18th Dynasty Military post-Megiddo:
Maintaining an Empire through Warfare and Diplomacy
Foreign relations in the reign of T III: Hittites and Mitanni
“Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eight month), on the twenty-fifth day his Majesty was in Tharu on the first victorious expedition to extend the boundaries of Egypt with might...

Horus: Strong-Bull-arisen-in-Thebes; Two Ladies: Enduring-in-kingship-like-Re-in-heaven; Gold Horus: Mighty-in-strength, Majestic-in-appearance; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Menkheperre; the Son of Re, of his body: Thutmose, given life forever.

His majesty commanded to record the victories his father Amun had given him by an inscription in the temple which his majesty had made for his father Amun, so as to record each campaign, together with the booty which his majesty had brought from it, and the tribute of every foreign land that his father Re had given him.”
Tomb of Amenemhab
TT85
Reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II
From the tomb of Amenemhab (TT85), campaigns with Thutmose III

As for me, I was the very faithful [instrument] of the sovereign, the half of the heart of the king of the south, the light of the heart of the king of the north, while I followed my master in his expeditions to the regions of the north or of the south, [those which] he desired, for I was as the companion of his feet, and that in the midst of his valour and his power, in order to give testimony. Now I captured in the country of Nekeb, and brought back (certain) Asiatics, three men as prisoners, alive. When his majesty reached Naharain I brought thither the three men as booty, whom I placed before thy majesty, as living prisoners. Another time I captured (it was in the expedition to the country of mount Uan, to the west of Aleppo), and I brought back (certain) captured Asiatics, as living prisoners 13 men, 70 asses alive, 13 basins of iron /// basins of worked gold.

Behold, the prince of Kadesh drove a mare straight against ///// as it charged among the soldiers I hurried to meet it on foot, with my dagger, [and] I opened its stomach. I cut off its tail [and] made of it a trophy in the royal work of giving thanks to God because thereof. That caused joy to take possession of my heart [and] cheerfulness to alight upon my limbs.

His majesty despatched the most valiant of his soldiers to force the newly-constructed rampart of Kadesh. It was I who forced it, for I was in advance of the most valiant; no other [was] before me. When I left (it) I brought back (with me) of the Marinas 2 personages as living prisoners. My master began again to reward me because of this with every sort of good thing, for it was pleasing to the king that I had made this capture.
Importance of Thutmosis III’s Asian campaigns

• More permanent occupation of Syria-Palestine (strategic/economic)
  • Control/limit access to interregional routes
  • Exploit agriculture, resources, manufactured goods
  • Neutralize local rulers

• New military system
  • Military profession – greatly rewarded
  • Reformed and enlarged standing army

• Battle as an important event
  • Recorded in detail
  • Basic components of official narrative account: leaving Sile, council, battle/route, siege, supplication of defeated, oath of fealty

• Ideology/cosmology:
  • Increased royal building and donations to temples
  • Changing expression of kingship (heroic and wise), and new opportunity for more real/frequent manifestations of divine connection
Amenhotep II
Bringing of foreign tribute, tomb of Rekhmire (vizier of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II)
Amenhotep II, Thutmosis IV, Amenhotep III: managing an Empire

- No written treaties are attested for 18D, but some correspondence (late: Amarna letters)
- Exchange of gifts and envoys
- Diplomatic marriages (Amenhotep III to Gilu-Hepa)
- Royal children raised in Egyptian court
- Egyptian garrisons and officials in Syria-Palestine
- Vassal states send tribute
Tomb of Kenamun (TT 93)
Reign of Amenhotep II
Amenhotep II’s Memphis stela and column inscription at Karnak: “The chiefs of Mitanni come to him, their deliveries upon their backs, to request offerings from his majesty in quest of the breath of life.”
Mesopotamian style “core-formed” glass

Flat-bottomed gold bowl for soldier Djehuty

Syrian and Syrian-style goods: a popular fashion
Amenhotep III

Kom el-Hetan
Mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, West Bank, Thebes
War and Peace in the Amarna Period
Amenhotep IV smiting scene at Karnak
Questions to ask about the military in the Amarna Period

What did they do at home and abroad?

What is the relationship between the military and diplomatic aims and means of Egypt?

Did foreign relations suffer under Akhenaten? If so what was the reason?
Sources for Military in Amarna Period

Private tomb reliefs and inscriptions
day-to-day use of military
tribute scenes (Darnell and Manassa’s “Durbars”)
camp scenes
(note absence of scenes of battle)

Amarna Letters

Weaponry from Tutankhamun’s tomb

Temple reliefs
The House of Correspondence and the Amarna Letters
EA 2

Say to Mimmuwareya (Amenhotep III), the king of Egypt, my brother: Thus Kadashmanenlil, the king of Karaduniyash (Babylonia). For me and my country all goes very well. For you, for your wives, for your sons, for your magnates, your horses, your chariots, and your entire country, may all go very well.

With regard to my brother’s writing me about marriage, saying “I desire your daughter”, why should you not marry her? My daughters are available, but their husbands must be a king or of royal blood. These are the only ones whom I accept for my daughters. No king has ever given his daughters to anyone not of royal blood.

Your daughters are available. Why have you not given me one?

(Reverse)
...fine horses...20 wooden....of gold.... I send to you as your greeting gift. 60 shekels of lapis lazuli I send as the greeting gift of my sister...your wife.
Say to Nimuwareya, the king of Egypt, my brother: Thus Kadashmanenlil, the king of Karaduniyash, your brother. For me all indeed goes well. For you, your household, your wives, and for your sons, your country, your chariots your horses, your magnates may all go very well.

With regard to the girl, my daughter, about whom you wrote to me in view of marriage, she has become a woman, she is nubile. Just send a delegation to fetch her.

...When I sent a messenger to you, you have detained him for six years, and you have sent me as my greeting-gift, the only thing in six years, 30 minas of gold that looked like silver. That gold was melted down in the presence of Kasi, your messenger, and he was witness. When you celebrated a great festival you did not send your messenger to me, saying “come to eat and drink”. Nor did you send me my greeting-gift in connection with the festival. It was just 30 minas of gold that you sent me....

... for ten wooden chariots, and ten teams of horses I send to you as your greeting-gift.
... Moreover you, my brother, when I wrote to you about marrying your daughter, in accordance with your practice of not giving a daughter, wrote to me saying “from time immemorial no daughter of the king of Egypt is given to anyone.” Why not? You are a king: you do as you please. Were you to give a daughter, who would say anything? Since I was told of this message, I wrote as follows to my brother, saying “Someone’s grown daughters, beautiful women, must be available. Send me a beautiful woman as if she were your daughter. Who is going to say ‘She is no daughter of the king!’?” But holding to your decision, you have not sent me anyone. Did you not yourself seek brotherhood and amity, and so wrote me about marriage that we might come closer to each other, and did not I, for my part, write you about marriage for this very same reason?

...

(some about a building project and a request for gold, lots of gold)
EA 15

Say to the king of Egypt: thus Ashshurubalit, the king of Assyria. For you, your household, for your country, for your chariots and your troops, may all go well. I send my messenger to you to visit you and to visit your country. Up to now, my predecessors have not written; today I write to you. I send you a beautiful chariot, two horses, one date-stone of genuine lapis lazuli, as your greeting-gift. Do not delay the messenger whom I send to you for a visit. He should visit and then leave for here. He should see what you are like and what your country is like, and then leave for here.
Say to Nimmureya, the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me: thus Tushratta, the king of Mittani, who loves you, your father-in-law. For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For your household, for Tadukheba, my daughter, your wife, whom you love, may all go well. For your wives, for your sons, for your magnates, for your chariots, for your horses, for your troops, for your country and for whatever else belongs to you, may all go very, very well.

Thus Shaushka of Nineveh, mistress of all lands: “I wish to go to Egypt, a country that I love, and then return.” Now I herewith send her, and she is on her way.

Now, in the time of my father, too ... went to this country, and just as earlier she dwelt there and they honored her, may my brother honor her and then, at his pleasure, let her go so that she may come back.

May Shaushka, the mistress of heaven, protect us, my brother and me, 100,000 years, and may our mistress grant both of us great joy. And let us act as friends.

Is Shaushka for me alone my goddess, and for my brother not his goddess?
Rib-Hadda says to his lord, king of all countries, Great King, King of Battle: may the lady of Gubla (Byblos) grant power to the king, my lord. I fall at the feet of my lord, my Sun, 7 times and 7 times. May the king, my lord know that Aziru is at war with me. He has seized 12 men of mine, and the ransom price between us he has set at 50 shekels of silver. It was the men whom I sent to Sumur that he has seized. In Wakhliya are the ships of the rulers of Tyre, Beirut, and Sidon. Everyone in the land of Amurru is at peace with them; I am the enemy. As Yapakh-hadda is now on the side of Aziru against me, he has, I assure you, seized a ship of mine and he has, I assure you, for this very reason been going to see to seize my ships. May the king give thought to his city and his servant; my peasentry long only to desert. If you are unable to rescue me from my enemies, then send back word so I can know what action I am to take. Look, I must keep writing like this to you about Sumur. Look, I did go and I strongly urged the troops to guard it, but now they have abandoned it, and the garrison has deserted...
EA 153

To the king, my lord: Message of Abi-Milku, your servant. I fall at your feet seven times and seven times. I have carried out what the king, my lord, ordered. The entire land is afraid of the troops of the king, my lord. I have had my men hold ships at the disposition of the troops of the king, my lord. Whoever has disobeyed has no family, has nothing alive. Since I guard the city of the king, my lord, my safety is the king’s responsibility. May he take cognizance of his servant who is on his side.
EA 156

To the king, my lord, my god, my sun: message of Aziru, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord seven times and seven times.

Now as to any request that the sun, my lord, makes, I am your servant forever, and my sons are your servants.

I herewith give my sons as two attendants, and they are to do what the king, my lord, orders. But let him leave me in Amurru.
EA 165

To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun: message of Aziru, your servant. I fall at the feet of my lord seven times and seven times.

My lord, my god, my Sun, what more do I seek? I seek to see the gracious face of the king, my lord, my Sun, forever. Baaluya and I are your servants.

I am guarding the land of the king, my lord, and I am devoted to the service of the king, my lord. Safe and sound, I would see the gracious face of the king, my lord.

My lord, Khatip and I are coming, and may my lord know that I will be there in all haste.

The king of Khatti is staying in Nukhashshe, and I am afraid of him. Heaven forbid that he come into Amurru and the land of the king, my lord.

Because of these things I have been staying on. Just let him depart and return to his own land, and straightaway I will make the journey with Khatip. I am a servant of the very, very gracious king.

My lord, do not worry at all. I will be there! My only concern has been the king of Khatti, but now I shall be there to see the face of my Sun, my lord....
Battle scene of Tutankhamun from Luxor