

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SYRO-PALESTINE DURING THE NEW KINGDOM⁽¹⁾

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AMT = KNUDTZON, J. A., *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* I-II (Leipzig, 1915).
S. MERCER, *The Tell El Amarna Tablets*, I, II (Toronto, 1939).
ANET = PRITCHARD, J. B., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton
New Jersey, 1950).
ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins* (Leipzig, 1878).
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With the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Delta, Egypt had to pursue them into Palestine and Syria, and was compelled, for security reasons, to maintain a permanent control of the whole area. Ahmos I (not further than Djahi, southern Phoenicia), Amenophis I (?), Thutmosis I and Thutmosis II conducted successful campaigns as far as Naharina and the Euphrates, and established Egyptian sovereignty over these areas. But our sources of that period are scanty. In one inscription Thutmosis II stated that the taxes were coming regularly and that no hand was raised against his messengers throughout the lands of the *I'enKhu* (Phoenicia). Another inscription was found outside Egypt. At Alalakh a bowl bearing the name of an Egyptian with the title of "scribe" is believed by Woolley to belong to a level contemporary with Thutmosis I and he suggests that the owner was an Egyptian governor appointed by this

⁽¹⁾ I acknowledge with thanks the help I received from Miss M. Munn-Rankin in the preparation of this article.

pharaoh. These two inscriptions, if we accept the interpretation of Woolley, would reveal three important facts. Egyptian governors were appointed to rule the newly conquered territories ; taxes were laid down on them ; messengers were sent forth from Egypt to collect these taxes and to report to Pharaoh.

With Thutmosis III, we get more detailed accounts of these campaigns and occasional references to the methods of administration applied in these regions ; but these records, the so-called *Annales*, are not satisfactory, since they do not give a detailed account of all the facts ; and until we find the hieratic daily records which were written down on the spot during these campaigns, or the administrative documents, we have for the time being, to rely, for the understanding of the Egyptian administration, on the Amarna letters which are our only source at present.

ADMINISTRATION

The administration may be considered under two heads :

- (a) The provincial administration.
- (b) Security measures.

THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The Pharaoh entrusted the administration of the cities in Syria and Palestine to local chiefs whom he appointed. In order to guarantee their loyalty, he installed over them Egyptian governors who were resident in their territories. The whole organisation was sponsored by a department in the Egyptian capital. The Pharaoh as head of the state and commander of the army was the supreme authority.

The local chief.

The local chief of a city is called in Egyptian :

wr : WB 1, p. 328-329.
A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 1957, Sign List, A. 19.

Akkadian :

(a) *amêlum* : G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian laws*, Oxford, 1952, p. 86, note 2.

awilum *El-Amarna Tafeln.*

A. Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, 1926, p. 4.

(b) *ḫazanu* : *El-Amarna Tafeln.*

ḫazianu A. Bezold, *ibid.*, p. 119.

ḫazannu

(c) *šarru* : *El-Amarna Tafeln.*

A. Bezold, *ibid.*, p. 287.

The three Akkadian titles, *amêlum*, *ḫazanu*, and *šarru* are used in letters addressed by these chiefs to the king ; but when the Pharaoh is writing to any of them, he simply calls him : *amel ali* + the name of the city, the chief of the city.

The three titles are one and the same, in the sense that the bearer of any one of these titles had no advantage over the bearer of the other titles ; it only indicates that the so-called *šarru* may have been in possession of a richer and stronger city, but it does not necessarily mean that the so-called *amêlu* or *ḫazanu* was not as rich or as powerful as the one who called himself *šarru* ; in fact some of them were extremely rich. The Pharaoh however did not concern himself with such titles ; to him they were all equal, chiefs of cities, carrying out his orders without exception.

Moreover none of these titles gave its bearer any exceptional rights, or authority over the bearers of the other titles. If one of them was powerful and influential, it was due to the wealth of his city, and to his own personal character and ability. The word *šarru*, King, has no more weight in these circumstances than the word *amêlu*. Henceforth I shall be using the word *amêlu* to indicate the local chief.

Those chiefs are not Egyptians, but natives of the land of Palestine and Syria as their names indicate, with the exception of a few whose names indicate a foreign origin, Hittite, or Assyrian, but most probably these foreigners had been living in the

country for some time, before they came to power. This fact accounts for the faithlessness of the vassals to the king of Egypt who was regarded as a usurper. As soon as they felt that the Pharaoh had relaxed his grasp, and would not inflict punishment, they broke into open rebellion.

The amêlu's zone.

The *amêlu* might be in charge of

- (a) one city with its surrounding district, or
- (b) a group of small cities concentrated round one big city.

Through the majority of the vassals were in charge of one city, a few of them held more than one. Rib-Addi who lived at the time of Amenophis III and Akhnaton, was in charge of Gubla, his capital city, Batruna, Bit-archa (AMT 79, l. 21) and Šigata (AMT 71, l. 25 ; 74, l. 24). He refers to his cities as "the cities of Gubla", his residential capital.

Abdi-Aširta of Šehlal, also, was in charge of a large area of the land of Amurru. His chief city was Irqatu (AMT 62, l. 13). He was, also, the guardian of the two cities Sumer and Ulaza (AMT 60, l. 23). When his son Aziru succeeded him, he secured an alliance with the Sa-Gaz people, and became the most powerful man in Amurru. Although he affirmed formally his loyalty to the Pharaoh, he was in fact a rebel, he seized a number of cities including Gubla and Sumer (AMT 140), killed the kings of Amonia, Eldata and Irqata (AMT 139) and as a result succeeded in securing lands from Gubla as far as Ugarit (AMT 98) and made a treaty with the Hittite Kings. At last the Egyptian king exiled him from Syria and held him as a hostage in his court at Amarna. But later he was allowed to return. He was called the man of Amurru, the name of his district.

The Army.

These vassals were not officially permitted to organize private armies, for we know that Thutmosis III, Amenophis II, Amenophis III, and other kings, when they conquered a city,

brought the chiefs, their families and their warriors in subjection together with their arms, chariots and horses to Egypt. Moreover, the Pharaoh would not permit those vassals to recruit soldiers in order that they might not become a cause of insurrection in future. Another important factor is that the Egyptian Army did not need any help from these local chiefs ; it was quite independent and did not need to rely on such heterogeneous troops, whose chiefs might not be loyal and might betray Egypt during the battle, and who would not fight whole-heartedly for its cause. It would seem that only during the time of Akhnaton did these vassals recruit official armies ; although the Egyptian government did not give official sanction to the practice, it recognised it *de facto*.

The vassal had at his disposal a limited armed force (AMT 62), quite independent from the troops of the Pharaoh, and from the troops of the other local chiefs. He was the commander of his troops, and they received their orders from him alone. But this does not mean that he himself together with his troops were not under the command of the Egyptian Authorities, nor could he act, unless he was in a state of rebellion, contrary to the orders of Egypt. His main duty, in regard to these troops, was to maintain peace within his city, to protect the city of the king against hostile activities, to protect the deputy of the king, to look after the king's interests and to carry out his orders.

During time of disturbance when there was no strong hand to curb his ambitions, the *amêtu* might feel it safe to act independently and further his own interests. Abdu-Aširtu of Amurru, then his son Aziru as well as many other local vassals, were able during Akhnaton's rule, to plot against Egypt and to conquer a vast territory, though they professed a nominal obedience to the king. Moreover, the king of Kadesh was always in open rebellion whenever he felt he could wage war.

The armed forces of these cities were certainly very limited. In the Amarna correspondence we find the chiefs appealing to the Pharaoh against the aggression of other cities but the numbers of extra troops requested is very small, for example

30 pairs of horses (AMT 72), 100 people, 100 soldiers and 30 chariots (AMT 127). Other requests were still more modest, 20 foot soldiers (AMT 149, l. 17-18 ; 152), 50 soldiers (AMT 238), or 35 soldiers (AMT 244). It seemed that such a limited number of soldiers were not held originally as a tool for waging war against other cities, but only for maintaining the safety within the city itself and the district around it, but in agitation, it would be easily organized into a band of soldiers.

Communications between the vassals and the Pharaoh or his officers.

From the Amarna letters, we know that the *amêlu* was authorized to address his letters to the following persons :

- (a) The king of Egypt,
- (b) The minister who was in charge of foreign affairs at the Court of Pharaoh,
- (c) The Egyptian governor acting in his zone, and consequently he received letters from all of them.

The king gave his orders directly to the vassals, who were also permitted to address the king in person. In other words no intermediary existed between the king and the vassals.

In his letters to the vassal, the king referred to him always as *amel ali*, the man of the city without greeting, and straight-away communicated his orders, sometimes with a threat of punishment if he failed to execute them.

The vassals, in addressing the king, never mentioned him by name and rarely did he refer to him as king of Egypt. The style of address was usually "To the great king, my lord, my god, my sun. Thus saith x, thy servant : seven times and seven times I fall down at the feet of my lord, my god, my sun". Sometimes he would add "I am the dust beneath the sandals of the king, my lord. The king is the eternal sun" (AMT 155), or "and seven times in addition upon the belly as well as upon the back" (AMT 64 ; 65 and 147, l. 39).

This was in fact the practice ; for on the monuments of Egypt, we find the chiefs of all the foreign countries kneeling down in the presence of the Pharaoh (Breasted in *ÄZ* XXXIII, 47 f. drew attention to a relief in which a semite was represented once upon his belly and then upon his back while he was in the presence of the Pharaoh : cf. N. G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* (London, 1905, II, pl. XXXVIII). These vassals always praised the king and some of them wrote long eulogistic letters, the most remarkable of which is that of Abimilki (AMT 147).

The duties of the amêlu.

(a) The first duty of the vassal was to acknowledge the Pharaoh, and to obey him as well as his deputy, submissively. It is stated in the Coronation Inscription of Thutmosis III in Karnak (*Urk.* IV, p. 161, 14) that all the chiefs of the foreign countries went to attend the festival to pay homage to his majesty. This may mean as well that the vassals had to renew their oath on the accession of a new Pharaoh.

In the Amarna letters there are a number of statements which emphasize the power of the Pharaoh over his vassals. "You give us life, you give us death" (AMT 238, l. 31). "Whether we go up to heaven, or whether we go down into the earth, our head is in thy hand" (AMT 246, l. 15.). In AMT 254, l. 38 f., Labaja of southern Palestine, in order to emphasize his faithfulness to the king, declared that even if the king asked for his wife, he would not refuse her, and even if the king ordered him to run a dagger of bronze into his heart and die, he would execute the command of the king.

In fact the *amêlu* had no independent entity ; he was an official installed in his office "to protect the place of the king which was in his charge" (AMT 99, l. 7 f.). The city no longer belonged to him, but to the king. The cities were always called "the city of the king" (AMT 197) or "the land of the

king" (AMT 76, l. 42 ; 79, l. 46 ; 83, l. 15 ; 84, l. 9 ; 85, l. 46 ; 103, l. 32 ; 129, l. 10 ; 149, l. 42). "Beruta, the handmaid of the king" (AMT 143, l. 22). "Tyre, the city of my lord" (AMT 146, l. *amél amtu ša šarri* 10).

The chief was appointed to protect and guard it for the king, as is stated in AMT 155, l. 49 "The king has appointed me to protect the city". In AMT 209 it is stated clearly that "the cities which are in my charge, are the cities of the king", and not the cities of the *amélu*. The king had only "entrusted it into his hand" (AMT 144, l. 24). In AMT 71, l. 16 Rib-Addi speaking of Abdi-Aširta says : "Who is Abdi-Aširta, a slave, a dog, and took the land of the king to himself".

To disobey the king was considered a crime worthy of punishment, for the vassal is "a slave of the king I am, my lord. Behold, the king is like the sun in heaven, and we cannot violate the command of the king" (AMT 211, l. 13). In the words of the king "Hearken very attentively to what he (the deputy of the king) says, in order that the king may not find thee at fault. Everything which he speaks to thee, hear very well, do it very well. Beware. Beware, be not negligent" (AMT 222 a, l. 9).

(b) The *amélu* had to go to Egypt to pay homage to the reigning Pharaoh during his coronation ceremonies and festivals, to bring the tribute, or on the command of the king in order to be interrogated about his hostile activities. If his defence was unsatisfactory he might be banished from his state (AMT 169, 115).

The *amélu* might ask permission to come to Egypt to have audience with the king in order to inform him in person about matters of grave concern to his state, such as a threat of invasion. The king might grant him this privilege or he might refuse it (AMT 180, 74, 80).

(c) The *amélu* could not leave his city for any length of time without securing the permission of the king. In such an event he asks the king to send someone to be in charge of the city during his absence (AMT 74, l. 60-62).

(d) The oath should be taken in the name of the king of Egypt in all these lands, which were his subjects. (Thutmosis I, Tombos Stela Urk. IV, p. 86, l. 114.)

(e) He was forbidden to get in touch with foreign powers which were hostile to Egypt. Thus the Pharaoh reproached Aziru for receiving the messengers of the Hittite king and for negotiating with the chief of Kadesh ; both of them were hostile to the Pharaoh (AMT 161, l. 47 ; 162).

(f) The *amélu* had to guard and protect the city which was under his command (AMT 228, l. 14 ; 227, l. 5 ; 222 a, l. 4 ; 230) together with his horses, his soldiers which were with him (AMT 193 ; 195, l. 24 ; 189, l. 4). This protection was obligatory by the command of Pharaoh (AMT 231, l. 14 ; 292, l. 20).

(g) He had to protect the Egyptian governor in accordance with the royal command (AMT 292, l. 20 ; 337, l. 25).

(h) He had to carry out the command of the deputy governor. Refusal to do so was a sin and tantamen to rebellion (AMT 254 ; 294, l. 18 ; 300, l. 23). He could, however, complain to the king against the action of his Egyptian governor if he considered the latter had inflicted upon him an unjustified punishment (AMT 270, l. 19 ; 271, l. 23 ; 283, l. 28). He could also write to the king asking for favours and the king if he agreed, would instruct the governor to grant his request (AMT 117, l. 60).

(k) To report the movements and manouvres of hostile armies (Kuentz, *La Bataille de Kadesh*, p. 348). To warn the king against any danger, for example that the city of Gubla was full of treasures and was liable to fall in the hands of the enemy (AMT 137). To give information to the king about all the events which occurred in Syria and Palestine, according to

the order of the king himself "Whatever thou hearest, write it to the king" (AMT 74; 149; 151; 145); or to send a dutiful note to the king (AMT 274; 275; 277; 278).

(*l*) To furnish supplies for the harbours (Breasted AR II, § 472 and note on § 483).

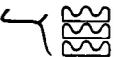
(*m*) To receive the archers of the king, to provide lodging for them, to build a house or tents for them, to supply them with food, drink, cattle, honey, oil and oxen (AMT 55, l. 10; 337, l. 7; 324, l. 12; 216, l. 6; 222 a, l. 16; 201, l. 12; 226, l. 5; 191; 193; 292, l. 31; 65, l. 9; 141, l. 18; 144, l. 18).

(*n*) To send his daughter to the Pharaoh, if the latter demanded, with the adequate presents, either to serve as ladies in waiting or to become a concubine (AMT 187, l. 22; 99, l. 10)

(*o*) To collect the corvée (*ma-az-za*) (248 a, l. 14).

(*p*) He also has to pay an annual tribute fixed by the king in full details. (Gebel Barkal Stela Ä Z. 69, l. 27-30).

The Egyptian Governor.

The Egyptian governor who was resident in Palestine and Syria was called in Egyptian  *imy-r ḥꜣswt*

1.—Tomb No. 239 : Gardiner and Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private tombs of Thebes* :

 : Governor of all northern lands.

Thutmosis IV—Amenophis II (?).

2.—Urk. IV, 999 : The general Dḥwty (Thutmosis III).

3.—N. Davies, *Tomb of Amenmose* 42, pl. XXXIX.

4.—Urk. IV, 1001 : *imy-r ḥꜣswt mḥtyw*.

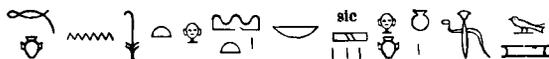
5.—A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. A 106.

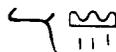
This title was also used to indicate the governors, not only of Syria and Palestine, but also those of the desert and of Kush.

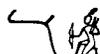
The governor of a foreign country was a very important official ; and of high standing at the court of Pharaoh. We know this from the other titles which he holds. Urk. IV, p. 999

 .—His titles are :











In Akkadian :

rabišu : Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16-11 Jahrhundert V. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927). Index p. 463.

Die Amarna Tafeln. II, Glossar p. 1495.

A. Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, 1926.

Syria and Palestine were divided into a number of zones⁽¹⁾, each of which included several large cities. At the head of each zone was the *rabišu*, and the local chiefs of the cities of his zone came directly under his authority.

From the Amarna letters we know that there was an Egyptian governor in Iarimtu (AMT 83, and Knudtzon II, p. 1169 ff.) acting for Sumer (AMT 106, l. 21 ; 68, l. 22), Gubla and for the land of Amurru (AMT 68, l. 20). There

(1) For the discussion of the geographical zones see JEA XXXVI, p. 51. S. YERVIN, *The Third District in Thutmosis III's, List of Palestino-Syrian Towns.* J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937). M. NOTH, *Die Wege der*

Pharaonen heere in Palästina und Syrien in : ZDPV 60. 183 f., 61. 26 f. 227 f. A. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, p. 142 ff. W. MAX MULLER, *Asien und Europa* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 121 and *Die Amarna Tafeln*

was one in Ube, but his residence was Kumedi (AMT 53, l. 22 and Knudtzon II, p. 1222), one in Tyre (AMT 149, l. 14). One for Hamath, Qatna and Damascus (AMT 52, Knudtzon II, p. 1109 and 1026), one in southern Palestine (AMT 284, l. 9); again another one in southern Palestine (AMT 254, l. 37; 287, l. 45 and 289, l. 30). A third one in Palestine (AMT 292, l. 36). One in Ascalon (JEA XX, 173). Gaza was the administrative centre of the whole of Palestine. (Albright, in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* LV, p. 352).

The names of these governors indicate that normally they were Egyptians; however, Semites of proved loyalty were sometimes appointed to the position. Abi-milki, who, according to his own letter (AMT 149) was appointed governor (*rabiṣu*) for Tyre, was the local chief of that city, who, on account of his devoted obedience to the Pharaoh, was promoted to be the *rabiṣu*. Another exception was Iria, who was appointed governor in Ascalon (JEA XX and 173). His name may be of Hurrian origin, though he was sent from Egypt to hold this position in Ascalon. Nemjaza, who was governor of the Pharaoh in Ube, was also of Hurrian origin. He was a chief of a city (AMT 151, l. 62), and later promoted to this office (Knudtzon II, p. 1113, and Mercer I, p. 230 note on l. 34). Ianḫamu, another Semite, was a very faithful and powerful governor in Syria. He was in charge of the royal provisions of Iarimtu, and sometimes commander of military expeditions in Syria (Knudtzon II, p. 1169 f.). But the appointment of governor of foreign origins must belong to a time when the Egyptian rule was well established and foreigners were promoted to the highest office at the Court. A good example of this was Tutu, who was a Semite, and became the "Chief mouthpiece of the entire land" (AMT 158. N. Davies, *The Rock tombs of El-Amarna*, p. 14-15).

A special ceremony took place on the appointment of the governor.

In AMT 107, l. 22 f.

amēlu
š-u-ku-un i-na rabiši š-i-mi-rum i-na pa-ni
amētūti
ha-za-nu-ti šarri

The king put a ring, the symbol of office, on the deputy in the presence of the regents of land.

This is the only reference we have to the appointment of the governor, the ceremony was presumably, carried out while the king was on inspection, or conducting military campaigns in Palestine and Syria. But it is possible that this ceremony was also performed during festival times in Egypt, when some of the chiefs of Syria and Palestine were present.

The governor was resident in one of the big cities of his zone, for example Iarimtu for Amurru, Hamat for Syria, and Gaza for southern Palestine. But he did not act as the *amēlu* of the city in which he dwelt, for each of those cities had its own *amēlu* acting under his supervision.

We know also from the Amarna letters that the power of each governor was restricted to the zone to which he was appointed. He was not entitled to act outside it, unless so authorized by the king. Each governor was independent from the other and directly responsible to the king. There was no governor general or vice-roy for the whole area of Palestine and Syria. But each governor had sole authority within the zone assigned to him. If he were in serious difficulty, he would write to the king asking for advice and help.

The Duties of the Governor.

(a) The governor was chosen for his personal ability and loyalty to the king of Egypt. His main duty was to look after the interests of Egypt in the subject territories and to convey to the Pharaoh full informations about the activities of the vassals, hostile intrigues or the advance of any hostile armies (AMT 208, l. 11 f.; 98; 127, l. 23 f.; 132, l. 29 f., and Kuentz, *La Bataille de Kadsh*, p. 348).

(b) The governor had full authority over the *amêlu*, and could command him to defend the cities located in his area and to carry out fighting if necessary (AMT 102). The *amêlu* had to obey him (AMT 254, l. 14) and carry out his orders very attentively (AMT 216, l. 12 f.; 217, l. 13 f.; 220, l. 11 f.) and also protect him if he was in danger (AMT 292, l. 17 f.).

(c) He was in charge of the infantry of the king, the chariots, and horses which were garrisoned in Palestine and Syria. He could direct them during disturbances to the trouble area, without waiting for the command of the king (AMT 71, l. 23 f.; 117, l. 60 f.; 122, l. 21 f.).

(d) He was in charge of the provisions of the king, corn, money and clothes (AMT 122, l. 21 f., and 111, l. 63 f.).

(e) And was responsible for its distributions (AMT 85, l. 23 f.; 86, l. 15 f.).

(f) The governor was witness for or against the *amêlu*, and there were many letters in El-Amarna in which the *amêlu* called the governor as a witness of the truth of his statements (AMT 151, l. 21 f.; 198, l. 11 f.; 133, l. 9 f.)

(g) An arbitrator between the chiefs. If an *amêlu* complained to the governor of an act of aggression committed by another *amêlu*, a court of three governors would be formed to try the case. The judgement of this court was final and the *amêlu* had to obey and execute the verdict (AMT 105, l. 31-37).

If, in time of trouble, the governor proved incapable of dealing with the situation, the king would send a special delegate to investigate the dispute (AMT 118, l. 51 f.).

The Royal Messenger.

In Egyptian he is called

: the royal messenger to all countries.

(A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, A 91).

He might bear any other titles according to his rank.

In Akkadian :

(a) *rabīšu* (Amarna letters.)

(b) *mar-šipri*

(c) *amēl-šipri* (AMT 151, l. 28.)

The royal messenger was a very important man. He was a personal envoy to the king delegated to carry messages, both written and verbal, to the vassals of his kingdom, as well as to the kings of the neighbouring countries.

Such an envoy was usually of exceptional abilities and might be charged with negotiations at the highest level. His hard task is well illustrated in the famous stories of *Hw, f Hr.* and Wenamon ; the talents required of him are pointed out in the Satirical Letter of Hori. He had to be an excellent writer, a convincing speaker, well-acquainted with the geography of the foreign countries in which he was going to serve, the difficult paths and roads, the safe way, and the dangerous hiding places of thieves ; a wise guide, alert, a good horseman, excellent bowman ; well acquainted with the different chiefs of the localities and their tongues.

For these reasons, some of these messengers were outstanding army officers, who had travelled in foreign lands, become acquainted with their people, their rulers, their customs, and habits and the native language. Others must have been resident abroad for a considerable period. Iamhamu, a Semite who had given proof of outstanding statesmanship was promoted first to be Egyptian governor, then to the post of royal envoy at the Court of Pharaoh.

These envoys enjoyed great honour and prestige in their own countries as well as abroad, whether they were messengers of kings or vassals. We find Tušratta of Mittani writing to Amenophis IV, asking him to please his interpreter, and states that he himself (Tušratta) had pleased him with everything that was taxed in his land (AMT 24, Coll. III. 4), because the messenger was a very capable man (AMT 24, Coll. IV. 37).

Since a messenger was the representative of his country the treatment he received at the court to which he was accredited was a matter of national prestige. Preferential treatment given to the messengers of one state would claim protests from the others. In AMT 88, l. 46, Rib-Addi made a diplomatic protest because the Pharaoh had given the messenger of Acco a horse as a gift, and had not similarly honoured his messenger.

Some of these envoys were of higher rank than the others (AMT 156), like Hammašši and Ianhamu, messengers of Amenophis IV, and Gilia, messenger of Tušratta of Mitanni.

In a crisis, these messengers might be held in captivity or a messenger of lower rank might be sent in their place. A large ransom might be asked for their release, and their king would be glad to give it (AMT 24 ; 36, l. 36 ; 37 ; 39 ; 59, l. 13 ; 29).

The messenger was accorded protection while on duty in a foreign land (AMT 16).

In regard to vassals, the *amēlu* had no authority over the royal envoy, and could not, under any circumstances, detain him without asking permission from the king, or from the messenger's chief. He was expected to welcome his arrival (AMT 227, l. 15 f.) and must treat him with due respect (AMT 161, l. 17 f.). For the messenger was a witness of the good will of the vassal. (AMT 20, l. 64 f.). Therefore the *amēlu* had to listen very attentively to what the royal envoy had to say and had to carry out the instructions he brought (AMT 222 a, l. 6 f.; 221, l. 8 f.).

The Duties of the Messenger.

The duties of the royal envoy are :

(a) To inform his king about the neighbouring countries, their people, chiefs and kings, their political interests, the internal situation and the power of the country (AMT 24, Coll. IV l. 21 f. ; 15, l. 7 f. ; 20, l. 64 f. ; 114, l. 51 f.).

(b) To carry the diplomatic correspondence (so-called tablet) (AMT 113, l. 38 f. ; 20, l. 33 f.).

(c) To communicate oral messages (AMT 329, l. 13 f.; 328, l. 21 f.).

(d) To collect the tribute for the Pharaoh, from vassal-states. (AMT 160, l. 41 f.; 161, l. 54 f.; 301, l. 12 f.).

(e) He is the chief of the royal caravan, but does not necessarily know the language of the other country. In this case he is provided with a trustworthy interpreter (*targumannu*) (AMT 11 and 21).

(f) But he could act as an interpreter, if he knew the language (AMT 24, Coll. IV, l. 37).

(g) He was entrusted with all the gold, silver and the precious gifts exchanged (between independent kings) (AMT 10).

(h) He would also carry the royal gifts to the vassals (AMT 31 a, l. 5 f.).

(k) To convey the daughter of a foreign king to his own king for marriage. Usually an envoy of her own country accompanied her as well as the royal envoy of the king whom she was going to marry (AMT 20, l. 14. f.)

(l) To provide maidens from the vassal countries and conduct them to his king (AMT 31, l. 5 f.; 288, l. 20 f.; 268, l. 15 f.; 31 a, l. 7 f.).

(m) To capture rebels and to lead them in bondage to his king (AMT 288. l. 21 f.; 268. l. 15 f.)

(n) To conduct a prince of subject country to the presence of the Pharaoh on his own request (AMT 288. l. 57 f.).

(o) To announce the accession of a new king to the throne (AMT 36; 29; 25; 27; 55).

(p) To carry out political negotiations (AMT 17; 46; 27; 36. JEA VI, p. 201).

(q) To investigate matters of unusual importance (AMT 113, l. 17 f.; 117, l. 65 f.).

(s) To reconcile differences between vassal chiefs and to interrogate them (AMT 290 a, l. 28 f.).

The head of the department was an Egyptian, assisted by some Akkadian and Egyptian scribes.⁽¹⁾ Names of the officials of this department have come down to us, among them Ra-Apii who, as suggested by Petrie, was the head of the department for sometime,⁽²⁾ Shameš-niki, Tetou-nou, Amanappa,⁽³⁾ and Dudu. The language used for correspondence with the Syro-Palestine vassals, as well as with the kings of Assyria, Mitanni, Babylonia and Hatti was Akkadian.

For the Egyptians found it more convenient for their administration to adopt the language of their vassals, rather than to enforce their language upon them, though these local chiefs must have learnt the Egyptian Language during their stay in Egypt. The Egyptians were satisfied with imposing their culture, and they were apparently not interested in imposing their language, the writing of which was very difficult and could not be mastered in less than a few years.

The Egyptians used dictionaries and glossaries, fragments which have been found in Amarna.⁽⁴⁾ On one of these, it was stated that the vocabulary was drawn up "by the order of the king of Egypt".⁽⁵⁾ Another fragment contains an Egyptian Akkadian glossary.⁽⁶⁾ It has also been suggested that the collection of stones found among the Amarna tablets were used for teaching in schools.⁽⁷⁾

The Duty of the Head of this Office.

The head of this department was generally respected in these letters; the vassals called him *abi-ia*, my father, and

(1) AMT 73 77, 87, 93, 96, 69, 158, 95. KUNDTZON, II, p. 1190. A. MORET, *ibid.*, p. 60 and F. PETRIE, *ibid.*, p. 23.

(2) A. MORET, *ibid.*, p. 61.

(3) Amarna letters and F. PETRIE, *ibid.*, p. 36. For further reference concerning this department and its officials, see JEA XXIV, note 2, p. 160 and ÄZ 44,60.

(4) F. PETRIE, *ibid.*, pl. XXXII. A. MORET, *ibid.*, p. 61. SAYCE and PETRIE,

ibid., p. 35, AMT 346-355. KUNDTZON, II, p. 1357.

(5) F. PETRIE, *ibid.*, pl. XXXII, 5.

(6) MERCER, AMT 355 a., SMITH, GADD and PEET in JEA, XI, 230-240. ALBRIGHT, in JEA XII, 186 f. RANKE, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vocalisation*, ÄZ 56 p. 69; 58, p. 132 f.

(7) MERCER, AMT 356, note on p. 798.

greeted him with these words: "At the feet of my father. I fall down" (AMT 73, 69, 158). He was well-acquainted with these countries, their people and the political situation, for like, Amenemoppe, he might have been an Egyptian commander who had served there (AMT 117, l. 21 f.) or held a governorship (AMT 73, l. 40 f.) before promotion.

He, also, appears from the El-Amarna tablets to be an important personality, responsible for all the diplomatic correspondence and routine work and an adviser of the king, and had very great authority in dealing with the colonial problems. But in war time his power was limited, for the king, in his capacity as commander of the army, was the supreme authority in such cases (AMT 73; 74). Also the appointment of chiefs and governors was in the hand of the king, and the head of the department could not take an action in such matters without the royal approval. However, the head of the department was authorized to send rescue troops and provisions (AMT 82).

The king might also send him with the necessary troops to quell revolts (AMT 117, l. 21; 93). He might be sent by the king to investigate the situation and to report it to the king on his return; he was also authorised to settle all the disputes (AMT 79; 82; 94). He might be asked by the governors and local chiefs to go to Syria and Palestine with archers and troops to restore order in the land (AMT 77, l. 18 f.; 79, l. 8 f.). They could summon him as a witness, in the court of Pharaoh for their good conduct and obedience or to give a statement about the course of events in their countries (AMT 74, l. 51 f.; 69, l. 28 f.; 85, l. 31 f.).

SECURITY MEASURES

To maintain Egyptian sovereignty over the Syro-Palestine countries, the kings had to impose certain measures :

- (a) To maintain a strong fleet.
- (b) To install garrisons.

- (c) To build fortresses or make use of the existing ones.
- (d) To appoint new chiefs.
- (e) To keep hostages.
- (f) To inflict punishment on the rebellious cities, chiefs and citizens.
- (g) To exact an oath of fealty.
- (h) To carry out a military parade.
- (i) To erect boundary stelae.

The Fleet.

With the rise of the new Empire, and the occupation of Palestine and Syria as far as Naharina, the importance of the fleet was greatly enhanced. This was pointed out by Abdu-Khiba, the chief of Jerusalem, who stated in his letters to the Pharaoh (AMT 288).

- is* *bi*
- L. 33 : "e-nu-ma elippa i-na libbi tamti
 34 : qât (zu-ru-uh)š'arri dannatu
 mât *ki*
- 35 : ti-li-ik-ki Na-ah-ri-ma
 mât *ki*
- 36 : ù ka-pa-si "

"As long as there is a ship on sea, the mighty hand of the king will seize Nahrima and Kapasi."

The first kings of the 18th dynasty occupied the towns along the coast, Gaza, Ascalon, Tyre, Sidon before proceeding to the gorge of Magiddo, the key to Palestine and to the passes of Kadesh, the entrance of the valley of Orontes and of Upper Euphrates, and they also secured the collaboration of the navies of the Haunebu and the Fenkhu (Phoenicians).⁽¹⁾ But it was Thutmosis III, who so far as we know adopted the method of Uni, the general of king Pepi I, and transported his soldiers by sea to Simyra on the Phoenician coast at the embouchure of Nahr el-Kebir. He used this port as a base for the conquest of Syria.

(1) C. SCHAEFFER, *The Cuneiform Text of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, p. 14.

As Thutmosis III moved northward, he paid the greatest attention to the coastal ports, and fitted them out as naval bases for military transport and supply depots for his troops. Every harbour he reached he supplied with good bread, olive oil, incense, wine, honey and fruit.⁽¹⁾ All these harbours were continually supplied with everything according to the contract of each year.⁽²⁾ It was the duty of the chiefs of Lebanon to supply these provisions.⁽³⁾ One of these harbours was Ugarit which was fitted to be a base for operations in the north.⁽⁴⁾

Realizing the great importance of water-transport, Thutmosis III built a fleet in Byblos for his military campaign to the Euphrates. He transported the boats overland on carts drawn by oxen to Carcamish. He crossed the river with his fleet, defeated the enemy and followed him upstream.⁽⁵⁾

In Egypt, the main base for the fleet was *Prw-nfr* the naval dockyard and chief port of the kingdom in the reigns of Thutmosis III and, probably, Amenophis II.⁽⁶⁾ All the kings who succeeded Thutmosis III and waged wars in those parts followed the same policy. Seti I and Ramses II, in their campaigns to regain the lost territories secured control of the Phoenician coast, and thoroughly established the connection with Egypt by sea, before marching into the interior of Syria, into the Orontes Valley. To this wise policy the victory claimed by Ramses II in the battle of Kadesh can be attributed. The unexpected arrival of the fresh troops from the sea coast gave new strength to Ramses II's soldiers who were weary after a long march and helped him to throw the enemy into the river. Again by employing his fleet, Ramses III, advancing both by sea and land was able to surprise the so-called sea people and to destroy them. On the outer wall of his temple of Madinet Habu is represented the first portrait of this sea-battle.

(1) Urk. IV, 692-693, 707, 713, 719, 723, 727, 732.

(2) Gebel Barkal Stela in ÄZ 69, and J. WILSON, *The Burden of Egypt*, p. 181.

(3) Brested A.R. II, § 482.

(4) C. SCHAEFFER, *ibid.*, p. 15.

(5) Gebel Barkal stela in ÄZ, 69 p. 28-29.

(6) S.R.K. GLANVILLE in ÄZ 66, p. 109.

Garrisons.

To secure peace in Syria and Palestine, and to assure a permanent Egyptian domination, the Pharaoh installed garrisons in the important cities or districts of strategic importance such as Ugarit,⁽¹⁾ and the district of Tikhsi.⁽²⁾ There was also a garrison in the city of Sumer for the Amurru district.⁽³⁾ For sometime there were garrisons in Gubla⁽⁴⁾ on the coast, in Jerusalem,⁽⁵⁾ and in the city of Wanratha⁽⁶⁾

These garrisons were supplied from special distribution centres. In Amurru, the city of Iarimmuta, in the neighbourhood of Sumer and Gubla, was such a centre.⁽⁷⁾ Provision from it was sent to the garrisons by the order of the king.⁽⁸⁾ Sometimes the *amêlu* was put in charge of these provisions,⁽⁹⁾ but it seemed that usually they were under the jurisdiction of the Egyptian governor. However the local vassals had to provide these garrisons with all the provisions they needed.

Fortresses.

There are very few references in Egyptian Texts to the building of fortresses. There are several reasons to account for this. Either the Pharaoh did not build many garrisons in the different parts of the Empire and made use of the existing fortresses built by the natives, or the building of such fortresses was not always worthy of record.

However, some important fortresses were recorded. Thutmosis I built a new fortress among the chiefs of Lebanon.⁽¹⁰⁾ But there were certainly many others scattered in the different

(1) C. SCHAEFFER, *ibid.*, p. 15. J. WILSON, in ANET, p. 246, note 18. Breasted AR, 11. 789. GARDINER, *Onomastica* I, p. 165.

(2) J. WILSON in ANET, p. 248, and GAUTHIER, *Le Temple d'Amada* (1913), pl. X, p. 22, l. 17 f.

(3) AMT 115, l. 19-22; 76, l. 35-36; 81, l. 48-51; 212, l. 11-13.

(4) AMT 130, l. 21 ff.

(5) AMT 286, l. 25 f.

(6) ÄZ 69, p. 35.

(7) AMT 68, l. 27; 85, l. 33 ff.

(8) AMT 125, l. 14 ff.

(9) AMT 11^o, l. 50 ff.; 130, l. 21 ff.

(10) Urk. IV, p. 739.

parts of the country. There were many along the road Qantara-Rafa.⁽¹⁾ Another was mentioned by Thutmosis III in his annales.⁽²⁾ In Lepsius Denkmäler III, pl. 126 A and B, Seti I is represented among many fortresses. In the Ramesseum on the left side of the south entrance to the hypostyle hall there is a scene representing the Egyptian army attacking a fortress. Moreover Megiddo, Kadesh and Sherohina were certainly very strongly defended cities. In Alalakh, Sir Leonard Woolley discovered a fortress built out of brick at the extreme north of the mount of Atchana.⁽³⁾

The style of building of these Syrian fortresses was introduced into Egypt by Ramses III. In his temple of Madinet Habu he built the eastern fortified gate of Madinet Habu according to a Syrian plan.⁽⁴⁾

Each fortress was under the charge of a commander who was called "*Pi-mr-htmw*", the commander of the fortress.⁽⁵⁾

The Appointments of New Chiefs.

The Pharaoh, after conquering a country, dismissed these princes who had rebelled or had taken a part in the war against him and led them into captivity together with their wives, children and the whole household as well as their chattels. Other rulers were appointed in their stead,⁽⁶⁾ for every town.⁽⁷⁾ These vassals, in their letters to the kings, acknowledge this royal appointment. They owed their position not to inheritance through their fathers, but to their appointment by the Pharaoh; they were no longer independent rulers, but simple officers of the king, executing his orders and looking after his interests.⁽⁸⁾

(1) JEA 6, p. 99 ff.

(2) Urk. 660-661.

(3) L. WOOLLEY, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, p. 68 and 143.

(4) UVO HÖLSCHER, *The Excavations of Madinet Habu, I, General plans and views* (Chicago, 1934), pl. 25-29.

(5) W. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 271 f. and A. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* A. 105.

(6) ASA, XLII, p. 12.

(7) Urk. IV, p. 663.

(8) AMT 285, l. 5-6; 288, 9-15; 161 51-53; 51, l. 4 ff.; 101, l. 30; 286, l. 12 ff.

The vassals did not necessarily belong to the ruler family ; when this had proved disloyal or hostile, a new ruler might be chosen from among the other leading families of the town.

Moreover, the vassal was not always a native of the city over which he ruled. Rib-Addi, when he had lost his cities in the revolution, requested the king to give him the city of Buruzilim.⁽¹⁾ Abi-milki begged the king to give him the city of Ulzu in return for the gifts which he had sent for the Pharaoh.⁽²⁾

Some of these vassals were of Hittite, Mitannian or Assyrian origin.⁽³⁾ But none of them were Egyptians who were only appointed as governors over the local chiefs. This would indicate that there was no direct rule by Egypt.

There was a special ceremony on the appointment of a vassal, but its proceedings is only preserved in one document (n° 51 of AMT) where Taku mentioned that when the king of Egypt appointed his grandfather a ruler in Nuḥašše, he poured oil upon his head. It is probable that during this ceremony an oath of fealty was sworn to the king of Egypt. This ceremony of pouring the oil upon the head of the vassal also took place at the coronation of the king of Egypt (AMT 34, l. 34-53).

Hostages.

Thutmosis III initiated a new policy for the appointments of chiefs in Palestine and Syria. The children of the vassals and their brothers were brought to Egypt to be held as hostages and were brought up under the supervision of Egyptian tutors. Then when a chief died, his son was sent in his place.⁽⁴⁾ This policy is confirmed by the Amarna letters. In AMT 296, l. 23 f. the chief Iaḥtiri mentioned in his letter addressed to the king that he had been brought to Egypt, had served the king, his lord and had stood at the gates of the palace.

(1) AMT 137, 63 ff.

(2) AMT 148, l. 4 f.

(3) AMT Mercer I, p. 224, note on Taku, p. 223, note on Adadnirari and II,

p. 704, note on Abdi-Ḥiba, and Knudtzon, II, p. 1103.

(4) Urk. IV, 690.

Breasted has pointed out that a similar policy was applied by the king Pepi II of the old Kingdom.⁽¹⁾ His general Pepi-Nakht brought with him to Egypt numerous captives and children of chiefs as hostages (*skrw-nh*).⁽²⁾ But the text does not make it clear whether the Pharaoh intended to let them return eventually to succeed their fathers, though this may have been the case.

These children of vassal princes were brought to Egypt as living prisoners and kept in settlements in Karnak.⁽³⁾

Amenophis III, in his building inscription, mentioned that the workhouse of Karnak was filled with male and female slaves, the children of the princes of every foreign land and that Karnak was surrounded with Syrian towns settled with the children of princes.⁽⁴⁾

This policy was certainly very successful, since most of these princes when they returned to their homeland remained faithful to Egypt even during Akhnaton's reign when troubles were spreading throughout Syria. This policy was never abandoned. In AMT 162, Akhnaton requested Aziru of Amurru to send his son to Egypt if it was impossible for Aziru himself to come and Aziru stated in his reply that there were already two of his sons at the court of Pharaoh.⁽⁵⁾ Again Ramses III, on the request of the chiefs of Temehu, appointed over them a chief who had been brought as a lad to Egypt and trained and educated there to govern their land with his support.⁽⁶⁾

Punishment of Cities.

Any city which rebelled against his majesty and waged war with his army, was treated very severely. After reconquering it, the king would carry away as booty all its chiefs, its

(1) J. H. BREASTED, *History of Egypt Catalogue Général*, Stèle no. 34025 (Recto), (1942), p. 141. p. 49, l. 6-7 and l. 30.

(2) BREASTED AR, I, § 358 ; Urk. I, 133. (3) AMT 156, l. 16 ff.

(3) Urk. IV, 780. N. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-me-rē at Thebes*, p. 47. (6) W. EDGERTON and J. WILSON, *Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1936), p. 25.

(4) LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*,

people and their families and bring them to Egypt as prisoners of wars, together with their herds, and chattels. He would take away from them their provisions, pull up their grain, cut down all their orchards, and all their fruit-trees. Their land was laid waste.⁽¹⁾

If the harvest was not yet ripe, the fields would be divided into arable plots, and assigned to inspectors of the Pharaoh, who, in due time, would reap the harvest and send it to the royal capital.⁽²⁾

Fortunately for the Egyptian army, the grain harvest in Egypt was earlier than in Palestine or Syria so that the Pharaoh was able to march into Asia and arrive there at the harvest-time, thus he, together with his army, could enjoy the plundering of enemy's harvest.⁽³⁾ There are two instances when the Pharaoh mentioned that he had laid waste the enemy's cities and tribes and put fire unto them.⁽⁴⁾

Punishment of Chiefs.

(a) The punishment for a rebel was death for himself, and for his family, if he intended to do evil, or if he laid evil words of hatred in his heart.⁽⁵⁾

When Amenophis II went to Syria to suppress a revolt in the district of Tikhsi against his garrison, he captured the seven chiefs who were in charge of this district and sacrificed them before Amon in the temple of Thebes. On his return to Egypt he had them placed head downward at the prow of his royal barge (Pl. 1.) Six of them he hanged on the walls of Thebes, the seventh he took him over to Nubia and hanged him on the walls of the temple of Amun in Napata.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Thutmosis III: *Gabal Barkal Stela* I. 8-11. Amenophis II, *Memphis Stela* (ASA XLII, p. 5-6), Urk. IV, p. 1004.

(2) Urk. IV, 667.

(3) J. WILSON, *The Burden of Egypt*, p. 182.

(4) *Gabal Barkal Stela*, l. 9, and W. EDGERTON and J. WILSON, *ibid.*, p. 16.

(5) AMT 162, l. 35-39 and 222a, l. 18-21.

(6) Amenophis II: *Amada Stela* and *Elephantine Stela*. H. GAUTHIER, *Le Temple d'Amada* (Le Caire, 1913), p. 22, l. 16 ff. Pl. X.

(b) Dismissal from office, the prince together with his wife and the whole of his family were discharged.⁽¹⁾

(c) Banishment from Syria and keeping the chief prisoner in the court of Pharaoh.⁽²⁾

(d) Main enemies of Egypt, who lived in the city of a vassal, must be captured, all of them, according to the king's command to be sent in fetters to Egypt to be prosecuted. Not one of their number to remain over.⁽³⁾

Punishment of Citizens.

The citizens of a city which rebelled against the Pharaoh were taken prisoners of war. Stripping them of all their possessions, cattle, provisions, grain and chattels he would bring them to Egypt and distributed them to serve as follows :

(a) His officers who showed valour in fighting on the battle-field. He gave them some or all the people they captured beside gold and silver in order to encourage them to fight wholeheartedly.⁽⁴⁾

(b) To the different temples of the gods and the mortuary temples of the kings. This is known from the innumerable inscriptions on the temple-walls dedicated to the gods as well from Papyrus Harris I.

(c) For himself, his court and places and high officials (Tombs of the nobles and mortuary temples of the king).

(d) He made for them settlements in Thebes around the temples of the gods and the mortuary temples of kings. References to this are :

- (1) A tablet of king Thutmosis IV, erected in his mortuary temple at Thebes.⁽⁵⁾ It mentioned a settlement for the Syrians who were captured in the city of Gezer.

(1) Amenophis II: Memphis Stela, ASA XL, II, p. 21.

(2) AMT 97, l. 4-6 ff.; 162 and 168.

(3) AMT 162.

(4) Urk. IV, 891, l. 11, 16, 25, 26 and p. 4 and 5.

(5) PERTHE, *Six Temples* (London, 1897), pl. 1. 7.

(2) Amenophis III, Building Inscription.⁽¹⁾

(3) Ramses III in Papyrus Harris.⁽²⁾

Ramses III, mentioned two other important details :

(a) That the prisoners were branded as slaves with the name of his majesty as with their wives and children.

(b) He assigned for them all clothes and provisions from the treasury and granaries every year.

Oaths of Fealty.

Cities which did not fight the Egyptian army, their prince, all their people male as well as female were at peace with his majesty; and the Pharaoh would leave them in peace, as Amenophis II treated the cities of Ni, Hatyia and Kadesh,

But sometimes the Pharaoh deemed it necessary to exact an oath of fealty from these people. The first occurrence of this oath of fealty is on the Gabal Barkal stela of Thutmosis III, l. 21-23.

When the ruler of Kadesh and the other chiefs who were with him in the city of Megiddo sent all their people bearing many gifts of gold and silver, all their horses and all their chattels, begging for peace from his majesty, his majesty caused them to swear the following oath :

“We will never again commit evil against Menkheperra, may he live for ever, our lord, in our life-time, since we have seen his glory. May he give unto us breath as much as he wishes. It is his father who has done it, Amon-Ra, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. It was not indeed, the hand of man.”

Then the Pharaoh left them to take the road to their cities, and they departed all of them.

Another reference to this oath of fealty occurs in the reign of Amenophis II. He exacted from the people of Kadesh an oath, when its prince came out in peace to his majesty,⁽³⁾ but the words of the oath were not recorded.

(1) LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 405 and W. ERICKSEN, *Papyrus Harris I* n° 34025 (Recto), p. 49, l. 6-8. (Bruxelle, 1933), pl. 77, p. 95. 6.

(2) ANET p. 262. BREASTED AR IV, (3) ASA. XLII, p. 12.

Though there is no further reference to these oaths, it is likely that the kings of Egypt exacted it from all vassal princes on appointment. Such things were not yet worthy of recording on the royal inscriptions, but there is a glimpse of it in the letters of these chiefs for we know from AMT 51 that a special ceremony was held for the appointment of the chief.

Military Parade.

During the New Empire domination of Palestine and Syria the Pharaoh found it necessary to march through these countries almost every year not only to crush revolts, but also as a parade of his strength, to spread fear into the hearts of the potential rebels, to receive the submission of the vassal princes and towns, to collect tribute, and to demonstrate his personal valour in hunting elephants and lions, or shooting at targets of copper in front of the people.

Such deeds of Thutmosis III were mentioned on his ninth campaign in the annales and also on the Gabal Barkal Stela (l. 16 ff.), and in Amenemhat's biography.⁽¹⁾

Amenophis II recorded also similar facts of strength.

A further reference to this military parade is found in the Amarna letters where loyal vassals urge the Egyptian king to march forth, and reproach him for his failure to do so.⁽²⁾

Boundary Stelae of Victory.

As an emblem of victory, and a landmark for the extension of their boundaries, the Egyptian kings set up stelae at the farthest point of the empire in the north as well as in the south.

(1) Urk. IV, p. 893.

(2) AMT 55.

- Thutmosis I : A stela on the east bank of Euphrates.
Tombos Stela.
A rock stela south of Abu Hamad in *Kush* I,
p. 6.
- Thutmosis III : Two stelae, one on the east bank of the
Euphrates, the second on the west bank.
Gabal Barkal Stela.
A rock stela south of Abu Hamad (*Kush* I, p. 6).
- Amenophis II : Stela on Naharina (Breasted, AR II, § 780).
Tablet in Napata (ibid. AR II, § 780).
- Sety I : Basalt stela found in Palestine in the mound
of Beisan and now in the Palestine Museum
of Jerusalem, ANET, p. 253.
Gabal Barkal Stela, *ÄZ* 60, p. 81, n° 20.
- Ramæes II : Beth-Shan (Beisan) Stela : A. Rowe, *The
Topographical History of Beth-Shan*.
Three Stelae at the mouth of Nahr-El-Kalb
between Berut and Byblos, *Lepsius Denk-
mäler* III, 197 and ANET, p. 255.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the Amarna letters and from the Annales of the kings that these northern countries were not directly ruled by Egypt. Though there were resident Egyptian governors to defend the interests of their country in those parts, the local government was left in the hands of the chiefs who were, in the beginning, always ready to rebel against Egypt. But soon they discovered that Egyptian rule meant peace and order for them all, and under such conditions their trade could prosper. Since they were the centre of the Near East, their caravans could move freely and their ships could sail unmolested between the different countries of the Ancient World carrying their goods and bringing back in exchange innumerable wealth ; such they had never seen before. And when Egyptian rule began to fall to pieces under Akhnaton's apathy, most of those local chiefs bewailed the catastrophe and urged the king most fervently to send his armies to restore peace and order to them, but in vain. The result was complete chaos.

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