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CHAPTER

31 The New Kingdom

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Abstract

The New Kingdom encompasses five hundred years of Egyptian history (c.1550–1070 BC) characterized by long stretches of domestic stability and foreign expansion. Lengthy reigns of kings such as Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, and Ramesses II abound in textual, architectural, and artistic milestones; the reign of Akhenaten and his immediate successors, the Amarna Period, illuminate the potential for both religious and political transformations in a civilization often described as monolithic and unchanging. Extensive textual and archaeological material from throughout the Nile Valley make the three dynasties of the New Kingdom among the best understood of the pharaonic era.

Keywords: [New Kingdom](#), [Nubia](#), [Hatshepsut](#), [Thutmose](#), [Amenhotep](#), [Akhenaten](#), [Amarna](#), [Seti](#), [Ramesses](#), [Hittites](#)

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Introduction: historical overview

THE three dynasties of the New Kingdom represent the pinnacle of Egyptian imperial power and wealth, embodied in monumental construction projects throughout the Nile Valley and reflected in the increasing internationalism of the Egyptian economy and society. Egypt's expanded empire brought the Nile Valley into increased contact with Nubian cultures to the south, Libyan groups to the west, and the numerous polities of the Near East, Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean, harbingers of Egypt's later political preoccupation with foreign powers during the post-New Kingdom period. Chronologies of the New Kingdom lack significant disparities and gaps,¹ although the existence and length of certain coregencies within Egypt² and synchronization with events outside of the Nile Valley³ remain areas of debate.

The Eighteenth Dynasty

Ancient Egyptian historical documents, as well as later Greek sources, credit the pharaoh Nebpehtyra Ahmose with the founding of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴ Ahmose completed the expulsion of the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty and re-established sovereignty over the 'Two Lands'. The most detailed accounts of Ahmose's military success appear in the biographies of soldiers buried at Elkab,⁵ and fragmentary scenes from a royal monument at Abydos provide complementary pictorial evidence for naval and land combat.⁶

p. 658 Other monuments ↳ from Ahmose's reign focus on his pious activities, including the restoration of temples in Thebes and throughout Egypt⁷ and the endowment of an Abydene cult for himself, his chief wife Ahmose-Nefertari, and his grandmother Tetisheri.⁸ Ahmose-Nefertari received an even more prominent posthumous cult in Thebes alongside her son Amenhotep I.⁹ Ahmose's successor Amenhotep I also constructed widely at Thebes, including a small north-south-oriented temple dedicated to himself and Ahmose-Nefertari on the west bank.¹⁰

As the first two pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty consolidated their newly unified dominion, they also paid homage to their ancestors. Ahmose and his successor Amenhotep I belong to the same family as the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty and their domestic and foreign policies appear to continue those of the preceding dynasty.¹¹ For example, the conspicuous absence of viziers continues from the Seventeenth Dynasty through the reign of Amenhotep I,¹² and the Nubian and Syro-Palestinian campaigns under Amenhotep I do not extend much further than those of Ahmose and Kamose.¹³ An analogous situation occurred during the mid-Eleventh Dynasty: Montuhotep II is credited with the founding of the Middle Kingdom in Egyptian sources, yet the classic traits of the Middle Kingdom rulership, art, and material culture do not begin until the joint reign of Amenemhat I and Senusret I (see Chapter 30 [Middle Kingdom]).¹⁴ Ancient Egyptian historiography thus emphasized political unity over dynastic succession or larger cultural and social transitions.

Thutmose I is not the son of Amenhotep I and his exact relation, if any, to the family of his predecessor is unknown;¹⁵ at least one of Thutmose I's two known wives, Mutnofret, was the daughter of Amenhotep I. In terms of foreign policy, Thutmose I is the true founder of the New Kingdom, and in his twelve-year reign he established the furthest limits of Egypt's northern and southern boundaries, commissioning triumphal stelae at the banks of the Euphrates¹⁶ and at Kurgus, between the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts of the Nile.¹⁷ The reign of Thutmose I also witnessed the codification of important facets of New Kingdom political theology, developing the connection between the time-honoured parallelism of hunting and warfare and a new stress on royal deeds of valour into the 'sporting king' tradition,¹⁸ in token of which the king takes the epithet 'victorious bull' as his Horus name.¹⁹

The death of Thutmose II, the son of Thutmose I and a secondary wife, after about three years as pharaoh led to an unusual interlude in pharaonic kingship. Thutmose II's wife Hatshepsut, the daughter of Thutmose I and his chief queen Ahmose, served as god's wife and chief queen during the brief reign of her husband. Hatshepsut continued to serve these political and ritual functions as regent for the young Thutmose III, who was only ↳ a child when his father Thutmose II died.²⁰ During the regency period, Hatshepsut combined her traditional queenly and priestess regalia with a royal prenomen, and by the seventh year of the regency, Hatshepsut further experimented with male pharaonic iconography, although the textual references continued to use feminine pronouns and epithets.²¹ As co-pharaoh with Thutmose III, Hatshepsut commissioned wide-ranging building projects, the best known being the rock-cut temple of Pakhet at Beni Hasan,²² the 'Chapelle Rouge'²³ and Mut Temple²⁴ at Karnak, and a temple for Horus of Buhen in Nubia (the latter now in the Sudan National Museum). In her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, Hatshepsut emphasized the legitimacy and accomplishments of her reign, including a text describing her predestination as king already during the reign of her father,²⁵ the first complete attestation of the 'Divine Birth Cycle',²⁶ and detailed depictions of the quarrying of obelisks and an expedition to Punt. Although

female pharaohs were an anomaly in dynastic succession, Hatshepsut in many ways represents the culmination of the secular and sacerdotal importance of Tetisheri, Ahhotep I, and Ahmose–Nefertari.²⁷

While Hatshepsut used the exemplary reign of her father to legitimate her own rule, her death and the start of his sole rule enabled Thutmose III to equal his grandfather's military achievements.²⁸ According to the Karnak annals and other historical stelae,²⁹ in Year 22 Thutmose III defeated an enemy coalition led by the ruler of Kadesh; in one of the most detailed accounts of an ancient Egyptian battle, the sources describe Thutmose III's strategy to exploit the narrow Aruna Pass and surprise the enemy encamped at Megiddo.³⁰ In Year 33, Thutmose III showed similar strategic flair when he floated the Egyptian army and chariotry across the Euphrates for a strike at the kingdom of Mitanni. To celebrate his success, Thutmose III replaced his grandfather's boundary stela at the Euphrates with his own. Similarly, Thutmose III commissioned a nearly identical inscription to that of Thutmose I at Kurgus, the southernmost Egyptian outpost in Nubia.³¹ In the west, evidence for Egypto–Libyan relations is sparse for the entire Eighteenth Dynasty. Trade goods more typical of Nubia are assigned to Libya in an obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut, although this may be an error in the text;³² Libyan envoys in Nubia appear in a text dated to the reign of Thutmose III.³³

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Thutmose III's military skills were probably developed already during his co–rule with Hatshepsut, and the commencement of essentially annual campaigns immediately after his accession to sole rule, as well as the continuity in the holders of administrative offices before and after the death of Hatshepsut, are features suggesting a smooth transfer of power.³⁴ Hatshepsut does not appear to have suppressed her co–ruler's authority,³⁵ and the monumental record does not demonstrate that Thutmose III harboured personal animosity—rather the destruction of Hatshepsut's kingly cartouche and images was carried out in the final years of Thutmose III's reign, and even then only consistently in visible locations.³⁶ Most likely, the proscription of Hatshepsut was intended to strengthen the succession of Amenhotep II and sanitise an aberration in the male dynastic line.

The military success of Thutmose III established an area of Egyptian influence that extended to the vassal states of Mitanni in the north and past the Fourth Cataract in Nubia, to the south. Amenhotep II engaged in two or three Syro–Palestinian campaigns in the first decade of his reign,³⁷ but then negotiated a peace with Mitanni, which had profound implications for the remainder of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Several of Amenhotep II's royal stelae emphasise ritualistic displays of physical prowess: running, rowing, horsemanship, and archery, with only the latter having attested parallels in earlier reigns.³⁸ Although Amenhotep II's athleticism and misreadings of a message to his Nubian viceroy Usersatet³⁹ have led to negative characterizations of his rule,⁴⁰ he left a strong record of administrative development⁴¹ and construction projects.⁴² The transformation of Mitanni from enemy to ally allowed Amenhotep II's successor Thutmose IV to expand the diplomatic ties between the two 'superpowers,' including marriage to a Mitannian princess. At least three foreign women, probably Syro–Palestinians, were queens of Thutmose III,⁴³ but the diplomatic importance of such marriages first becomes apparent during the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.⁴⁴ Economic ties also existed with the Aegean world, and depictions of Aegean tribute bearers in Eighteenth–Dynasty Theban tombs are not merely 'exotica', but accurate reflections of an Egyptian court ceremony.⁴⁵

Thutmose IV presages both the royal solar cult of Amenhotep III and the Aten religion of Akhenaten with the construction of solar monuments at Heliopolis, Giza, and Karnak and innovative uses of solar adornments.⁴⁶ After the relatively uneventful nine–year reign of his father, Amenhotep III ascended the throne. Like Hatshepsut before him, Amenhotep III commissioned a complete version of the 'Divine Birth' cycle, showing the god Amun impregnating his mother Mutemwia, who was not a chief queen. Ruling over an exceptionally long period of peace, Amenhotep III transformed the military and physical expressions of royal authority, which were so significant for the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, into a display of ritual power and ultimately divine transformation.⁴⁷ Outside of a small Nubian campaign, Amenhotep III's reign is devoid of military activities, although the Amarna archive provides for the first time details

p. 661 concerning Egypt's diplomatic relations ↳ with Western Asia (see below). Texts from the reign of Amenhotep III foreshadow later Egypto-Libyan relations—mentioning both economic interactions⁴⁸ and the seizure of Libyans for construction projects in Thebes.⁴⁹ The large building projects on the west bank of Thebes included a city at Malqata devoted to the celebration of his *sed*-festivals,⁵⁰ which was situated south of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple. The increasing solarization of the king, and concomitant changes in artistic styles after the first *sed*-festival, combined with the establishment of a new 'festival' city, all foreshadow the more dramatic changes during the reign of Akhenaten.

The seventeen-year reign of Akhenaten represents one of the most unusual episodes of the New Kingdom.⁵¹ Initially, as Amenhotep IV, the pharaoh commissioned several temples at Thebes, all dedicated to manifestations of the solar god.⁵² Although anthropomorphic forms of Ra-Horakhty appeared in the first of these monuments, Amenhotep IV soon limited divine iconography to a solar disk with numerous rays ending in hands, the icon of the Aten. Around the fifth year of his reign, the pharaoh instituted a change in his titulary—from Amenhotep to Akhenaten—and moved the religious and administrative capital of Egypt to Akhetaten, modern Tell el-Amarna. The hymn to the Aten, the Amarna art style, and prominence of a single divinity led early nineteenth-century Egyptologists to see Akhenaten as a pacifist and a monotheist, a Christ-like figure.⁵³ Textual and pictorial evidence, however, demonstrates that Akhenaten maintained the martial role of other pharaohs—even Nefertiti, like Tiye before her, partook of military iconography⁵⁴—and ordered Nubian enemies to be impaled following an Egyptian victory over the Eastern Desert Akuyati tribe.⁵⁵ The monotheistic claims for Akhenaten's solar religion also overlook the divine trinity of Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti, and the significance of a single primordial deity within traditional Egyptian polytheism.⁵⁶

A graffito at Dayr Abū Ḥinnis records that Akhenaten and Nefertiti continued as a royal couple until Year 16.⁵⁷ Between Akhenaten's death in Year 17 and the accession of Tutankhamun, two rulers are attested. Evidence for the reign of Ankhkheperura Smenkhkara is extremely limited, and the chief confirmation of his existence as a male ruler is a scene in the tomb of Merira II in which Smenkhkara is shown with his wife, Meritaten, eldest daughter of Akhenaten. Smenkhkara probably died within a year of his accession (if he ruled at all as sole pharaoh).⁵⁸ Ankhetkheperura Neferneferuaten was a female pharaoh, who may have been Nefertiti, as suggested by the epithet 'she who is effective for her husband' placed within her nomen; an alternate theory postulates that the female pharaoh was Akhenaten's ↳ eldest daughter Meritaten.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, both of Akhenaten's successors are often subsumed under the designation 'Smenkhkara,'⁶⁰ further complicating discussions.

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Still a child when he acceded to the throne, king Tutankhaten changed his name to Tutankhamun, and he—or at least his advisers—began a program of restoration of monuments, shrines, and cultic personnel abandoned during the reign of Akhenaten. Although the wealth of burial goods in the tomb of Tutankhamun has overshadowed important historical events of his reign, new discoveries in Nubia, objects within Tutankhamun's tomb, and paintings in the tomb of his Viceroy Huy, suggest that Tutankhamun took a strong, personal interest in Nubian administration.⁶¹ The fragmentary Asiatic war reliefs from the temple of 'Nebkheperura in Thebes'⁶² and depictions of Hittites in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb and on one of Tutankhamun's chariots⁶³ suggests that his short reign witnessed the first military conflict between Egypt and central Hittite forces from Anatolia (Figure 31.1).



Figure 31.1 Painted scene of Nubian tribute from the tomb of Amenhotep, called Huy, in Thebes (TT 40).

Photograph by author.

p. 663 Few events can be attributed to the short reign of Ay, but he was probably related to the royal family, likely through a connection with Yuya and Tuya, the parents of queen Tiye.⁶⁴ The emphasis on his title ‘god’s father’ further ties Ay to the Amarna succession. Ay may have tried to appoint a family member, Nakhtmin, as his successor, which elicited a *damnatio memoriae* during the reign of the next pharaoh, Horemheb.⁶⁵ The practical aspects of Horemheb’s transition from chief general to pharaoh remain unknown, although in his monuments, Horemheb claimed that Tutankhamun appointed him heir apparent, after the god Horus of Hutnesu had already recognized his royal destiny.⁶⁶ Using the Opet Festival as the setting for his coronation, Horemheb turned his energy as military official to the office of pharaoh.⁶⁷ A lengthy text from Karnak details Horemheb’s legal decrees, which were intended to redress specific abuses attributed to military units and government officials as well as reverse long-standing tax and levy policies deemed unfair to the populace.⁶⁸ The Karnak text provides much insight into the administrative corruption that plagued the country during the reign of Akhenaten and his immediate successors.

The Nineteenth Dynasty

The Nineteenth Dynasty began another cycle of stable reigns, economic growth, and military success followed by problems in succession and civil conflict. Although official king lists begin the Nineteenth Dynasty with the reign of Rameses I, sources did at times recognise Horemheb as the scion of a new dynasty.⁶⁹ The military backgrounds of Horemheb and Rameses I, who were not of royal blood, led some early twentieth-century scholars to attribute their power to a ‘military takeover’ of the pharaonic state.⁷⁰ More recent scholarship, however, has emphasized the interdependence of the military, civil, and religious administration, as well as the existence of officials who held titles in all three spheres.⁷¹ Rameses I had a long and successful administrative and military career as Paramessu before ascending to the throne as pharaoh. During his two-year reign, Rameses I managed to dedicate monuments in Nubia and Western Asia, but his primary significance was as the founder of a new and powerful dynastic line.⁷²

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Seti I fought campaigns in all corners of the Egyptian empire, including a small Libyan war, of uncertain date and location,⁷³ and a Year 4 campaign against the Nubian region of Irem.⁷⁴ In the north, Seti I began his military actions with a small campaign in (or slightly before) Year 1 against the infighting tribes of Shasu bedouin, who were interfering with the Ways of Horus and Egyptian bases in southern Palestine.⁷⁵ Seti I's later campaigns focused on the area of Kadesh and Amurru, whose defection to the Egyptians from the Hittite fold ↵ may have precipitated the hostilities.⁷⁶ Kadesh's location along the Beqa Valley—a north–south corridor that by-passed the buffer state of Amurru—made the city a focus of Egyptian–Hittite conflicts from the reign of Akhenaten until Rameses II.⁷⁷

Seti I commemorated his military achievements in a well-executed series of reliefs on the south exterior wall of the newly constructed hypostyle hall at Karnak,⁷⁸ which are only the tip of the iceberg of architectural and artistic production during the king's reign.⁷⁹ The raised relief decoration characteristic of Seti's reign, such as that in Seti's tomb and his temple at Abydos, represent the epitome of Ramesside art (see Chapter 22 [Reliefs]). Seti I devoted much energy to the restoration of monuments damaged during the Amarna Period, in many cases 'usurping' restorations already carried out during the reign of Tutankhamun;⁸⁰ in general, Seti I's construction program emphasises his piety towards earlier kings.⁸¹

Rameses II's long reign and multitudinous offspring were the envy of the nine other pharaohs named Rameses.⁸² None, however, would share their namesake's success abroad and at home. In his fifth year of rule, Rameses fought a Hittite force led by Muwatallis II at Kadesh, and chose to commemorate this battle in at least five temples with a series of reliefs and two separate textual accounts,⁸³ one of which is unusually preserved in a papyrus copy, suggesting that it was 'published' outside of monumental contexts.⁸⁴ In descriptions of the battle, Egyptologists often emphasise Rameses' gullibility and youthful overconfidence—the mighty pharaoh who believed the Bedouin spies and sent his divisions headlong into a Hittite trap.⁸⁵ Although Rameses did not achieve his strategic goal and despite his initial mistakes, the pharaoh's rapid counter-attack and the arrival of reinforcements—whose precise time of arrival Rameses probably knew—ensured a tactical victory.⁸⁶ The Hittite sources likewise claim victory and emphasise their regained control over the territory of Amurru (Figure 31.2).⁸⁷



Figure 31.2 Hittite chariot at the Battle of Kadesh, Year 5 of the reign of Rameses II, from the battle reliefs in his Abydos temple.

Photograph by author.

For the remaining half-century of Rameses II's rule, no major military conflicts are recorded, and during this lengthy period of time, the pharaoh continued the active building program that had existed since the inception of his reign. Among Rameses II's impressive monuments are a series of rock-cut temples in Nubia.⁸⁸ Rameses II appears to have taken a particular and personal interest in building activities, such as identifying statues in unworked quarry faces, rewarding loyal workmen,⁸⁹ and patronizing the digging of wells in the gold mining regions.⁹⁰ Rameses II was the first to initiate large-scale construction projects for the new capital at Piramesse (modern Qantir),⁹¹ near where Thutmoside rulers and Horemheb had constructed edifices atop the old Hyksos capital of Avaris.⁹² Piramesse was in part a military centre strategically located near the so-called Ways of Horus, although the need for rapid deployment of forces to Syria-Palestine diminished after an Egyptian-Hittite treaty was ratified in Year 21 with Hattusili III.⁹³ Rameses II's marriage to two Hittite princesses cemented these diplomatic relations;⁹⁴ one Hittite queen, Maathorneferura, is attested at Gurob,⁹⁵ which is among the many indications that an economically distinct 'queen's palace' existed near the Faiyum.⁹⁶ In addition to his foreign wives, Rameses II had two 'great royal wives'—Nefertari and Isisnofret—at the beginning of his reign and later had three daughters elevated to that office. Few other wives are known by name, but Rameses II had around one hundred children in total. For the first time, these royal offspring are featured prominently in temple reliefs, suggesting a change in the status of princes and princesses who were not part of the dynastic succession.⁹⁷

After Rameses' extraordinary long reign and the death of several of his heirs, Merenptah ascended the throne, probably as a man in his fifties or sixties. Merenptah's twelve-year reign was dominated by a Libyan invasion, in which the Libyans were perhaps aided by Sea People forces (see below, under Rameses III), possibly in conjunction with a Nubian revolt. Libyan people as well as goods had entered Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty—Akhenaten employed Libyan tribesmen in his bodyguard,⁹⁸ and military conflict appears on a painted papyrus from Amarna⁹⁹ and blocks from Horemheb's mortuary temple.¹⁰⁰ Libyan battles also appear in the monumental records of Seti I and Rameses II, although the texts lack geographical specificity.¹⁰¹ During the reign of Rameses II, a series of forts were constructed along the Mediterranean coast and the western edge of the Delta,¹⁰² which suggests that the Egyptians recognized and actively counteracted a growing Libyan threat. The failure of these fortresses, or their abandonment, is often cited in conjunction with the massive Libyan-Sea Peoples invasion in Year 5 of Merenptah; however, the detailed textual records of this invasion indicate that the Libyan-Sea People force bypassed the Egyptian fortifications, using routes from Siwa and Farafra oases into the Nile Valley to move their large army within striking distance of Egypt, without needing to besiege the coastal defense system.¹⁰³ Trading posts on the Libyan coast, such as Mersa Matruh,¹⁰⁴ facilitated the alliance between the largely pastoral Libyan groups and sea-faring Mediterranean peoples. An Egyptian victory against the Sea People and Libyan coalition at the fields of Perire, probably near the apex of the Delta, secured Egypt's western border for the remainder of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Other historical events of note during Merenptah's reign include a campaign into Palestine, which occurred shortly before the Libyan invasion. The northern campaign would be unremarkable in Nineteenth-Dynasty history if it were not for the unique mention of Israel on Merenptah's Victory Stele from Karnak. Merenptah also honoured the alliance his father made with the Hittites, sending the beleaguered empire grain to aid in the defence against the Sea Peoples.¹⁰⁵

After Merenptah's twelve-year reign, his son Seti II became pharaoh. For the next two decades, Egyptian historical records remain mute on further foreign invasions, but civil war would tarnish the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁰⁶ At some point during the first two years of Seti II's rule, a usurper appeared in the south—Amenmessu;¹⁰⁷ Amenmessu's precise identity and the means by which he gained power remain uncertain—his mother's name was Takhat, probably a daughter of Rameses II,¹⁰⁸ although some have identified her also as a wife of Seti II, making the usurper the pharaoh's own son. The identification of Amenmessu with the Viceroy of Nubia Messuy is equally uncertain,¹⁰⁹ as is the significance of the figure 'Mesi' (with enemy-determinative), who had the authority to remove a vizier in a juridical papyrus from the reign of Seti II.¹¹⁰ Seti II ruled for about a year after the defeat of Amenmessu, and after his death, a child

named Siptah ascended the throne; if Siptah was Amenmessu's son, this would provide further evidence that Amenmessu belonged to a branch of the Ramesside dynastic line.

Seti II's chief queen, Tausret, served as regent during the six-year reign of the minor Siptah. The short reign of Siptah is linked closely with a Syrian named Bay, whose titles included 'great chancellor of the entire land' and possibly 'chief of the troops.'¹¹¹ An ostrakon from Deir el-Medina records the execution of Bay by an unnamed pharaoh in regnal Year 5.¹¹² This unnamed ruler may be Siptah, the king whom Bay bombastically claimed to have placed on the throne.¹¹³ Although some have subsequently questioned the identification of Bay with the Syrian 'Irisu'¹¹⁴ mentioned in the historical retrospective of Papyrus Harris I,¹¹⁵ nothing within the latter eliminates the possibility that Irisu was contemporaneous with Siptah. After Siptah's death, Tausret assumed sole kingship and subsumed the regnal years of her predecessor.¹¹⁶ Tausret's reign ended two years later, and the following period remains one of the darkest corners of New Kingdom history.¹¹⁷

The Twentieth Dynasty

p. 668 After the turmoil of the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the next firmly dated event occurs in Year 2 of the king Sethnakht, whose origins are unknown, but his identification as founder of the Twentieth Dynasty is certain.¹¹⁸ The so-called Elephantine Stele recounts his victory over rebellious enemies and his consolidation of a newly unified pharaonic state.¹¹⁹ Sethnakht's claim to kingship are also unknown, although a line in the Elephantine Stele may allude to divine confirmation through oracle, a process of royal legitimization expressed ↵ in royal epithets as early as Thutmose I, and additional texts during the Twentieth Dynasty show a continuity in this tradition.¹²⁰

Rameses III's eventful thirty-one-year reign witnessed foreign invasion and civil unrest as well as a well-documented 'harem' conspiracy that might have been the cause of the pharaoh's death.¹²¹ In Years 5 and 11, Egyptian forces repelled invasions of Libyan tribes, while in Year 8, a combined land and sea campaign was waged against a coalition of Sea People forces.¹²² The Egyptian appointment of a young man to rule the Tjemeh-Libyans, which would have created a client state on Egypt's western border, appears to have sparked the Year 5 Libyan war.¹²³ The Meshwesh tribe, who are mentioned as the providers of swords in the Year 5 invasion during the reign of Merenptah,¹²⁴ appear again in Year 11 of Rameses III, led by their chief Keper and his son Mesher. During the eighth year of the reign of Rameses III, the Sea Peoples invaded the shores of the Delta with a large fleet. These people 'who come from the isles of the sea,' as they sometimes appear in Egyptian texts, are also given more specific ethnonyms: Akawasha, Terusha, Lukka, Sherden, and Shekelesh appear in the Year 5 Libyan-Sea Peoples text of Merneptah, with some of those groups, alongside Denyen, Peleset, Tjeker, and Weshesh, appearing in the records of Rameses III.¹²⁵ The ultimate origins of these diverse groups lay in the north Mediterranean and Aegean, and some were employed as auxiliary troops in Near Eastern, Hittite, and Egyptian armies.¹²⁶ During the twelfth century BC, the Sea Peoples turned their military skills against these same kingdoms, raiding the coast of Turkey and Syria-Palestine before attacking the Egyptian Delta. Rameses III's navy defeated the invaders, and a land battle in Djahi, northeast of Sinai, may have occurred alongside the naval invasion or been part of a retaliatory attack against the Peleset.¹²⁷

The 'mortuary' temple of Rameses III on the west bank of Thebes is one of the best preserved temples of the New Kingdom, and the aforementioned Papyrus Harris I, records at great length Rameses III's temple endowments throughout the Nile Valley.¹²⁸ Delayed payments to the workers at Deir el-Medina precipitated the world's first known labour strike in Year 29 of Rameses III's reign;¹²⁹ whether this was a local distribution problem or a part of a wide-spread economic crisis remains unknown. The national preparations for Rameses III's *sed*-festival (jubilee) may even have contributed to the interruption in the

royal tomb artisan's wages.¹³⁰ Three years after the strikes were successfully resolved, Rameses III faced the greatest domestic challenge to his reign: a 'harem' conspiracy.¹³¹ A series of administrative papyri record the trial and punishment of over thirty conspirators who ↵ plotted—or knew of the plot—to assassinate the pharaoh. Tiye, a secondary queen, was the instigator, whose ultimate goal was to elevate her son (called Pentaweret in the extant records) to the throne. The conspiracy included several high-ranking administrators within the large institution of the queen's palace, as well as a few military officers; the trial records suggest that the conspirators also attempted to incite a rebellion against the pharaoh. As the papyri indicate, the plot was uncovered and a tribunal condemned nearly everyone involved—including the prince Pentaweret—to death. Rameses III died shortly thereafter, although whether from natural causes or Tiye's conspiracy remains unknown.

The next five kings of the Twentieth Dynasty were all sons or grandsons of Rameses III, whose reign lengths averaged less than six years each. Rameses III's immediate successor, Rameses IV, prosecuted the criminals involved in the 'harem' conspiracy; he also initiated large quarrying expeditions and building projects, many of which remained incomplete at the end of his seven-year reign.¹³² Large-scale foreign invasions did not threaten Egypt during the rule of Rameses IV and his successors, but the kings' short reigns may have promoted the rise of strong local families.¹³³ The power of these families and their control of lucrative priesthoods presaged the decentralized nature of the Third Intermediate Period and the struggle that the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty would undergo to reunite the Nile Valley under a single pharaoh. The mid-Twentieth Dynasty also signals the final weakening of Egypt's control of territories to the northeast, and Rameses VI is the last New Kingdom pharaoh with extant monuments in Syria-Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula.

The final rulers of the Twentieth Dynasty—Rameses IX, X and XI—enjoyed relatively longer reigns, but faced more serious economic trouble. Food shortages and subsequent inflation in grain prices plagued the Thebaid, and archaeological evidence suggests that precisely at this time, state-sponsored caravans were transporting large quantities of wheat, probably intended for temple granaries.¹³⁴ The tomb robberies in western Thebes are among the most dramatic events of these reigns, although private thieves successfully plundered few royal tombs in their entirety (one notable exception being the tomb of Sobekemsaf II and his queen Nubkaes in Dra Abu el-Naga), according to extant records.¹³⁵ The wholesale plundering of private tombs in western Thebes during the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty coincides both with the economic troubles of the period and Libyan incursions into the Thebaid, some of which disrupted work on the royal tombs.¹³⁶

Near the end of Rameses XI's second decade of rule, a civil war erupted in the Thebaid.¹³⁷ The difficulties appear to have begun when the Viceroy of Nubia, Panehesy, arrived in Thebes, perhaps to quell potential unrest from a local famine, memorialized in texts as the 'Year of the Hyenas.' The presence of a rival authority and military troops appears to have ↵ created a conflict between Panehesy's forces and those of the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, which led to a nine-month 'suppression' of the High Priest. A general named Paiankh, who would himself ascend to the position of Viceroy of Nubia and High Priest of Amun within a decade, appears to have ended the conflict, driving out Panehesy and restoring Amenhotep to power (Figure 31.3).



Figure 31.3 High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, before pharaoh Rameses IX at Karnak Temple.

Photograph by author.

These civil upheavals probably occurred shortly before the political changes that mark the last ten years of the reign of Rameses XI, who established a new type of dating system in Year 19, which became simultaneously Year 1 of the ‘Renaissance (*wḥm ms.wt*)’. During the Renaissance Era, Herihor wielded power as High Priest of Amun, and while still a topic of serious debate, it appears that only after the death of Rameses XI did Herihor claim kingship.¹³⁸ The eleven years of the Renaissance Era represent the transition between the ideology of centralized, imperial pharaonic kingship of the New Kingdom—however diminished the reality might have been during the Twentieth Dynasty—to the regionally based kingship of the Third Intermediate Period that divided authority between Delta-based Δ dynasties and an Upper Egyptian state centred on the Theban High Priest of Amun. Economic pressures—including the loss of Egypt’s territories in Syria–Palestine and more importantly, the gold mines of Nubia—frustrated the attempt to forge stability among the different power centres. To solve this, late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period Egypt literally turned in on itself, sanctioning official plundering of the spectacular wealth of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings;¹³⁹ the resulting influx of precious metals probably helped to ensure the peaceful transition from the New Kingdom to the power-sharing of the Third Intermediate Period.

Sources for New Kingdom history

Primary source material virtually explodes during the New Kingdom, and ongoing archaeological and textual research is continuously expanding our knowledge of all aspects of the Eighteenth–Twentieth Dynasties. Sources for the New Kingdom, as in earlier periods, include predominately hieroglyphic inscriptions within temples and tombs and hieratic texts on papyrus scrolls. During the reign of Amenhotep III, the Egyptians experimented with a new medium for the distribution of political records—the ‘commemorative scarab’ (see Chapter 18 [Seals]).¹⁴⁰ The New Kingdom—particularly the Ramesside Period, but beginning as early as the Thutmoside Period—witnessed the first extensive corpora of ostraca; deriving almost exclusively from the West Bank of Thebes (Deir el-Bahri, Deir el-Medina, and the Valley of the Kings), New Kingdom ostraca provide detailed information about aspects of daily life, work practice, and local economy (see Chapter 51 [Socio-economic texts]).¹⁴¹ The information contained within ostraca, papyri, and monumental records offer some of the first substantial sources for state redistribution, private markets, commodity prices, and land tenure,¹⁴² foreshadowing the economic details available within demotic texts.

The New Kingdom is also the first period for which sources written in foreign languages—both inside and outside the Nile Valley—become significant for scholars of Egyptian history. Greater awareness of foreign geography appears in New Kingdom topographical lists,¹⁴³ and textual evidence within Egypt and abroad indicates that diplomatic correspondence with these far-flung regions was an important aspect of Egyptian foreign policy.¹⁴⁴ Since the discovery of the ‘Amarna Letters’ in 1887, translations and commentaries have explored the relationships between Egypt, the other members of the ‘Great Powers Club’ (e.g. Hatti, Assyria, Babylonia), and Egypt’s Syro-Palestinian vassals; new interpretations of diplomatic procedure, diplomatic lexicography, and the strategic decision-making process (e.g. the role of Amurru) emerge on a yearly basis.¹⁴⁵ Debate continues concerning several key events in the Amarna Letters and other foreign archives, such as the identity of the Egyptian queen (most likely Ankhesenamun) who wrote to the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma requesting that he send a son to become her husband and pharaoh of Egypt.¹⁴⁶ An archive from Hattusas, capital of the Hittite empire, also provides information concerning Egyptian foreign relations during the Ramesside period,¹⁴⁷ and the discovery of a fragmentary tablet at Piramesse suggests that portions of the Egyptian archive may survive.¹⁴⁸

The ‘cosmopolitanism’ of the New Kingdom also appears in the adoption of foreign gods into the Egyptian pantheon.¹⁴⁹ Foreign texts, often referring to the divine world, are also necessary to examine literary and magical texts that allude to or borrow from non-Egyptian traditions.¹⁵⁰ These trends play an increasingly large role in Egyptian history and culture in later periods.

Funerary data

Although more types of material are preserved in greater quantities from the New Kingdom, the geographical distribution of extant, decorated tombs is more limited than earlier periods. Western Thebes contains the majority of tombs of high officials from the New Kingdom; the architecture, decoration, and artifacts within these tombs contain a wealth of information about Egyptian society, religion, economy, foreign relations, and countless other fields of study.¹⁵¹ However, Theban tombs represent only a portion of the burials of the upper echelons of New Kingdom administration, with the majority of tomb-owners holding offices specific to Upper Egypt, Thebes (particularly the estates and temple administration of Amun), or Nubia.¹⁵² Examples of tombs outside of Thebes that indicate the extent of material otherwise missing from the archaeological record include the tombs of the Memphite necropolis,¹⁵³ such as Horemheb (as general, reign of Tutankhamun),¹⁵⁴ Maya (overseer of the treasury, reign of Tutankhamun),¹⁵⁵ and Aper-El (vizier, reign of Amenhotep III/Akhenaten).¹⁵⁶ A list of known tomb owners from the New Kingdom Memphite necropolis (e.g. Giza, Abusir, Saqqara, and Dashur) from the reign of Thutmose III to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty suggests that the highest administrators with country-wide responsibilities were interred in these northern cemeteries.¹⁵⁷ Biographical texts within tombs and statues, primarily from the Thebaid, but known from many other locations, demonstrate continuity with earlier periods as well as indicating new trends that continue into the post-New Kingdom era. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly the first half of the dynasty, biographical texts provide unparalleled detail concerning military events, emphasizing an individual's relationship with the king, and his worldly experience. Biographies are not common in Ramesside tombs, but appear more frequently on statues dedicated within temples, and the primary concern of the texts shifted to the divine sphere.¹⁵⁸

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Settlement data

In addition to the plethora of textual sources, rich archaeological evidence exists for the entire New Kingdom period.¹⁵⁹ Large settlement sites of the early New Kingdom include Tell el-Daba¹⁶⁰ (Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos) and the 'campaign palace' site of Deir el-Ballas.¹⁶¹ The architectural and material remains from Malqata¹⁶² and Amarna¹⁶³ provide an archaeological basis for the pictorial representations and textual descriptions of royal ritual,¹⁶⁴ since both urban landscapes functioned as physical stages for royal displays. Among the wealth of data from the different areas of Amarna, the site also preserves a workmen's settlement.¹⁶⁵ Far and above the most famous settlement from the New Kingdom remains Deir el-Medina, where textual and archaeological remains continue to provide new information about all aspects of religious and social life.¹⁶⁶ New examinations of the administrative capitals of Memphis¹⁶⁷ and Piramesse¹⁶⁸ are transforming knowledge concerning the institutions of urban centres, including their roles as important arsenals and naval bases.¹⁶⁹ New settlements are also being discovered and excavated along the desert hinterlands of Egypt. Surveys along the coast of the Sinai Peninsula have revealed the full chronological and geographical extent of the physical infrastructure that supported the Ways of Horus.¹⁷⁰ Along the western Mediterranean littoral, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham¹⁷¹ exemplifies the chain of fortresses constructed against the growing Libyan threat; excavations at Mersa Matruh, further to the west, indicate trade interactions between Libyan, Egyptian, and northeast Mediterranean civilizations (e.g. Mycenaean, Minoan, and Cypriot material).¹⁷² Settlements continue in both Kharga and Dakhla oases during the New Kingdom, and desert roads connecting the Nile Valley with the oasis region as well as points further to the southwest were used for trading expeditions.¹⁷³

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Future directions of research into New Kingdom history

A wealth of information is available for the textual and archaeological record of the three dynasties of the New Kingdom, and few problems remain with the chronology of the period; we are fortunate that most of the key texts have been published, although epigraphic copies that allow for paleographic studies remain a *desideratum*. The end of the Eighteenth and Twentieth Dynasties remain topics of active debate, although until further evidence is discovered, the extant material does not allow for definitive answers to key questions. It is hoped that additional inscriptions—such as the recently recorded dipinto at Dayr Abū Ḥinnis¹⁷⁴—will help determine the identity of the immediate successors of Akhenaten, and whether Nefertiti should be equated with Ankh(et)kheperure Neferneferuaten.

Similar issues plague the transition between the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period, and until new texts are published, doubts will remain about the relative chronology of Paiankh and Herihor, and the extent of the latter's 'kingship'. Ongoing excavations in both Egypt and Nubia continue to provide yet more information about settlements inhabited during the New Kingdom, and as noted above, these urban areas include a diversity of sites—fortresses and towns, workmen's villages and capital cities. Additional exploration of the pharaonic hinterlands, including the Western Desert oases and Eastern Desert mining regions, and re-examination of the extensive corpus of New Kingdom rock inscriptions could provide more details about the economic and political control of Egyptian territories outside of the Nile Valley. Future archaeological work in Libya and the Near East may also provide important details about Egyptian foreign policy, which will hopefully balance the bias of ancient Egyptian presentations of those territories and their populations.

Suggested reading

Overviews of the history of New Kingdom Egypt appear in the relevant chapters in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Shaw 2000), and studies of individual rulers and their reigns include Ahmose (Barbotin 2008), Hatshepsut (Galán et al. 2014), Thutmose III (Cline and O'Connor 2005), Amenhotep III (Kozloff 2012), Akhenaten (Laboury 2010), Seti I (Brand 2000), Tausret (Wilkinson 2012), Rameses III (Cline and O'Connor 2012), and Rameses IV (Peden 1994). For the social and economic history of the New Kingdom, see the relevant chapters in Muhs 2016; Kemp 2006; Grimal and Menu 1998.

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Notes

- 1 Hornung 2006.
- 2 For example, the debated coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, which is probably non-existent or of two-year duration—compare Gabolde 1998: 62–98; Dorman 2007; with Johnson 1996.
- 3 Bietak and Czerny (ed.) 2007.
- 4 Barbotin 2008 provides a detailed treatment of his reign, catalog of monuments, and translation of key texts.
- 5 Popko 2006: 187–220.
- 6 Harvey 1998; Spalinger 2005: 19–24.
- 7 Helck 2002a: 104–110, particularly lines Vs 16–18/Rt 18–21; any connection between the ‘Tempest Stela’ and the eruption of Thera (Ritner and Foster 1996) is uncertain (Allen and Wiener 1998); however, the dating of the Thera eruption to the time of Ahmose is confirmed with other sources—see Warren 2006.
- 8 Harvey 2002; Barbotin 2008: 115–130, 226–9.
- 9 Gitton 1975.
- 10 Polz 2007: 104–11.
- 11 Even ceramic styles from the late Seventeenth Dynasty also continue into the early Eighteenth Dynasty: see Seiler 2005: 160.
- 12 Polz 2007: 307.
- 13 Minault-Gout 2007; Davies 2004a.
- 14 Arnold 1991; Bourriau 1991.
- 15 Baligh 2003; Vandersleyen 2005 argues that Ahmose Sapir died before he reached puberty and could thus not have been the father of Thutmose I.
- 16 Klug 2002: 82.
- 17 Davies 2001, 2004b; Klug 2002: 79–81.
- 18 Sethe 1906: 103–5; the link between hunting and warfare in Syria-Palestine may appear as early as the reign of Ahmose: see Carter 1916: pl. 21, no. 4.
- 19 Gundlach 1992: 32.
- 20 Maruéjols 2007.
- 21 Dorman 2005a; Keller 2005; Galán et al. 2014.
- 22 Chappaz 1994; for Hatshepsut’s well-known inscription from the Speos Artemidos mentioning the depredations of the Hyksos, see Allen 2002.
- 23 Borges and Larché 2006.
- 24 Fazzini 2002; Bryan 2014.
- 25 Ockinga 1995; Spalinger 1997.
- 26 Brunner 1986; while the detailed progression of scenes and texts first appears during the reign of Hatshepsut, the theological principle of divine birth is attested already during the reign of Mentuhotep II—see Berlev 1981; Darnell 2004: 26.
- 27 Troy 1986: 140–2; Gitton 1984.
- 28 For a detailed examination of all aspects of the reign of Thutmose III, of which only a few are mentioned here, see Cline and O’Connor 2005.
- 29 See Chapter 53 for discussion of such ‘historical’ texts as the Karnak annals.
- 30 Spalinger 2005: 83–100.
- 31 Klug 2002: 210.
- 32 Manassa 2003: 86.
- 33 Caminos 1974: 50.
- 34 Bryan 2005.
- 35 Dorman 2005c.
- 36 Dorman 2005b; Arnold 2005 (noting that the destruction of Hatshepsut’s statuary—more violent and thorough than the damage to her other monuments—occurred between Years 30 and 42 of Thutmose III’s reign); Roth 2005.
- 37 Morris 2005: 126–32.
- 38 Decker 2006.
- 39 Manuelian 1987: 157; Morschauser 1998.
- 40 O’Connor 2003: 156 (whose postulation of ‘metaphorical rape’ is not supported by the Egyptian sources); cf. also Redford 1984: 32–3.
- 41 Darnell 2014.

42 Manuelian 1987; Bryan 2002: 248–53. Vandersleyen 1995: 341 also credits Amenhotep II with personally fostering the
 worship of Syro-Palestinian deities in Egypt.
 43 Lilyquist 2003.
 44 Roth 2002: 50–62.
 45 Panagiotopoulos 2001.
 46 Bryan 1998: 49–52.
 47 Kozloff 2012.
 48 During a jubilee of Amenhotep III, ‘fresh fat from bulls of the Meshwesh’ was among the commodities transported to
 Malqata, and since the jar label mentions an Egyptian stable, the bulls must have been imported earlier than the fat
 delivery (Hayes 1951: 91 and fig. 10, no. 130).
 49 Klug 2002: 401 (= Urk. IV 1656: 13–17).
 50 See note 154 below.
 51 The bibliography for the reign of Akhenaten is expansive—for overviews see Dodson 2014; Laboury 2012; Montserrat 2003.
 52 Vergnienx 1999.
 53 Montserrat 2003: 98–105.
 54 Roth 2002.
 55 Murnane 1995: 101–3; Darnell and Manassa 2007: 118–19.
 56 Hornung 1999; Darnell and Manassa 2007: 36–44.
 57 Van der Perre 2014.
 58 A review of the literature and source material appears in Van der Perre 2014: 83–96; Gabolde 1998: 187–226 postulates that
 Smenkhkara is the Hittite prince Zannanza, but no direct evidence supports this theory.
 59 Gabolde 1998: 147–85; Gabolde 2015: 72–81.
 60 Compare the mixing of Ankhkheperura’s prenomen Neferneferuaten with the name of Smenkhkara in Shaw (ed.) 2000:
 481.
 61 Darnell 2003; Darnell and Manassa 2007: 113–117, 127–31.
 62 Johnson 1992.
 63 Darnell 1991.
 64 Vandersleyen 1995: 478–84.
 65 Ockinga 1997: 54–61; Kawai 2010.
 66 Gardiner 1953; Helck 1955–8: 2113–20; Murnane 1995: 230–3; Kawai 2010.
 67 Exemplified in texts from Horemheb’s tomb at Saqqara—see Martin 1989: 78–84 and pl. 91; Gnirs 1996: 44–51.
 68 Kruchten 1981; Gnirs 1989; Kruchten 2003.
 69 Vandersleyen 1995: 485.
 70 Helck 1939; for the history of scholarship in this field, see also Spalinger 2005: 169–86.
 71 Gnirs 1996.
 72 Vandersleyen 1995: 493–6.
 73 Murnane 1990: 99–100.
 74 Darnell 2009.
 75 Murnane 1990: 40–2.
 76 Murnane 1990: 51–65.
 77 Darnell and Manassa 2007: 176–8.
 78 Epigraphic Survey 1986; Heinz 2001: 30–6.
 79 Brand 2000.
 80 Brand 1999.
 81 Vandersleyen 1995: 504–8.
 82 An envy Rameses IV states explicitly in his Abydos Stela to Osiris (Kitchen 1969: 19, l. 12).
 83 Von der Way 1984.
 84 Spalinger 2002.
 85 Both Kitchen (1990: 53–63) and Brand (2007) over-emphasise ideology and so-called ‘irrational’ behavior, ignoring the
 geographical importance of Kadesh, and Egyptian knowledge of geo-political realities, such as that detailed in ten
 columns of P. Anastasi I (col. I 17, 2 - I 28, l; text edition: Fischer-Elfert 1986, 1992); the arguments in Bryan 1996: 164–7
 similarly assume that Rameses needed to ‘cover up’ a shameful truth, and wrongly suggest that the images provide a
 different message from that of the texts—compare the detailed analysis of the reliefs in Spalinger 2003.
 86 Spalinger 2005: 209–29; Obsomer 2016.
 87 Bryce 2005: 239–41.
 88 Hein 1991; Ullmann 2016.

- 89 Manshiyet es-sadr Stela, Kitchen 1976: 360–2; Kitchen 1999: 216–18.
- 90 Quban and Ashka stelae, Kitchen 1976: 353–60; Kitchen 1999: 214–16.
- 91 Herold 1999, 2006; Pusch and Rehren (ed.) 2008.
- 92 Bietak, Dorner, and Janosi 2002; Bietak et al. 2007.
- 93 Bryce 2005: 273–83; Edel 1997. For earlier Egyptian treaties, see Sürenhagen 2006.
- 94 Roth 2006a. The marriage of Rameses II and the Hittite princesses was one aspect of additional diplomatic exchange between the two courts, including the dispatching of Egyptian doctors to heal an ailing daughter of Hattusili III, later incorporated into the plot of the story ‘The Princess of Bakhtan’ on the Bentresh Stela (on historicity of the main characters, see Cannuyer 2001).
- 95 Politi 2001; Shaw 2011.
- 96 The economic independence of the queen’s palace appears as early as the autobiography of Harkhuf (Sethe 1933: 124, l. 1): *inn inw n hkr.t nswt m h’s.wt nb.t* ‘who brings the *inw*-tribute for the “royal ornament” (i.e. queen) from every foreign land.’
- 97 Fisher 2001.
- 98 Darnell and Manassa 2007: 196–200.
- 99 Parkinson and Schofield 1995; Schofield and Parkinson 1994; Darnell and Manassa 2007: 198–9.
- 100 Johnson 1992: 120, 165–6.
- 101 Murnane 1990: 99–100.
- 102 Morris 2005: 621–44 with earlier literature; Snape 2003.
- 103 Manassa 2003.
- 104 White et al. 2002.
- 105 Kitchen 1981: 5, l. 3 (=l. 24 of the Great Karnak Inscription); Manassa 2003: 37.
- 106 Dodson 2010.
- 107 Dodson 1999 (with earlier bibliography in note 1).
- 108 Yurco 1979: 28–31.
- 109 Compare the contrasting presentations in Dodson 1997 and Yurco 1997.
- 110 P. Salt 124 Col. 2, ll. 17–18; for an overview of the text, see Vernus 2003: 70–86.
- 111 The military title is known only from a letter in an archive in Ugarit—see Singer 1999: 713–15.
- 112 Grandet 2000. An alternative solution to the Year-5 date in the ostracon, not previously suggested, would be to identify the unnamed king with Sethnakht; although the sparse records of his reign only attest to a rule of three years, Sethnakht may have subsumed some of the reign of Tausret into his own, like Tausret did to Siptah, and as Horemhab did earlier with the reigns of Akhenaten, Aye, and Tutankhamun. The mention of Asiatics given precious metals in lines 10–11 of the Sethnakht Stela (Seidlmayer 1998) may also allude to Sethnakht’s interaction with Bay.
- 113 For the two attestations of the epithet *smn nswt r s.t* it=f ‘who establishes the king on the throne of his father,’ see Kitchen 1981: 364, l. 5 and 371, ll. 8–9.
- 114 Schneider 2003: 138–9 proposes an alternate reading of the hieroglyphs */r-sw* in P. Harris I 75, ll. 4–5 as *ir s.t rnp.wt* ‘who ruled (lit. made) six years,’ thus identifying the Syrian usurper with Siptah, who in this interpretation would be designated by his six-year reign.
- 115 Schneider 2003: 136.
- 116 Callender 2004: 93–104; Wilkinson (ed.) 2012.
- 117 Even the ancient Egyptians disparaged this period—compare the historical retrospective in P. Harris I 75, ll. 2–6 (Grandet 1994: 215–26).
- 118 Sethnakht’s re-establishment of order after the end of the previous dynasty appears prominently in P. Harris I 75, l. 6–76, l. 2 (Grandet 1994: 226–36).
- 119 Seidlmayer 1998.
- 120 Jansen-Winkel 1999, with earlier literature.
- 121 Domestic and foreign policies, as well as religion and literature during Rameses III’s reign, are all discussed in Cline and O’Connor (eds.) 2012.
- 122 Simon 2016.
- 123 Kitchen 1970: 22, l. 15–23, l. 4.
- 124 Manassa 2003: 59–60.
- 125 Cline and O’Connor 2003; Killebrew 2005: 197–234 (Philistines); Spalinger 2005: 249–63; Cline and O’Connor 2012.
- 126 The origins of the Sea Peoples and their role in the collapse of the Bronze Age remain a topic of debate—key works include Drews 1993; Killebrew 2005: 33–42; Killebrew and Lehmann (eds.) 2013.
- 127 Drews 2000; a different reconstruction is offered in Ben-Dor Evian 2017 (with citations to earlier literature).
- 128 Grandet 1994; for monuments during Rameses III’s reign see also Mojssov 2012.

- 129 Vernus 2003: 50–69.
- 130 Grandet 1993: 324.
- 131 Vernus 2003: 108–20.
- 132 Peden 1994.
- 133 Interregional marriages appear as early reign of Rameses II with the extensive family of Ameneminet—see Raedler 2006: 73–83; for the Theban family of Ramsesnakht, which controlled important administrative positions throughout the Twentieth Dynasty (although not necessarily at odds with royal interests) see Polz 1998.
- 134 Darnell 2007: 44–5.
- 135 Jansen-Winkel 1995; Vernus 2003: 1–49.
- 136 Haring 1993.
- 137 The chronology and motivations behind this event remain unclear, and the reconstruction presented here is one of many possibilities, based on earlier studies of Jansen-Winkel 1992 and Thijs 2003; for a different reconstruction, see Kitchen 1996: xiv–xix. Discussions of textual and archaeological evidence, with references to earlier literature, include Ridealgh 2014 and Rummel 2014.
- 138 Jansen-Winkel 1992, 1997; recent bibliography collected in Demidoff 2008 and Palmer 2014. Placing Herihor's tenure before or even during Paiankh as High Priest are problematic—compare James and Morkot 2010.
- 139 Jansen-Winkel 1995.
- 140 Berman 1992; Schulz 2007: 40–2 (with earlier literature); Baines 2003 (on p. 43, Baines states that these scarabs serve to 'secularise' the king's actions, but the opposite is probably the case: the emphasis on royal hunting and building activity transforms these actions into ritual events, like his later *sed*-festival—compare Darnell and Manassa 2007: 19–24). A few examples of similar 'commemorative' scarabs are known from later rulers—see the list in Blankenberg van Delden 1969: 166–8.
- 141 Among the many works, compare Burkard 2003; Cooney 2007; Dorn and Hofmann 2006; Fischer-Elfert 1997; Helck 2002b; Mathieu 2003; see also note 158 below on Deir el-Medina.
- 142 See inter alia Haring 1997; Katary 1999; Kemp 2006: 302–35; Warburton 1997.
- 143 Adrom, Schülter, and Schülter (eds.) 2008; Edel and Görg 2005.
- 144 Bryce 2003.
- 145 Bryce 2003; Darnell and Manassa 2007: 147–86; Liverani 2001; Morris 2005: 217–62; Morris; 2006; Cohen and Westbrook 2000. For scientific analysis of clay sources, see Goren et al. 2004.
- 146 For an overview of the debate, see Bryce 2003: 188–9; Helck 2001: 39–51.
- 147 Roth 2006a.
- 148 Pusch and Jakob 2003.
- 149 Wettengel 2004; Petschel and von Falck (eds.) 2004: 178–81.
- 150 Kemp 2006: 292–6; for the story of 'Astarte and the Sea' see inter alia Wente 2003; for magical texts with foreign influence, see Fischer-Elfert 2005: 42–5.
- 151 Compare among the great number of possible references Hofmann 2004; Hartwig 2004; Strudwick and Taylor (eds.) 2003; Kampp 1996.
- 152 Martin 2000: 104–112..
- 153 Raven 2000; Zivie 2000..
- 154 Martin 1989.
- 155 Martin 1991: 147–188; Schneider et al. 1991.
- 156 Zivie 1990, 2000.
- 157 Martin 2000: 115–119..
- 158 Frood 2007..
- 159 The following will present only a brief overview of settlement archaeology of the New Kingdom; for other summaries of the material, see O'Connor 1993; Uphill 2001, and see also Chapter 17 in this Handbook.
- 160 The excavations of the Österreichische Archäologische Institut are on-going, as are the publications of the results in the monograph series *Tell el-Daba* (published by the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) and the journal *Ägypten und Levante*; see also <http://www.auaris.at> (accessed October 15, 2017), which contains an extensive bibliography.
- 161 Lacovara 2006; for the possible climatological significance of the casemate architecture of the Second Intermediate Period and early new Kingdom, see Szafranski 2003.
- 162 O'Connor 1998: 160–2; Kemp 2006: 276–81.
- 163 The on-going excavations at Amarna are described at <http://www.amarnaproject.com/> and Kemp 2012; for examinations of the 'ritual landscape' of the city, see inter alia Kemp 1991: 261–317; Darnell and Manassa 2007: 37–40; Roth 2006b: 235–8.
- 164 Roth 2006b.

- 165 Weatherhead and Kemp 2007; Kemp 1987.
- 166 The bibliography for Deir el-Medina is huge and ever-expanding—see the continually updated A Systematic Bibliography on Deir el-Medina by R.J. Demarée, B.J.J. Haring, W. Hovestreydt and L.M.J. Zonhoven at <http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/> (accessed October 15, 2017); Demarée and Haring 2003.
- 167 Field reports on the on-going Egypt Exploration Society excavations, directed by David Jeffreys, appear regularly in *JEA*.
- 168 See above, note 91.
- 169 The identification of the important port of Perunefer with either Piramesse or Memphis remains a topic of debate—compare Bietak 2005 and Jeffreys 2006.
- 170 Oren 2006 (with bibliography and overview of current research).
- 171 Snape and Wilson 2007.
- 172 White et al. 2002.
- 173 For Dakhleh Oasis, see Hope and Kaper 2011 and Hope 2002. An early New Kingdom outpost at Tundaba was strategically located along the Girga Road between Thebes and Kharga (Darnell 2013: 245–52); sites in Kharga Oasis include vineyards at Gebel Ghueita (functioning during the reign of Amenhotep III), for which see D. Darnell 2002: 173. For the Abu Ballas Trail, southwest of Dakhleh during the New Kingdom, see Förster 2015: 494–501.
- 174 Van der Perre 2014.