

THUTMOSE III

THUTMOSE III

A New Biography

ERIC H. CLINE AND DAVID O'CONNOR

Editors

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

Ann Arbor

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2006
All rights reserved
Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
♻️ Printed on acid-free paper

2009 2008 2007 2006 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored
in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form
or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or otherwise,
without the written permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Thutmose III : a new biography / Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, editors.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978042114672 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN-10 0-472-11467-0 (cloth : alk. paper)

I. Thutmose III, King of Egypt. 2. Pharaohs—Biography. 3. Egypt—History—
Eighteenth dynasty, ca. 1570–1320 B.C. I. Cline, Eric H. II. O'Connor, David
DT87.2 .T48 2005 2005050653
932/.014/092 B 22

Preface

Thutmose III—“Strong Bull Arising in Thebes” as one of his five names reads—was without question one of Egypt’s greatest pharaohs. His reign was packed with momentous events and was of unusual length—a total of fifty-four years in a time when the average for his dynasty—the Eighteenth—was about sixteen and one-half years. Thutmose came to the throne at an unusually young age. His stepmother (and aunt) Hatshepsut immediately became his regent, a position that she soon transformed into a corulership, with herself as the senior pharaoh—the most effective and powerful of the few women ever recognized as pharaoh in Egypt.

This situation lasted some twenty years, with Thutmose being permitted considerable, if limited, independence. In particular, he may have led, on Hatshepsut’s behalf, Egyptian campaigns against various foreign lands. Nevertheless, there was either an enduring resentment on his part or a dawning realization that Hatshepsut’s reign had not been “politically correct.” Late in Thutmose’s reign, long after Hatshepsut’s death, he ordered or permitted an attack on her memory at the beautifully decorated and enormously scaled funerary temple built for her at Deir el-Bahari, in western Thebes—her images were defaced, although the rest of the many figures represented in the temple were left intact.

Once he was sole ruler, Thutmose initiated the most sustained policy of conquest and expansion known for ancient Egypt. In his twenty-second year, he led his armies into Canaan, defeating a vast coalition of enemies (coming from as far away as Syria) at Megiddo—the Armageddon of the Bible. As a result, the great rulers of the Near East (including Assyria, Babylonia, and the Hittites) who were not directly involved in the conflict sent Thutmose placatory gifts, recognizing his new status. Throughout the next twenty-two years, Thutmose and his forces developed Egypt’s first empire, a relatively stable system of Egyptian overseers and foreign vassals that extended through

Canaan and Lebanon into southern Syria and up the Nile through northern and central Nubia. This empire, delivering annual tribute and services, greatly increased the wealth of Egypt's kings and was the basis for an imperial system that persisted, to varying degrees, well into the Twentieth Dynasty. Thutmose's contacts beyond the empire included not only other parts of the Near East but Anatolia and the Aegean as well.

Under Thutmose III, Egypt's already well-developed culture achieved new heights. He himself was a prodigious builder of monuments, including a vast new "festival hall" east of the Karnak Temple proper, the Sixth and Seventh Pylons of Amun-Re's temple at Karnak, and the large sacred lake at Amun-Re's temple as well. In addition, he had a funerary temple and a richly decorated tomb at western Thebes and built temples at many other towns in Egypt. More generally, some of the most superbly decorated of the Theban elite tombs were produced for his officials, such as the great vizier or prime minister Rekhmire and others.

Art and architecture, however, were only part of the story. In religion, important developments took place during Thutmose's corule with Hatshepsut. Later, during his sole rule, religious developments on the one hand reinforced and displayed the divine aspects of kingship even more ostentatiously than before, yet on the other hand they articulated the nature of Amun-Re, the imperial god, who came to be seen as a deity intervening directly in history and even in the lives of individual Egyptians. Thus, some scholars believe a tension began to set in between royal pretensions and Amun-Re's evolving personality and cult that was to lead to the innovative but destructive changes initiated by pharaoh Akhenaten, the monotheist ruler who was the great-great-grandson of Thutmose III.

Literature and historical writing also flourished under Thutmose III. His Annals, set up within the sanctuary of Amun-Re at Karnak itself, are among the most extended of historical narratives to survive from ancient Egypt. They include a particularly elaborate description of the campaign that culminated in the Battle of Megiddo, a text that has fascinated both scholars and military men in recent times. Thutmose's reign was also characterized by complex religious hymns.

This long, richly documented reign and the pharaoh who was central to it have never been the subject of an extensive monographic treatment in English. Moreover, recent studies of Thutmose III in German and French lack the depth and scope that is intended for the work presented here. Initiated by Dr. Benedict Davies, and then seen through development by coeditors Professors Eric Cline and David O'Connor, the book consists of essays on virtually every aspect of the reign of Thutmose III written by experts on each

topic. This extensive treatment of a pivotal figure in the ancient Mediterranean world during the Late Bronze Age will provide a uniquely comprehensive view of one of Egypt's greatest pharaohs and will be of interest to a wide audience—specialists in Egypt and the Near East, graduate and undergraduate students, and the wider public as a whole.

We gratefully acknowledge the preparation of the index to this book by Dr. J. J. Shirley and Laurel Bestock.

Contents

List of Abbreviations xi

List of Illustrations xv

ONE

Thutmose III: An Enigmatic Pharaoh 1

David O'Connor

TWO

The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle
of Coregency 39

Peter F. Dorman

THREE

Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III 69

Betsy M. Bryan

FOUR

Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmose III 123

Lana Troy

FIVE

Monumental Architecture and the Royal Building Program
of Thutmose III 183

Piotr Laskowski

SIX

The Building Activities of Thutmose III in the Valley of
the Kings 238

Catharine H. Roebig

SEVEN

Royal Portrait and Ideology: Evolution and Signification
of the Statuary of Thutmose III 260

Dimitri Laboury

EIGHT

The Artistic Production of the Reign of Thutmose III 292

Arielle P. Kozloff

NINE

The Northern Wars of Thutmose III 325

Donald B. Redford

TEN

Covetous Eyes South: The Background to Egypt's Domination
of Nubia by the Reign of Thutmose III 344

Anthony J. Spalinger

ELEVEN

Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and
Thutmose III 370

Diamantis Panagiotopoulos

TWELVE

The End of the Reign and the Accession of Amenhotep II 413

Peter Der Manuelian

Bibliography 431

Contributors 481

Title Index 485

Subject Index 493

Plates 535

Abbreviations

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>AnatSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte. Cairo</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BCMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i>
<i>BdE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d’Étude. Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo.</i>
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo.</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston.</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.</i>
<i>BMRAH</i>	<i>Bulletin des Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie</i>
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d’Égypte</i>
<i>CNRS</i>	<i>Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (France)</i>
<i>EG</i>	<i>Egyptian Grammar³, Oxford</i>
<i>FIFAO</i>	<i>Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo.</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>

<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>JMAA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>KRI</i>	Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i> . Vols. 1–8. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969–90.
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Agyptologie</i> . Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
<i>LD</i>	Karl Richard Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 vols. Berlin, 1849–56. Reprint, Geneva, 1972.
<i>LD Text I–V</i>	Karl Richard Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . Ed. E. Naville. Leipzig, 1897–1913.
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> . Cairo.
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i> . Cairo.
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (I. Philologisch-historische Klasse)</i> .
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>PM</i>	Porter, B., and Moss, R. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Vols. I–VII. Oxford: Clarendon. 1927–51.
<i>PM²</i>	Porter, B., and Moss, R. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . 2nd edition. (revised by J. Malek from 1974 onward)
<i>PPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>RHA</i>	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
<i>RL</i>	<i>La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>TT</i>	Theban tomb
<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums</i> (IV-Sethe 1927–30 and Helek 1955–58)
<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>

<i>Wb</i>	<i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache</i> (A. Erman and H. Grapow, Bands I–V. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955)
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Illustrations

Table 1. Chronology

Map 1. Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt and its world

Map 2. Egypt in the New Kingdom period

Map 3. Thebes in the New Kingdom period

Fig. 1.1. Karnak and contiguous temples

Fig. 1.2. Karnak Temple before and after Thutmose III

Fig. 1.3. Genealogy of the Eighteenth Dynasty

Fig. 1.4. The Procession of the boat-shaped palanquin of Amun-Re during the coregule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III

Fig. 2.1. The graffito of Senenmut at Aswan

Fig. 2.2. A stela of Hatshepsut at Serabit el-Khadim

Fig. 2.3. Two blocks from a limestone chapel of Hatshepsut at Karnak

Fig. 2.4. The lunette of the stela of Nakht, dated to year 20 of the coregency, at Serabit el-Khadim

Fig. 5.1. *Texte de la Jeunesse*

Fig. 5.2. Karnak, Eastern sanctuary, alabaster naos and the northern wall of room II structurally connected with the enclosure wall

Fig. 5.3. Karnak, Eastern sanctuary, remains of the southern wall of room III

Fig. 5.4. Karnak, lake repository, southern row of external pillars adjoining the wall of the court

Fig. 5.5. Deir el Bahari, temple of Thutmose III, plan

Fig. 5.6. Deir el Bahari, temple of Thutmose III, rear wall of the niche

Fig. 5.7. Elkab, architrave of the Thutmose III's construction

- Fig. 5.8. Elkab, architrave of the Thutmose III's construction
- Fig. 5.9. Elkab, lintel of Thutmose III with the epithet "ruler of Heliopolis" inside the ring
- Fig. 6.1. The Valley of the Kings as it may have looked at the end of the reign of Thutmose III
- Fig. 6.2. KV 34
- Fig. 6.3. Section of the south wall of chamber F, showing the list of deities from the fifth hour
- Fig. 6.4. Beginning of the list of deities in the first hour of the Amduat, north wall of chamber F
- Fig. 6.5. Section of the south wall of chamber F and the sixth hour in chamber J
- Fig. 6.6. Burial chamber (J) of KV 34, looking back at the entrance
- Fig. 6.7. Plan of chamber J in KV 34 with the approximate positions of the texts
- Fig. 6.8. Litany of Re on the south face of pillar I in chamber J
- Fig. 6.9. Third hour of the Amduat
- Fig. 6.10. Fourth hour of the Amduat, bordering the south jamb of the entrance
- Fig. 6.11. Fourth hour of the Amduat, bordering the north jamb of the entrance
- Fig. 6.12. South wall of chamber J in KV 34
- Fig. 6.13. The doorway into storage room Jc framed by illustrations from the eighth hour
- Fig. 6.14. The end of the twelfth hour
- Fig. 6.15. Plan and elevation of KV 38
- Fig. 6.16. KV 42
- Fig. 6.17. KV 20
- Fig. 6.18. Plan of the two burial chambers in KV 20
- Fig. 6.19. Vignettes on the north face of pillar I in the burial chamber of KV 34
- Figs. 7.1a and 7.1b. Thutmose III. Last twelve years of the reign.
- Figs. 7.2a and 7.2b. Thutmose III. Second half of the third decade of the reign.
- Figs. 7.3a and 7.3b. Thutmose III. Regency period, first seven years of the reign (?).
- Figs. 7.4a and 7.4b. Thutmose III. Beginning of the coregency with Hatshepsut, between year 7 and year 12 of the reign.

- Figs. 7.5a and 7.5b. Thutmose III. Beginning of the coregency with Hatshepsut, between year 7 and year 12 of the reign.
- Fig. 11.1. Nubian women and children from the tomb of Ineni
Fig. 11.2. Syria-Palestinian procession
Fig. 11.3. Left section of foreigners' scene in the tomb of Useramun
Fig. 11.4. Aegean gift bearers from the tomb of Useramun
Fig. 11.5. Syria-Palestinian gift bearers from the tomb of Useramun
Fig. 11.6. Syria-Palestinian men, women, and children from the tomb of Useramun
Fig. 11.7. The foreigners' scene from the tomb of Rekhmire
Fig. 11.8. South end of the Puntite procession from the tomb of Rekhmire
Fig. 11.9. Middle section of the Aegean procession from the tomb of Rekhmire
Fig. 11.10. Middle section of the Nubian procession from the tomb of Rekhmire
Fig. 11.11. Syria-Palestinians bringing gifts for the Egyptian king, tomb of Amenemheb
Fig. 11.12. Presentation of gifts in Lebanon
Fig. 11.13. Brickmaking by Syria-Palestinians and Nubians from the tomb of Rekhmire
- Fig. 12.1. The Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmose III
Fig. 12.2. Five solutions for the reign of Thutmose III
Fig. 12.3. Leiden stela V, 11, of Henetnefret, representing Thutmose III and Amenhotep II facing each other
Fig. 12.4. The accession date of Amenhotep II
Fig. 12.5. The coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II
Fig. 12.6. The archery stela of Amenhotep II
Fig. 12.7. The Armant stela of Thutmose III