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## CONTEXTUALIZING THE CRUSHING VICTORY: BOOTY OF WAR IN THE NEW KINGDOM MILITARY SOURCES

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AHMAD ABO EL MAGD

FACULTY OF TOURISM AND HOTELS, MINIA UNIVERSITY, EGYPT

### ABSTRACT

*This study investigates the booty of war as one of the main features of the both Egyptian textual and iconographic sources that describe the New Kingdom military confrontations that ranged from minor clashes to Ancient World Wars among the great Powers of Ancient Near East.*

*The concern of the present article is to focus on the way the king expressed and perpetuated his victory over the other entities of the ancient Near East, Libya and Nubia when he ended the description of his wars by giving a detailed account, either by texts or images, of objects that he captured in the battlefield or the assaults and casualties that followed his victory over the enemies and the plunder list that giving a statistical details about such items.*

*The present article represents an introduction of a series of articles that focus on the detailed description of such items of the booty of war.*

**KEYWORDS:** Booty of War, Plunder List, Military Sources, New Kingdom.

### INTRODUCTION

The main strategy of the Early New Kingdom kings, was to achieve Egypt's "National Security" through the "Buffer Zone Strategy", This means the military expansion of Egyptian domination into the surrounding territories to create buffer zone between Egypt proper and the other existing powers at that time in the North-East, West and South. At the same time, the Egyptian kings established control over economically important territories and trade routes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Morris, (2006). *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 22, Leiden, 27 ff.; A. Ahrens, (2012). "Objects from Afar– The Distribution of Egyptian Imports in the Northern Levant: Parameters for Ascertaining the character of diplomatic contacts

By the time of the Egyptian Empire in West Asia (Levant or Syria-Palestine regions) and Nubia during the New Kingdom, the kings' obligations were no longer limited to defending the frontiers, but were now redefined to emphasize their expansion. The Egyptians rapidly extended their control toward the North, East, and South taking possession of numerous prosperous entities. Confronted with such new conditions and challenges, the Egyptians were forced to develop a professional army to achieve that target through military confrontations that ranged from minor clashes to Ancient World Wars among the great Powers of Ancient Near East.<sup>2</sup>

Precisely because of these encounters and war operations in the process of the foundation and maintenance of the earliest empire, New Kingdom might be the richest period with surviving accounts (visual and written) on enemies, enemy captives and their treatments that the state perpetuated grandiose images of war through royal iconography either by images or by words.<sup>3</sup>

The records of the Early New Kingdom *imperial* wars, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, were initially a day by day account of activity while on campaign, which were then written as annals transposed onto the walls of the temples of Thebes to describe the brave steps to found the bases of the Egyptian Empire that extended from the Nile Fifth cataract to the North of Syria.<sup>4</sup> The Late New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties or Ramesside Period, witnessed an important change in the way expressing royal military affairs.<sup>5</sup> The kings of that period preferred the pictorial or iconographic representation with minimum chance for the textual citation, and

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between Egypt and the Levant during the Bronze Age", in Birgitta E., and Regine, P., Policies of Exchange. Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and Near East in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C.E., Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg, Institute of Archaeological Studies, 30<sup>th</sup> May – 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2012, Band 2, 147.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Schulman, (1964). *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, Berlin; J. Yoyotte, and J. López, (1969). "L'organisation de l'armée et les titulatures de soldats au nouvel empire Egyptien." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 26, 3–19.

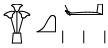
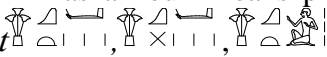
<sup>3</sup> S. McDermott, (2002). *Ancient Egyptian Footsoldiers and their weapons: A study of military iconography and weapon remains*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Manchester, 26.


<sup>4</sup> M. Lichtheim, (1976). *Ancient Egyptian literature; The New Kingdom*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 29. She considers these records to be some of the more realistic found in Egypt due to their fact-based origins.

<sup>5</sup> S. Chrissanthos, (2008). *Warfare in the Ancient World, From the Bronze Age to the Fall of Rome*, London, xxiii

sometimes without, of historical details which give the event its historical value and more important its reliability.<sup>6</sup>

## DISCUSSIONS

In the context of New Kingdom military sources, there are many terms that were used to express the objects that the king and his army captured as a result of their military activities abroad. The principal term that refers to the booty of war was word *ḥꜣk/t*. Worterbuch translated *ḥꜣkw/t* as the same previous meaning “Beute, Kriegsbeute, Kriegsgefangene”.<sup>7</sup> Faulkner translated it as plunder.<sup>8</sup> Hannig translated it as “Kriegsbeute, Beute, Kriegsgefangene” which means booty of war, prey, captives.<sup>9</sup> While Budge considered *ḥꜣk*  as a noun means plunder, booty, spoils of war, as well as *ḥꜣkw/ḥꜣkt*  translated as booty, loot, spoils of war and captured prisoners.<sup>10</sup>

Besides the word *ḥꜣk/t* which means booty and spoils of war there was another word “*kfꜣ*”  which translated as “Beute machen, Beute” which means also plunder, booty of war and to make capture.<sup>11</sup> It was occurred a lot in military texts of New Kingdom Period.<sup>12</sup> But the word *ḥꜣkt* is the dominant term for plunder and booty of war in New Kingdom military texts than “*kfꜣ*”.

### THE DEFINITION OF BOOTY, PLUNDER, SPOILS AND OF WAR “*ḥꜣkt*”:

Booty, plunder, spoils and of war are giving the same meaning as synonyms which mean that objects which were taking by force during war.<sup>13</sup> Another definition for booty of war is all movable state property captured in the battlefield, with the sole exception of cultural property

<sup>6</sup> G. A. Gaballa, (1976). Narrative in Egyptian Art, Mainz, 127-8; D. B. Redford, (1992). Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 186.

<sup>7</sup> Wb, III, 34.1-2.

<sup>8</sup> R. O. Faulkner, (1972). A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, Oxford, 163.

<sup>9</sup> R. Hannig, (2006). Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, (Hannig-Lexica 5), 1612.

<sup>10</sup> W. Budge, (1920). An Egyptian hieroglyphic Dictionary, vol.1, 464.

<sup>11</sup> Wb V, 121.9.

<sup>12</sup> M. G .Hasel, (1998). Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300-1185 BC, Brill, 116.

<sup>13</sup> M. Webster & P. B. Gove (ed.), (1961). Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, Konemann, 1744;

إبراهيم أنيس وأحمد محمد الحوفي وآخرون (٢٠٠٥). مجمع اللغة العربية المعجم الوجيز، الهيئة العامة لشئون المطابع الاميرية، القاهرة، ص٣١٦-٣١٧، ٤٥٦.

may be appropriated as booty of war and the seized property becomes the property of the capturing state.<sup>14</sup> Moreover these spoils of war are taken in wars from the vanquished enemies from whatever is at hand, and wherever such property is to be found. Some actions took place after the defeat of the enemy as the abandoned enemy camp is looted; the conquered cities also are sacked, and their spoils are taken.<sup>15</sup>

The majority of spoils of war in New Kingdom consist of:

- Category living elements as “captives” including royal and non-royal persons, there is also some evidence that these plundered persons were taken to the king who redistributed them as rewards<sup>16</sup>, then “animals and sometimes plants and cereals”.
- Category “Military items” included horses, chariots, various weapons and other war material.<sup>17</sup>
- Category “civil items” which included metals, raw materials, Amphorae and other valuable things.

The amount of booty which was taken from the battlefield is considered an indicator of the scope of the victory, and it would add to the prestige of the leader of the triumphant army. The dimensions of the loot were dependent upon the size of the warring peoples and states. When a large nation was supposed to achieve great victory, it is expected to seize a sizable quantity of booty.<sup>18</sup>

### **THE IMPORTANCE OF BOOTY OF WAR**

The significance of booty of war can be divided into three dimensions as follows:

#### **THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION**

During the New Kingdom the king is still considered as the son of the god from whom he derives his strength and legitimacy. If the king works under the command of the god and acts sincerely, he will be rewarded. He erects temples, provides offerings, suppresses rebellious foreign lands, and otherwise as for pleasing the *ka* of the god. One of the king's services to the gods was the subjugation of rebellious foreign lands to achieve

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<sup>14</sup> H. H. Dinniss, (2012). *Cyber Warfare and the Laws of War*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 270.

<sup>15</sup> D. Elgavish, (2002). "The Division of the Spoils of War in the Bible and in the Ancient Near East" in ZAR 8, 246.

<sup>16</sup> M. G .Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 119.

<sup>17</sup> A. J. Spalinger, (2008). *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom*, John Wiley & Sons, 133.

<sup>18</sup> D. Elgavish, *The Division of the Spoils of War*, 249-250.

Maat on Earth. The help of the god in this project is implied. It seems that the final focus of these transactions is the presentation of valuable objects received by the king to the gods. The significance of these representations and texts is that the king wished to be portrayed as a dutiful son fulfilling his filial responsibilities to his father, the more powerful god.<sup>19</sup>

So it can be concluded that the main cause for bringing spoils of war to be offered for the gods as they supported and facilitated the fighting missions of the warrior kings and guaranteed their victory.<sup>20</sup> Scenes of carnage and plunder were sometimes fitted for the decoration of the outer walls of a temple where they played a role in the glorification of the conquering Pharaoh as the son of the almighty god, and in driving away from the sacred precincts any hostile manifestations. These scenes had little importance in the decoration of a private tomb-chapel in which the owner was interested in leaving some memorial scenes of his own finest hours on earth as with commemorating the feats of his lord, even though the moment of glory might have been when he attended an occasion of great splendour before the king.<sup>21</sup>

#### **THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION:**

The warrior kings of New Kingdom were keen to bring various types of spoils as the Egyptian army took over almost everything aftermath the wars, from carved cup to the small cattle. All this booty of war was carried to Egypt in order to increase and provide the treasures and granaries of the temple of Amun.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore it seems that the Egyptians interested to keep the goods of their defeated enemies which are then brought back as *h3kt*. These goods redistributed in the palace and temple economies throughout the empire.<sup>23</sup>

So it can be concluded that the destiny of this booty of war to fill the storerooms of Amun temple with slaves, precious materials that cause a kind of prosperity to the temple economy. It is notable that any list of spoils of New Kingdom campaigns were not empty from the human

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<sup>19</sup> A. Gordon, (1983). The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word *inw* from the Proto-Dynastic Period to the End of the New Kingdom, (Ph.D. University of California), Berkeley, 21-22.

<sup>20</sup> أحمد رفعت عبد الجواد، (٢٠١٤). العقيدة الدينية واثرها علي الحملات العسكرية منذ الدولة القديمة وحتى نهاية الدولة الحديثة، مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة بنها، ١٣٦٣.

<sup>21</sup> C. Aldred, (1970). "The foreign gifts offered to Pharaoh", JEA 56, 107.

<sup>22</sup> F.J.P. Velo, (1989). "Egipto durante el imperio nuevo", Historia del mundo antiguo, 58.

<sup>23</sup> M. G. Hasel, Domination and Resistance, 115.

element i.e. captives as it is considered principal element in each plunder list because they used them in various works whether in temple or in palace or sometimes as a reward for high officials. Hence one of the campaigns of Ramesses II in his 44 year of his reign, Setau the viceroy of Nubia, launched a raid into a neighbouring oasis, carrying off its inhabitants, to use them as a force labour for building the temple at Wadi es-sebu.<sup>24</sup> The matter is confirms the importance of prisoners of war as principal item in lists of spoils.

The booty of war also included raw materials such as wood which was carried to the harbours and then transported to Egypt if not dried and used there for building ships.<sup>25</sup> Because there was a need for raw materials which lacking in the Nile Valley, in addition to metal, and oils, and luxury materials, such as glass, ivory, lapis lazuli, and animal skins all of these raw materials are found generously in the Levant.<sup>26</sup> Besides other sorts of spoils such as grain, wine, livestock and weapons were interested by the whole army, because they made the troops to eat and drink without interruption on a scale equalled in Egypt only by the rich during festivals. The Syrian towns were wealthy by horses and shooting and pick of the fighting men were mounted in chariots that are due to a large amount of chariots and horses were brought back.<sup>27</sup>

Beside that the booty included a large portion of livestock from conquered countries , the most large amount of animals are found in the plunder list of second Libyan war of Ramesses III, is reached to 42.000 animal such as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys and horses, these animals had a great significance in the Egyptian Economy. Since part of these animals are offered to temple of Amun.<sup>28</sup>

### **THE ARTISTIC DIMENSION**

Booty of war included also products from Syria, Libya and Nubia such as Amphorae, bowls, vessels and other things beautified with artificial flowers, in addition to there are some shapes of amphorae decorated with animal figures in high relief, or jewels as well as weapons.<sup>29</sup> These

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<sup>24</sup> D. B. Redford (ed.), (2001). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, III, 117, 294.

<sup>25</sup> A. J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 133.

<sup>26</sup> P. Lacovara, (2017). *The World of Ancient Egypt: A Daily Life Encyclopedia* (2 volumes), Green wood, California, 108.

<sup>27</sup> P. Montet, (1958). *Everyday life in Egypt: in the days of Ramesses the Great*, A.R. Maxwell-Hyslop & M.S. Drower (trans.), University of Pennsylvania Press, 247.

<sup>28</sup> H. Nelson, *et al.*, (1932). *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II, Later Historical Records of Ramses III*, Chicago, 67- 68; KRI, V, 53-54.

<sup>29</sup> P. Montet, *Everyday life in Egypt*, 247.

products as explicit evidence to the art and industries which were existed in these conquered cities as well as the economical state of them.


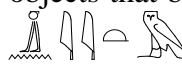

**PLUNDER LISTS IN THE MILITARY SOURCES:**

It is worthy to mention that not only having records of the types of objects that they captured, but there are detailed accounts of the number of each item that was seized. The process of procuring spoils and captives as was mentioned in the inscriptions comes alive dramatically in the pictorial representations accompanying them.<sup>30</sup> The listing method of booty items is called by plunder list as a terminology is used by many archaeologists.

**THE DEFINITION OF PLUNDER LISTS**

In general the plunder lists in the royal inscriptions are considered as a statistical expression of the king's crushing victory over his enemies. In particular the information that can be gathered from these plunder lists is significant, not only because it gives an impression of the scale of these battles, but also because many facts may be deduced from the information regarding life in Egypt.<sup>31</sup>

**THE FORMULA OF PLUNDER LIST IN NEW KINGDOM MILITARY TEXTS**

The frequent and most common formula that proceeds the account of objects that brought by the king as a result of his wars is  or  “*rht h3k inyt m*” or  *rht kf<sup>c</sup> in n*<sup>32</sup>

The present researcher noted that after the verb “*in*” if the preposition “*m*” comes, the name of the conquered entity which the king or the Egyptian army brought booty from there will be followed it, and if the preposition “*n*” comes, the word “*hm.f*” or the name of the king or the word “*ms<sup>c</sup>*” i.e. army will follow, then the booty items are listed in accurate manner with its numbers.

The plunder list of the Year 11 Libyan War of Ramesses III also starts with a similar formula to the previous formulae as it starts with: “*p3 h3k in.n p3 hpš tnr n pr 3- nh w3 snb m hr.w m Mšwš*”<sup>33</sup> "The plunder which the valiant arm of Pharaoh, living prosperous healthy, brought from the enemies from amongst the Meshwesh". It is noticed that the word “list”

<sup>30</sup> M. G .Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 107.  
<sup>31</sup> S. Iskander, (2002). *The reign of Merenptah*, New York, New York University, 281.  
<sup>32</sup> H. Grapow, (1949). *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des Neuen Reiches*, Berlin, 27-28.  
<sup>33</sup> KRI, V, 53.2.

rxxt, is not found as beginning word to this plunder list rather than the other plunder lists. Manassa argued that this passage is a label to a scene rather than integrated into a text, seemingly the word "list" may not have necessary; also, the label starts with the list of cutting hands, and then proceeds to the passage quoted above.<sup>34</sup>

This formula is the typical introduction to a plunder list, and occurs several times in the annals of Thutmose III, plunder lists of Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, plunder list of king Seti I of the Nubian campaign, plunder list of king Merenptah as well as plunder list of Ramesses III.<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, there are always clear indications that a campaign was particularly successful with perhaps the booty lists being the most obvious indicator, the more extensive the list, the greater the victory. As well as the booty lists likely defined for the Egyptians both the physical and psychological conclusion of a campaign.<sup>36</sup> The results on these booty lists that can be understood all the objectives of the campaign had been achieved, order had been restored, and the war successfully ended. So the role of plunder lists may be shown as just one indicator of bringing a conflict to its full and definite conclusion.<sup>37</sup>

The decision of terminating or continuing a war relies partly on the human, economic, and political costs a country incurred or expects to be incurred during war. Costs have external and internal dimensions. External costs contain decline in international prestige, sanctions, and loss of allies. Internal costs are usually estimated by casualties or expended economic resources during war.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> C. Manassa, (2003). The Great Karnak inscription of Merneptah: grand strategy in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC, Yale Egyptological Seminar, 57.

<sup>35</sup> C. Manassa, Karnak inscription, 57.

<sup>36</sup> A. Abo el Magd, (2016). "Mind then Heart Control: Psychological Warfare as an element of Egyptian strategy of war during New Kingdom. I. Terror of the king as an element of Psychological Warfare", *Minia Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research*, Volume I, Issue 2, December 2016, Conference Papers, 442- 474.

<sup>37</sup> B.H. Heagren, (2010). *The Art of War in Pharaonic Egypt: An Analysis of the Tactical, Logistic, and Operational Capabilities of the Egyptian Army (Dynasties XVII-XX)*. PhD diss., University of Auckland, 418-419.

<sup>38</sup> T.G. Massoud, (1996). "War termination", in *Journal of Peace Research* 33, 493.



## **EXAMPLES OF PLUNDER LISTS OF PRE- NEW KINGDOM PERIOD**

### **PLUNDER LISTS OF PALERMO STONE<sup>39</sup>**

The Palermo Stone mentioned two successful campaigns, one in Nubia that supposedly brought back 7,000 captives and 200,000 small and large cattle, and another campaign in Libya that inserted 1,100 captives and 13,100 (or 23,100) small cattle to Egypt . These campaigns dated back to the reign of king Senefru.<sup>40</sup>

### **PLUNDER LIST IN ANNALS OF AMENEMHAT II (Fig.1)**

This inscription records a campaign by sea to the Lebanon Coast. The list of spoils begins with prisoners who are called *ꜥmw*, these prisoners is 1546 as well as valuable objects such as military tools.<sup>41</sup>

### **PLUNDER LIST IN SECOND STELE OF KAMOSE, 17<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY (Fig. 2)**

Another example of plunder list mentioned the use of looting as a punishing method for obtaining supplies and that the plunder o enemy's possessions occurred after the victory of Kamose over the Hyksos in city of Nefrusy<sup>42</sup> where plunder included slaves, herds, fat, and honey.<sup>43</sup> The text mentions: "I did not leave a single planks belonging to the hundreds

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<sup>39</sup> The Palermo Stone is one of the largest and best preserved of the early royal annals fragments. It takes its name from the city of Palermo, Italy, where it now resides in the Museo Archeologico Regionale. The Palermo Stone and associated fragments in London and Cairo are the remains of an annalistic (year-by-year) record on stone which originally dated from perhaps before the First Dynasty to at least the Fifth Dynasty. The surviving text is very damaged, with significant gaps, *See* F. Scalf, (2009). "Rereading the 7<sup>th</sup> Count of Senefru in the Palermo Stone", GM 220, 89; N. C. Strudwick, (2005). *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Brill, 65.

<sup>40</sup> A. B. Lloyd, (2014). *Ancient Egypt: state and society*, Oxford University Press, 103.

<sup>41</sup> G. Posener, (1980). "A New Royal Inscription of the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", JSSEA 12, 8-9; The inscription of Amenemhat I's II Annals, is located on a rose granite block, is about 188 cm height, 250 cm width and 58 cm depth, it was found under the base of a statue colossus of Ramesses II in the Ptah temple in Memphis. To this block belongs another block which is about 125 cm high, 137 cm wide. These two reused red granite blocks from the Temple of Ptah at Memphis preserve fragments of official Annals of Amenemhat II, probably dating from Year 45 of Senusert I and Year 3 of Amenemhat II, the last year of their coregency; and Year 4 of Amenemhat II, the first year of his sole reign. They record the return of an expedition to Sinai, and the departure and return of two expeditions to Lebanon and possibly Syria respectively where the metals, minerals, wood, and other materials that they brought back, *See*, B. Muhs, (2016). *The Ancient Egyptian Economy: 3000–30 BCE*, Cambridge University Press, 87.

<sup>42</sup> Nefrusy, a town which located North of Cusae, and north also of Khmunu (El-Ashmunein), both of which places are mentioned as the limit of Hyksos power in the southerly direction. *See*, CAH, II, 291.

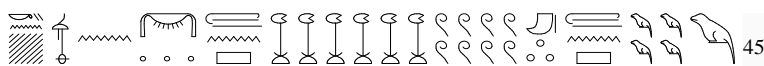
<sup>43</sup> B.H. Heagren, *The Art of War in Pharaonic Egypt*, 192.

of ships of new cedar filled with gold, lapis-lazuli, silver, turquoise and innumerable bronze battle-axes, apart from moringa-oil, incense, fat, honey, wood, and all the precious wood of theirs, and all the good products of Retenu. I carried them off completely; I did not leave a scrap of Avaris without being empty”.<sup>44</sup>

The researcher noted that the common items of plunder lists before New Kingdom are, also, the captives, animals, military items and the raw materials. So the real result for the end of any battle is booty of war which is indispensable for any battle.

### EXAMPLES OF NEW KINGDOM PLUNDER LISTS

#### PLUNDER LIST OF AMENHOTEP II COMMEMORATES THE RETURN FROM CAMPAIGN OF YEAR 9:



(k...?) *hmt n nbw dpn 6,800 hmt dpn 50.000*

(Vessels) wrought of gold 6,800 deben, copper 50.000 depen<sup>46</sup>

#### PLUNDER LIST OF KING MERENPTAH OF GREAT KARNAK INSCRIPTION OF MERENPTAH:



(...20 groups lost...) *šbn 64 ḥḏ tb.w n swr ṯpr rhd.wt sf.wt kt .w mḏrn.w m ḥꜥḏw ḥnw šbn 3174 wḏ. tw*

(...Lacuna...) Various 64, silver drinking vessels, (*ṯpr*) vessels, (*rhd.wt*) vessels, (*sfwt*) knives, (*kt*) vessels, weapons (*mḏrn.w*), razors (*ḥꜥḏw*), and various (*ḥnw*) vessels total 3174 apart from.<sup>48</sup>

The probable way for transporting such objects mentioned in the various plunder lists to Egypt in the New Kingdom is by sea as for booty of war, the annals texts of Thutmose III stated that “in fifth campaign, 29 year of Thutmose III, the account mentions the transport of booty from Syria by sea because he captured two ships from an unknown enemy. In this state

<sup>44</sup> L. Habshi, (1972). The Second Stela of Kamose and his struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his capital, Verlag, Gluckstadt, 37.

<sup>45</sup> Urk. IV, 1315.

<sup>46</sup> BAR II, 309.

<sup>47</sup> KRI IV, 9.

<sup>48</sup> C. Manassa, The Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah, 55- 56.

the opportunity of seizing the foreign seagoing ships cannot be taken as a rule. These ships were loaded with copper alloys, lead presumably in bars, and saffron. Male and female slaves were also found. All were returned to Egypt. All were brought back to Egypt.<sup>49</sup> It can be concluded that the return from this campaign was by sea. Moreover foreign vessels, to be used for the transportation of booty, were seized during his fifth campaign (Year 29). As well as using of foreign shipping is also mentioned during the campaign of Year34. It is also possible that Amenhotep II may have used naval transportation in part for the return portion of his campaigns of Years 7 and 9 as the final destination of Memphis is stated in the textual accounts of both these military actions, and in fact, the Year 9 text specifically mentions the naval dockyard of Peru-nefer.<sup>50</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The warrior kings of the New Kingdom were keen to express the quantity of booty which was carried off from the battlefield as an important indicator of the scope of their triumph, and it would add to their prestige.

Plunder lists are including mainly three categories; first category, living elements which include captives, animals and plants, second category, Military elements and the third category civil elements.

Booty of war is the final phase of any battle which the victorious Egyptian kings seeks to collect and bring to be presented to the Theban triad.

The most common formula that always proceeds the list of plunders that was brought by the king after the battles is *rht h3k inyt m* or “list of brought as plunder” while sometimes there are other forms used to introduce the plunder.

The issue of booty of war and its echo in the form of plunder list is a fruitful area in the study of the New Kingdom military documentation either by word or text.

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<sup>49</sup> A. J. Spalinger, War in Ancient Egypt, 56.

<sup>50</sup> B.H. Heagren, The Art of War in Pharaonic Egypt, 383.

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FIGURES



**Fig 1: Plunder List of King Amenemhat II from Memphis**

H. Altenmüller and A. M. Moussa, (1991). "Die Inscript Amenemhets II aus dem Ptah- Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht", SAK 18, pl. I.



**Fig 2: The Upper Part of the Second Stela of Kamose**

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