women, the Sheklesh and every foreign country which is with him, in order to transgress the boundaries of Egypt.’²

Merenptah received the report of the Libyan invasion in Year 5, II *shemu*. The report is introduced by the common *iw.tw* formula. It was reported to the king that the chief of the Libu has gathered the Libu-people, the Sheklesh (a component of the Sea Peoples)³, and all foreign countries loyal to him to invade Egypt. The Libu (*Rbw*) was a component of the Libyans frequently appearing in Merenptah’s military texts.⁴ The Heliopolis text states that the king sent

¹ The Cairo Column of Merenptah (Cairo Museum RT 21/6/24/10) is now in the garden of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, PM IV, 70–71. The Heliopolis Column was discovered by Bakry in 1970 at Heliopolis and is now in *situ*, Bakry, “The Discovery of a Temple of Merenptah at Ōn,” 3–21, pl. 6–8.

Publication: Cairo text: Elmar Edel, “Ein Kairener Fragment mit einem Bericht über den Libyerkrieg Merneptahs,” *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 101–03; *KRI* IV, 23. Heliopolis text: Hassan S. K. Bakry, “The Discovery of a Temple of Merenptah at Ōn,” *Aegyptus* 53, no. 1/4 (1973): 3–21, pl. 6–8; *KRI* IV, 38.

Main studies: Bakry, “The Discovery of a Temple of Merenptah at Ōn,” 3–21; Alain-Pierre Zivie, “Quelques remarques sur un monument de Mérenptah,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 18 (1975): 45–50; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 12–13; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 87 (16); Hourig Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1989), 55–60; *RITA* IV, 29–30.

² *KRI* IV, 38: 3–4; Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 56, fig. 16b; *RITA* IV, 29.

³ For the components of the Sea Peoples, see Sameh Iskander, “The Reign of Merenptah” (PhD thesis, New York University, 2002), 262–63.

⁴ The other components of the Libyans referred to in Merenptah’s texts are Temehu, Tehenu, Meshwesh, and the Kehek, Iskander, “The Reign of Merenptah,” 262. The word *Rbw* is often translated “Libu” rather than “Ribu”, Colleen Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC*. Yale Egyptological Studies 5 (New Haven, CT: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Yale University, 2003), 2 n. 12.

an army to suppress the enemies, and ends with a short plunder list.¹ The war of Merenptah against the Libyans is known to have occurred in Year 5, III *shemu* 3.²

12. Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah

Merenptah's Great Karnak Inscription³, recording his victory over the Libyans and Sea Peoples in Year 5, preserves a report of the Libyan invasion. The beginning of the text is unfortunately missing. Next, there is a list of the enemies (Merey, son of Dedy, the chief of Libu and leader of the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples, and various components of the Sea peoples). This is followed by a royal eulogy presenting Merenptah as protector of Egypt. Then there is a reference to disruption in Egypt, as tents (*ihrw*) are mentioned, probably those of the Libyans. The text continues with Merenptah's accession and the recounting of a successful campaign.⁴ The report of the Libyan invasion then follows:

<p>(13) [<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f m h3t-sp 5 3bd 2</i>] <i>šmw</i> <i>r-nty</i> <i>wr hsy hrw n Rbw Mriwy s3 Ddy h3w hr h3st</i> <i>nt Thnw hn^c pdwt.f</i> (14) [.....] <i>š]rdn škrš</i> <i>Tkwš Rkw Twrš m t3it tp n h3 nb phrr nb n</i> <i>h3st.f in.n.f hmt.f hrdw.f</i> (15) [.....] <i>3yw n</i> <i>ih3y ph.n.f t3šw imntt m shwt nw Pr-Ir(w)</i></p>	<p>[one came to tell his Majesty in Year 5, month 2 of] <i>shemu</i>, that: ‘The vile chief, the enemy of Libu, Merey, son of Dedy, has descended upon the land of Tehenu together with his archers, [.....] the [She]rden, the Sheklesh, the Aqawasha, the Luku, and the Turshu, taking the best of every warrior and every runner of his country. He has brought his wife, his children [.....] the great ones of the camp. He has reached the western borders at the fields of <i>Per-Iru</i>.’⁵</p>
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Spalinger restored the *iw.tw* formula (*iw.tw r dd n hm.f*) before the date ending in *shemu* at the beginning of the report of the Libyan invasion. He also restored the date of the Libyan invasion

¹ Heliopolis text: *KRI IV*, 38: 4–6; Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 212; Iskander, “The Reign of Merenptah,” 130–31.

² The date is preserved on Merenptah's Great Karnak Inscription (*KRI IV*, 5: 16), Victory Stela (*KRI IV*, 13: 7), and Kom el-Ahmar Stela (*KRI IV*, 20: 8).

³ The inscription consists of seventy-nine lines, and is carved on the inner east wall of the “Cour de la Cachette” before the Seventh Pylon at Karnak, PM II, 131 (486).

Publication: *KRI IV*, 2–12; Alan R. Schulman, “The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak: A Partial Reappraisal,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 24 (1987): 21–34.

Main studies: Alan Richard Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1964), 117–18; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 14–15; Schulman, “The Great Historical Inscription of Merneptah at Karnak,” 21–34; Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 143–44, 211–15, pl. 25; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 151–72; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 61–67; *RITA IV*, 2–10; Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*.

⁴ Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 5–23.

⁵ *KRI IV*, 3: 15–4: 4; Lundh, *Actor and Event*, 62; *RITA IV*, 4; Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 23.

as Year 5, II *shemu*,¹ which is known from the Cairo and Heliopolis Columns of Merenptah (see no. 11 above).² The report describes that the chief of Libu, named Merey, son of Dedy, descended upon the land of Tehenu with his archers and allies of Sea Peoples (Sherden, Sheklesh, Aqawasha, Luku, and Turshu), and then advanced against the western borders of Egypt. Then he reached the fields of the Egyptian town *Per-Iru*. The text demonstrates that the land of Libu is located to the west of the land of Tehenu,³ identified by Gardiner as the “region adjoining the Delta immediately to the west.”⁴ Later on, the text recounts the defeat of the Libyans and their allies by Merenptah’s army in a six-hour battle in Year 5, III *shemu* 3.⁵

13. Nubian War Stelae of Merenptah (Amada Stela and Parallels)

The Amada, Amarah West, Wadi es-Sebua, and Aksha Stelae of the Nubian War of Merenptah⁶ record a report of a Nubian rebellion to the king. The Amada Stela is the best preserved of the four versions, and begins with the fivefold titulary and epithets of the king.⁷ The parallel text of Amarah West Stela opens with the date “Year 6, I *akhet* 1,” followed by the royal titles.⁸ The report of the Nubian rebellion to the king immediately follows:

iw.tw iw r dd n hm.f

n3 n hrw n W3w3t hr thm m p3 rsy

One came to tell his Majesty:

‘The enemies of Wawat are attacking the south.’⁹

The text then reads as follows:

*hpr.n h3t-sp 5 3bd 3 smw sw 1 hft iit.n p3 mšc
kn n hm.f shrw p3 wr hsy n Rbw*

It happened in Year 5, month 3 of *shemu*, day 1,¹ when the brave army of his Majesty had

¹ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 14–15.

² KRI IV, 23: 6; 38: 3; Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 212; Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 23 and n. 121.

³ David O’Connor, “The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom,” in *Libya and Egypt c 1300-750 BC*, ed. Anthony Leahy (London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and the Society for Libyan Studies, 1990), 35–36.

⁴ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, 119*.

⁵ KRI IV, 5: 13–6: 15; Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 3, 42–47.

⁶ Amada: PM VII, 67 (5); Amarah West: PM VII, 159 (6); Wadi es-Sebua: PM VII, 57 (15); Aksha: PM VII, 127 (2).

Publication: Henri Gauthier, *Le Temple d’Amada* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1913), 187–89, pl. 41b; Jaroslav Černý, *Le Temple d’Amada V* (Le Caire: Centre de Documentation et d’Études sur l’Ancienne Égypte, 1967), pls. 4–6, 8; KRI IV, 1–2, 33–37.

Main studies: Ahmad Abd-El-Hamid Youssef, “Merenptah’s Fourth Year Text at Amada,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 58 (1964): 273–80, pl. 1; Kenneth A. Kitchen, “Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia,” 213–25; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 13–14; Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 87 (18); Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 201; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 189–94; RITA IV, 1–2.

⁷ KRI IV, 33: 5–34: 1.

⁸ KRI IV, 33: 6; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 13.

⁹ KRI IV, 34: 1–5; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 190, 191; RITA IV, 1–2.

arisen to overthrow the vile chief of Libu.²

The report of the Nubian rebellion is introduced by the common *iw.tw* formula, and is limited to a statement of the attack of the peoples of Wawat on the south. The scribe then employed a *hpr.n* construction (preserved only on the Amada Stela) plus a date Year 5, III *shemu* 1, followed by a statement of the preparation of Merenptah's army for the Libyan War. The text demonstrates that the king received the report of the Nubian rebellion in Year 5, III *shemu* 1, while the Egyptian army was getting ready for the war against the Libyans.³

After a brief description of the battle against the Libyans and their allies,⁴ known to have occurred two days later in Year 5, III *shemu* 3, of Merenptah's reign (see nos. 11 and 12 above), the text gives a description of the Nubian War of Merenptah, where the king does not take part in person.⁵ The opening date Year 6, I *akhet* 1, of the Amarah West Stela is probably the date of the Nubian War of Merenptah to crush the Nubian rebellion of the previous year, or probably the date of the erection of the stela.

14. Medinet Habu Inscription of Ramesses III

The Medinet Habu inscription of Ramesses III⁶, which is a caption to a scene depicting the king mounting his chariot to set out on the First Libyan Campaign in Year 5,⁷ preserves a report of a Libyan rebellion. No date or titles are provided in the start. The text begins with the report of the Libyan rebellion as follows:

(1) <i>ḥ^c.n.tw iw r dd n ḥm.f</i>	Then one came to tell his Majesty:
<i>tjy</i> (2) <i>Tḥnw</i> (3) <i>iri.w</i> (4) <i>šdt</i> (5) <i>iw.sn twt</i>	'The Tehenu have moved; they have made a
(6) <i>dmd nn r^c.sn m Rbw Spd</i> (7) <i>Mšwš t3w</i>	conspiracy, all united and without number,
<i>dmd r</i> (8) <i>dh3.w r tni.tw.w r T3-Mri</i>	consisting of Libu, Seped, Meshwesh, lands

¹ This date is preserved on three texts: Amada, Amarah West, and Wadi es-Sebua, *KRI IV*, 34: 5–7; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 13 n. 22. Youssef, "Merenptah's Fourth Year Text at Amada," 274, mistakenly read the date as Year 4, II *shemu* 1. The date was also first published by Kitchen as Year 4, II *shemu* 1, in *KRI IV*, 1: 11, and was later revised to Year 5, III *shemu* 1, in *KRI IV*, 34: 5.

² *KRI IV*, 34: 5–12; Davies, *Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, 190, 191; *RITA IV*, 2.

³ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 13 n. 22, 14; Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, 44.

⁴ *KRI IV*, 34: 9–14.

⁵ *KRI IV*, 35: 5–36: 1.

⁶ Publication: The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, Vol. I: *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Oriental Institute Publications 8 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pls. 15, 16; *KRI V*, 12 (scene c).

Main studies: William F. Edgerton and John A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu*, Vol. I. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 12 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), 7; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 15; *RITA V*, 12; Donald B. Redford, *The Medinet Habu Records of the Foreign Wars of Ramesses III* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 2, 125.

⁷ This is the third in a sequence of six scenes on the First Libyan War, carved on the exterior west and north walls of Ramesses III's temple in Medinet Habu. This scene (c) is carved on the rear west wall (north half), PM II, 521 (193).

united to advance themselves and to raise themselves against Egypt.’¹

The narrative starts with the report of the rebellion of the Tehenu. The common *iw.tw* formula is written here in the form *ḥ^c.n.tw iw r dd n ḥm.f*, the same as in the Karnak reliefs of Seti I. The lands of Libu, Seped, and Meshwesh, which were components of the Libyans, are described as united to advance (*dh3*) and to raise (*tni*) themselves against Egypt. Next, the text states that Ramesses III was commissioned by Amun to campaign against the land of Temeh, which is described as trespassing Egypt’s border (*t3 Tmḥ th t3ḥ.f*).² The Tehenu and the land of Temeh are used here as general terms referring to the components of Libyans mentioned in the text (Libu, Seped, and Meshwesh).³

Conclusion

The collection and exposition of the reports of rebellion indicates a strong continuity in the use of the theme of reporting to the king of a rebellion. However, variation is also discernible. All the reports are framed by the so-called *iw.tw* formula (*iw.tw r dd n ḥm.f*), excepting Thutmose III’s Annals of the Battle of Megiddo and the *Qadesh Bulletin*. The variant formula *ii.tw r rdit wd3-ib n ḥm.f* is employed in Thutmose II’s Aswan Stela. In the Beth-Shan Stelae of Seti I, the expression *hrw pn / hrw pn ist* is employed before the *iw.tw* formula, resuming the date referred to in the start. In the Karnak reliefs of Seti I and Medinet Habu Inscription of Ramesses III, which are captions to a scene, the *iw.tw* formula is preceded by the narrative verbal form *ḥ^c.n* (*ḥ^c.n.tw iw r dd n ḥm.f*).

The reports of Thutmose III’s Annals and of the *Qadesh Bulletin* are different in terms of form. In these two inscriptions another composition device is employed to introduce the report. In Thutmose III’s Annals, the king reports to the “army of victory” in the Yehem council the report he received by using *hr.tw* (“it is said”). The “army of victory” reports to the king the news presumably received from the intelligence service through the use of the formula *iw.tw [hr smit r] dd* (“it is reported as follows”). Here the king is not presented receiving the report of rebellion from a messenger. Instead, the reports are included in the king’s speech and the reply of the army. In the *Qadesh Bulletin*, the narrative forms *iy.in Šsw 2 r dd n ḥm.f / dd.in.sn n ḥm.f* and *dd.n.sn n ḥm.f* are employed to introduce the report, because the person who reports the news is identified.

In all instances, the person who reports the news to the king is never identified. The only exception is the *Qadesh Bulletin*, where the person informing the king is identified: two shasu /

¹ KRI V, 12: 2–5; Edgerton and Wilson, *Medinet Habu I*, 7; RITA V, 12.

² KRI V, 12: 6; Edgerton and Wilson, *Medinet Habu I*, 8; RITA V, 12.

³ O’Connor, “The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom,” 30, 39–40, 52.

two Hittite spies. In four instances, the *iw.tw* formula is preceded by the setting phrase, marked grammatically by the presence of the particle *ist / st* followed by an adverbial sentence. These are Thutmose II's Aswan Stela, Konosso Stela, Buhen Stela, and Sai Stela. The setting locates the king in his palace or sometimes in temple, when he receives the report of the rebellion.

A pattern of the use of the *iw.tw* formula in the text corpus is that the formula is employed in all the cases in advance of the report of the rebellion. Another point is the use of the *iw.tw* formula in two cases for an inscription which is the caption of a scene: The Karnak reliefs of Seti I and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu Inscription.

The *iw.tw* formula mostly occurs in military narratives where the king does not take part personally in the campaign. But in the Konosso Stela, Aswan Stela of Amenhotep III, Karnak reliefs of Seti I, and Ramesses III's Medinet Habu Inscription, the king does take part. So, there is not a necessary relation between the use of the formula and the non-participation of the king in the campaign, as Spalinger has proposed in his pioneer study.¹

The reports deal with rebellions in several places and under several circumstances. In the reports the information provided concerning rebellion are varied. The Aswan Stela of Thutmose II, the two Beth-Shan Stelae, and Merenptah's Karnak Inscription are the most detailed. These three provide information about the enemy, the coalition, that is who joins whom, and the specific action. For instance, in the Aswan Stela of Thutmose II, the enemy started the rebellion by attacking the Egyptians and stealing the cattle from the fortresses built by Thutmose I; in Seti I's First Beth-Shan Stela, the ruler of Hammath seized Beth-Shan and is besieging Reheb, while in the Second Beth-Shan Stela, the Apiru allied with the Tayarau are causing trouble for the people of Ruhma.

The Aswan Stela of Amenhotep III and Sai/Amarah West Stela of Seti I simply provide information that the enemy intends rebellion, and nothing else is said about the rebellion. In Sai/Amarah West Stela of Seti I, the people of Irem are reported to have planned rebellion (*k3.n.sn bšt*). In Aswan Stela of Amenhotep III, the information about the rebellion of the enemy of Kush is planning rebellion in the heart (*k3.n.f bšt m ib.f*). Merenptah's Nubian War Stelae just inform that the enemies of Wawat are attacking the south. The Cairo and Heliopolis Columns inform that the Libu-people, Sheklesh, and allies are moving towards the borders of Egypt, where the verbs of movement *thm* and *thi* are used.

¹ Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 20, 120.

Table 1: The comparison of the reports of rebellion in the New Kingdom royal military inscriptions in terms of form and content.

Inscriptions	Presence of the setting phrase	Presence of the <i>iw.tw</i> formula	Form	Content
1. Aswan Stela of Thutmose II	Yes	Yes	<i>ii.tw r rdit wd3-ib n hm.f r-ntt</i> (a variant of the <i>iw.tw</i> formula)	1) How the enemies started the rebellion: attacking the Egyptians and stealing the cattle from the fortresses built by Thutmose I. 2) The coalition: a local chief (<i>wr</i>) to the north of Kush together with two sons of the chief of Kush. 3) The motivation for rebellion: their previous defeat by Thutmose I and flight from battle.
2. Thutmose III's Annals	No	No	<i>hr.tw</i> and <i>iw.tw</i> [<i>hr smit r</i>] <i>dd</i>	The report included in the king's speech: 1) Who is plotting the rebellion: the ruler of Qadesh. 2) The position of the enemy: Megiddo. 3) The coalition (fragmentary). 4) The statement of the ruler of Qadesh that he is waiting in Megiddo to fight Thutmose III. The report included in the reply of the army: 1) The position of the enemy: waiting at the mouth of the Aruna Pass. 2) The description of the enemy as being numerous.
3. Konosso Stela	Yes	Yes	<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the report	1) Who is plotting the rebellion: the Nubian (<i>Nhsy</i>) who came from Wawat. 2) The expression <i>k3i bšt</i> is employed to refer to the rebellion of the enemy (<i>k3.n.f bšt r Kmt</i> , "He has planned rebellion against Egypt"). 3) The coalition: the enemy was joined by the nomads (<i>šm3w</i>) and rebels (<i>bštw</i>) of the other foreign land.
4. Aswan Stela of Amenhotep	No	Yes	<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the	1) Who is plotting the rebellion: the enemy of Kush.

III			report	2) The report is limited to a statement employing the expression <i>k3i bšt (k3.n.f bšt m ib.f</i> , “he has planned rebellion in his heart”).
5. Buhen Stela	Yes (restored)	Yes (restored)	[<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i>] followed by the report	1) Who is causing the rebellion: the people of Ikayta. 2) What they are doing: seizing the food supplies, probably of the gold miners.
6. First Beth-Shan Stela	No	Yes	<i>hrw pn iw.tw r dd n hm.f r-nty</i> followed by the report * The <i>iw.tw</i> formula is preceded by <i>hrw pn</i> , resuming the date in the start.	1) Who is causing the rebellion: the ruler of Hammath. 2) The coalition: Hammath allied with Pella. 3) What the ruler of Hammath is doing: the seizure of Beth-Shan and siege of Rehob.
7. Second Beth-Shan Stela	No	Yes	<i>hrw pn ist [iw.tw r dd n hm.f]</i> followed by the report * The <i>iw.tw</i> formula is preceded by <i>hrw pn ist</i> , resuming the date in the start.	1) The coalition: the Apiru of the mountain of Yarmuta allied with the Tayru. 2) What they are doing: attacking the people of Ruhma.
8. Karnak reliefs	No	Yes	<i>ḥ^c.n.tw iw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the report * The <i>iw.tw</i> formula is preceded by the narrative verbal form <i>ḥ^c.n.</i>	1) Who is plotting the rebellion: the Shasu. 2) The position of the enemy: on the foothills of Kharu. 3) What they are doing: fighting (actually killing) each other, not obeying Egypt.
9. Sai/Amarah West Stela	Yes in Sai Stela	Yes	<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the report	1) Who is plotting the rebellion: the people of Irem. 2) The report is limited to a statement employing the expression <i>k3i bšt (k3.n.sn bšt</i> , “they have planned rebellion”).
10. <i>Qadesh Bulletin</i>	No	No	<i>iy.in šsw 2 r dd n hm.f / dd.in.sn n hm.f</i> and <i>dd.n.sn n hm.f</i> followed by the report	The first report by the Shasu: 1) The Shasu’s claim that their brothers, who are tribal chiefs loyal to the Hittites, caused them to defect from the Hittites and to become loyal to the Pharaoh. 2) The false information reported by the Shasu that the Hittite king and his allies are in Aleppo. 3) The Shasu’s claim that the

				Hittite king is afraid of Ramesses II. The second report by the Hittite spies: 1) Who is with the Hittite king (his allies): many Asiatic cities and localities. 2) The description of the enemy and allies as being equipped with their army and chariotry, ready to fight, and numerous. 3) The exact position of the Hittite king and his allies: behind Qadesh, the old.
11. Cairo and Heliopolis Columns	No	Yes	<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the report	1) Who is plotting the rebellion: the chief of Libu. 2) The coalition: the Libu were joined by the Sheklesh and the foreign countries loyal to the chief of Libu. 3) What the chief of Libu is doing: he gathered the Libu-people, the Shekleh, and allies to invade Egypt (use of verbs of movement <i>thm</i> and <i>thi</i>).
12. Great Karnak Inscription	Lost	Yes (restored)	[<i>iw.tw r dd n hm.f</i>] followed by the report	1) Who is causing the rebellion: the chief of Libu 2) The coalition: Libu, Tehenu, and allies of Sea Peoples (Sherden, Sheklesh, Aqawasha, Luku, and Turshu). 3) What the chief of Libu is doing: he descended (<i>h3</i>) upon the land of Tehenu with allies, and then advanced towards Egypt's western borders until he reached the fields of the Egyptian town <i>Per-Iru</i> .
13. Nubian War Stelae	No	Yes	<i>iw.tw iw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the report	The report just informs that the enemies of Wawat are attacking the south.
14. Medinet Habu Inscription	No	Yes	<i>h^c.n.tw iw r dd n hm.f</i> followed by the report * The <i>iw.tw</i> formula is preceded by the narrative verbal form <i>h^c.n</i> .	1) Who is causing the rebellion: the Tehenu, consisting of Libu, Seped, and Meshwesh. 2) What they are doing: moving (<i>tfy</i>) to advance (<i>dh3</i>) and to raise (<i>tni</i>) themselves against Egypt.

Abbreviations

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بعض التعليقات على تقارير التمرد المقدمة إلى الملك في نقوش الدولة الحديثة العسكرية دعاء الكاشف سيلفانا دينيز

ملخص

تقدم هذه الورقة البحثية جمع وتعليق على الفقرات الخاصة بموضوع إبلاغ الملك عن وجود تمرد في مكان ما في الإمبراطورية، والتي توجد في عدد من النقوش الملكية من الدولة الحديثة التي تركز على النجاح العسكري للملك. ويتم عرض تقارير التمرد في هذه النقوش بالترجمة الصوتية والترجمة مع التعليق. تركز التعليقات على كيفية تطور المحتوى في كل نص، ثم تقوم المقارنة بتقييم نقاط التشابه والاختلاف بين التقارير. وتظهر المقارنة بين التقارير تنوعاً من حيث الشكل والمحتوى.

الكلمات الدالة: تقارير التمرد، نقوش الدولة الحديثة العسكرية، صيغة *iw.tw*، معركة مجدو، معركة قادش