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THE TOWN OF YENOAM IN THE RAMESSIDE WAR SCENES AND TEXTS OF KARNAK

Mohamed Raafat Abbas (MoA, Alexandria)

THE CANAANITE TOWN OF YENOAM was very remarkable in the war scenes and texts of the Ramesside Period, where it has been depicted and mentioned in some of the most important Ramesside military historical sources; as the northern war scenes of Sety I at Karnak, the First Beth-Shan stela of Sety I, and the triumph hymn of Merenptah. This paper surveys and discusses the depiction and registration of the town of Yenoam in the Ramesside war scenes and texts of Karnak temple, to shed the light on new historical aspects of this significant strategic town during this period.

1. The depiction of Yenoam battle in the war scenes of Sety I at Karnak (North wall, East wing, middle register)¹

Description of the Scene (Figs. 1-2)

In the east wing (middle register) of the war scenes of Sety I at the north exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Amun at Karnak, the capture of Yenoam had been depicted. In this scene, Sety I pursues fleeing Asiatic chariotry towards two fortresses. The king (drawn on a larger scale than his enemies) stands in his chariot, the reins lashed around his waist, and directs volley of arrows into the mass of his foes. Most of the Asiatic enemies are garbed in the long robes, and a number of figures of the Asiatics have fillets wrapped around their foreheads – nearly all of the young men, in fact, have this feature – but it is not clear that the fillet's absence from certain of the elders has any significance. Notably, the two Asiatic charioteers nearest the king wear tight – fitting caps that end in a slender tassel. The enemy's discomfiture is rendered with some variety: in one famous vignette, a man is riding bareback a horse he may have cut loose from a disabled chariot. Other men are hiding behind trees or in crevices in the hilly country below the forts. A number of Asiatics have fallen in postures suggesting broken necks, and one man (only partly visible at the king's hand) is seen in midair, falling headlong and covering with his body the head of the second charioteer nearest the king.

1. KIU 1008 of the Karnak project (<http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak>); PM II², pp. 54-55 (167), II, 1; W. WRZYSZINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturegeschichte* II, Leipzig, 1935, pl. 36; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV. The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, OIP 107, 1986, pp. 35-36, pl. 11; *KRI* I, 13; *KRITA* I, 10.



Fig. 1. King Sety I attacking the town of Yenoam, Karnak temple (north wall, east wing, second register). © CNRS-CFEETK 58332/A. Chéné.

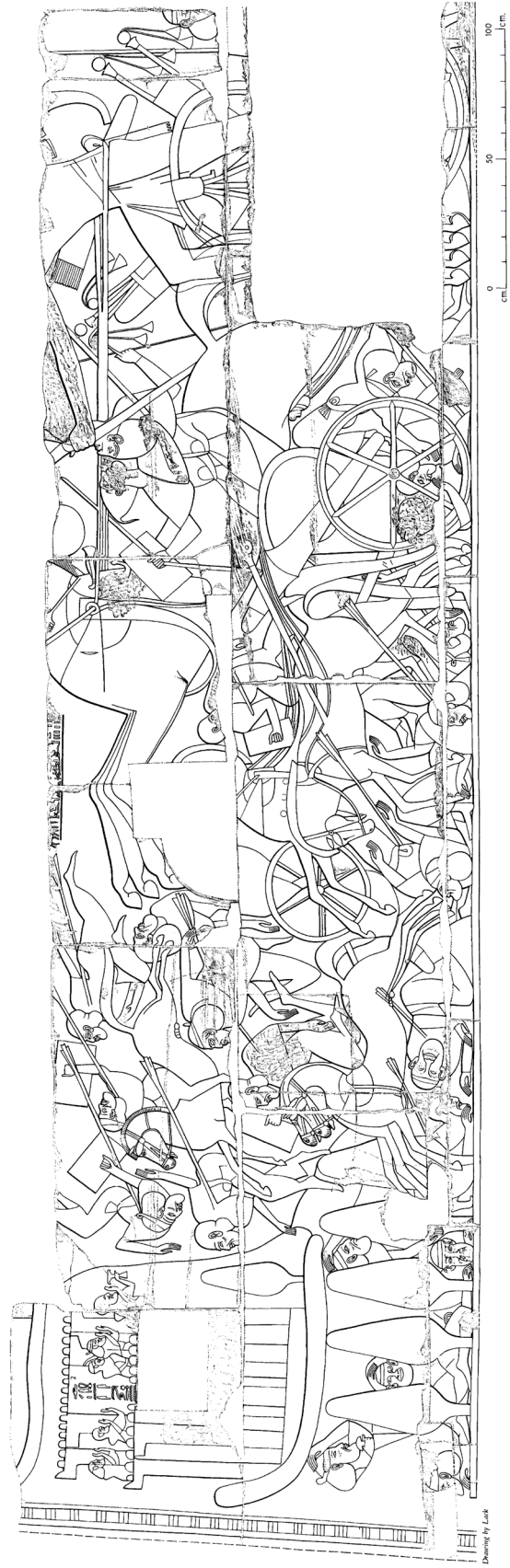


Fig. 2. Drawing of the scene depicting King Sety I attacking the town of Yenoam, Karnak temple (north wall, east wing, second register); from *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pl. 11.

The Asiatic towns lie in hilly, wooded country, in which the fleeting enemy attempt to hide themselves: one man at the far left is seen trying, in effect, to crawl out of the scene. The towns themselves are conventionally rendered fortresses, surrounded by moats. On the ramparts of the lower fort, “the town of Yenoam”, we see the city elders raising their hands in supplication while the leader of the procession – the city’s prince? – holds up a brazier. The town above this, for the most part now lost, was probably Hammath or (less believably on purely historical grounds) Beth-Shan.²

On the fort of Yenoam (**Fig. 3**), the following inscription has been registered:



dmj n(y) Yn'm

*The Town of Yenoam.*³

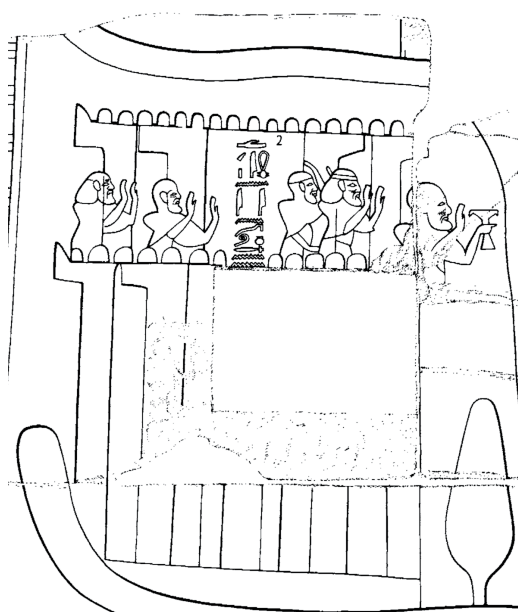


Fig. 3. The fort of Yenoam at the war scenes of Sety I at Karnak; from *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pl. 11.

2. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pp. 35-36.

3. KR I, 13; KR I A, 10; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, p. 36.

Historical Notes

1. The Yenoam battle has been mentioned in the First Beth-Shan stela of Sety I (now in Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, S. 884),⁴ as follows:

On this day, one came to inform His Majesty thus:

“the despicable chief who is in the town of Hammath has gathered to himself many people, seizing the town of Beth-Shan, and is joined up with those from Pahil (Pella); he is preventing the chief of Rehob from coming out.”

Then His Majesty sent out the First Army of Amun, “Powerful in Bows”, against the town of Hammath; the First Army of Re, “Abounding in Valour”, against the town of Beth-Shan; and the First Army of Seth, “Strong of Bows”, against the town of Yenoam.

And so, when the span of a day had elapsed, they were (all) fallen to the might of His Majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare, Son of Re, Sety I Merenptah, given life.⁵

According to Beth-Shan stela of Sety I, Yenoam was involved in an insurrection affecting Beth-Shan, Rehob, Pella, and Hammath, which was quelled in a single day’s time. As stated by K.A. Kitchen, the theatre of events in the First Beth-Shan stela is mainly clear. Of the places named, Beth-Shan itself (where the stela was found) is present-day Tell Husn at Baisan. Pahil is classical Pella, modern Khirbet Fahil, little more than 7 miles to the south east across the Jordan. Some 4 miles directly south of Beth-Shan is Tell es-Sarim next to the shrine of “Sheikh Rihab”, generally accepted to be the site of Rehob in this text. About 15 miles south of Beth-Shan stands the massive Tell (el-Hammeh), equally admitted to be ancient Hammath.⁶ It seems that Yenoam was not located far of the previous towns, where some scholars stated that all of them located in the same general compact area along the Jordan River.⁷ In the Karnak relief, Yenoam appears by water, with trees. This has been compared to the situation of Tell el-‘Abeidiyeh (or Ubeidiyeh), in a loop of the river Jordan, a steep mound with trees even today, commanding an important ford through the Jordan, and it is about 15 miles or so north of Beth-Shan which well fits in the other distances and the boast of “one day’s action”. Thus, the ambitious chief of Hammath came north, was resisted by the chief of Rehob (whose town some of his forces therefore besieged), but joined by the chief of Pahil from over the river, in his drive on Beth-Shan. News of his capture of that centre galvanized Sety I into action – he sent one flying column to Beth-Shan (for its quick recapture), a second directly to Hammath, to relieve Rehob and seize Hammath behind its chief’s back, and a third up north to Yenoam, either to forestall interference with it, or flight to it, by the rogue chief of Hammath, should he seek

4. This important victory stela was found outside the northern temple at Beth-Shan (modern Tell Husn at Beisan). A second fragment was recovered from Ramesses III’s southern temple at the same site. Originally this monument had stood in the courtyard of the north temple (see: F.W. JAMES, P.E. MCGOVERN, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII I*, Philadelphia, 1993, p. 236). The main text, consisting of 22 horizontal lines of hieroglyphs, records military action which formed one face of a more ambitious campaign launched by Sety I in Canaan and which was recorded on the northern wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. For the First Beth-Shan stela of Sety I, see: PM VII, p. 380; A. ROWE, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 24-29, fig. 5, pls. 41, 47:3; KRI I, 11-12; KRITA I, 9-10; KRITANC I, 17-19.

5. KRI I, 12; KRITA I, 10; see: W.J. MURNANE, *The Road to Kadesh, A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, 2nd ed. revised, Chicago, 1990, pp. 42-43.

6. KRITANC I, 17-18.

7. For the localization of Yenoam, Rehob, and Hammath in the same general compact area along the Jordan River as Beth-Shan and Pella and in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, see: Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible: Historical Geography*, London, 1968, pp. 165, 167; R.O. FAULKNER, “Egypt from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses II,” in: CAH II, p. 219; M.G. HASEL, *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300-1185 B.C.*, Leiden, 1998, pp. 138, 146-150.

to escape that way, or to prevent any other adventures joining in from the north. While it is easy to dismiss “all over in a day” as a pharaonic boast, it should be remembered that, even from Megiddo (about 20 miles from Beth-Shan), a fast chariot force could readily strike at up to 40 miles’ distance in a day, travelling two or three times as quickly as an ordinary army on regular march, and get back that day or the day after. Hence, skepticism here is unwarranted, and totally out-of-view would be a Yenoam any much further away.⁸ On the other hand, N. Na’aman identified Yenoam with the site of Tell esh-Shihab, that situated west of Edrei on the Yarmuk river, controlling the main road to Ashtaroth and Damascus. This site is strategically located on a high mound, surrounded almost completely by the Yarmuk gorge, with a waterfall in the vicinity. He stated that this location accords well with the portrayal of the conquest of Yenoam at the relief of Sety I at Karnak, where a bush-lined river surrounds the town. Moreover, a stela of Sety I was found in this site, showing that it is one of the sites conquered by Sety I in the course of his campaign to this region.⁹ However, The location of Yenoam is the most contentious issue, as candidates include Tell el-‘Abeidiyeh (13 miles north of Beth-Shan, near the southern shore of the sea of Galilee), Tell esh-Shihab (in the Bashan, where a stela of Sety I was found); Tell en-Na’ameh in the Huleh Valley at Upper Galilee, and Tell en-Naaam in the Jabneel Valley.¹⁰

2. The main reason for including Sety I’s victory over Yenoam in his first campaign is, as R.O. Faulkner stated, the simple fact that the Beth-Shan Stela of Sety I, which refers to a conflict around this city, is dated to his first regnal year.¹¹ The mention of Yenoam of course, supports the argument that the first two registers of Sety I’s war scenes at Karnak on the east side must be viewed jointly. Together, the two registers form a regular procession of the Egyptian king from the border of Egypt up to the Lebanon. The fighting in central Palestine was located inland from the main route of Sety. The scene at Karnak is, of course, fraudulent – Sety was not actually in the battle – but to be fair it must be added that Sety did defeat Yenaom, if not in person.¹²

3. It has been suggested that there is linking between the Shasu campaign in the first register of Sety I’s war scenes,¹³ and the Yenoam battle in the middle register. In Yenoam battle, Sety I is shown defeating a Canaanite enemy outside the city of Yenoam, itself located almost adjacent to the southern tip of the Lake of Galilee in central Palestine. No scenes of departure from Egypt occur, as in the first register, thus giving some credence to the position that the Yenoam battle followed directly from the minor warfare against the Shasu. Furthermore, the enemy has horses and chariots this time, evidence of military ability far superior to the Shasu. The nobles of the city beseech peace from Sety, but this time from the walls of their city. The eldest holds a brazier in a ceremony that is common among Egypt’s Semitic neighbours at this time.¹⁴

8. KRITANC I, 17-18.

9. N. NA’AMAN, “Yeno’am,” *Tel Aviv* 4, 1977, p. 169.

10. For a comprehensive history of the debates surrounding the identity of Yenoam, see: H. CLAUSS, “Die Städte der El-Amarnabriefe und die Bibel,” *ZDPV* 30, 1907, p. 34 f; W.F. ALBRIGHT, “The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age,” *AASOR* 6, 1926, 18-24; A. SAARISALO, *The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali*, Helsinki, 1927, pp. 112-118; N. NA’AMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-77; M.G. HASEL, *Domination and Resistance*, pp. 147-148.

11. R.O. FAULKNER, “The Wars of Sethos I,” *JEA* 33, 1947, pp. 35-36.

12. A.J. SPALINGER, “The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study,” *JARCE* 16, 1979, p. 31.

13. For the Shasu and their relations with Egypt in the New Kingdom, see: R. GIVEON, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*, Leiden, 1971. For the Shasu campaign of Sety I and his reliefs at Karnak, see: *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* IV, pp. 1-26, pls. 2-8.

14. A.J. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

4. The scene of Sety I subduing the inhabitants of Yenoam and the other settlement is unfortunately partially destroyed. Enough detail remains, however, to determine that the battle took place in an open field adjacent to a wooded area outside the two towns. It is remarkable that the Egyptians here fought against an enemy that used chariots as well as foot soldiers. As is typical, the opposing army is shown pierced with arrows and trod beneath the hooves of Sety's steeds. The only Asiatics pictured alive, in fact, are those fleeing on horseback, hiding in the woods, or suing for peace atop the town's battlements.¹⁵

5. A.J. Spalinger observed that the war scenes of Sety I against the Canaanite and Syrian People characterized by the individual action of pharaoh versus war leader on the battlefield occur. The local fortress or city is always represented, and it contains Asiatics who remain in a state of fear and supplication. The king has already used his javelins or spears, and they hit the sides of the horses and / or the leader of resistance. The latter is always outside the city. Hence, the concept of war focuses upon two men alone. Additional enemy chariots may be seen.¹⁶

2. Yenoam in the Eastern and Western triumph scenes and topographical lists of Sety I at Karnak¹⁷ (Figs. 4-7)

The eastern triumph scene of Sety I with its western counterpart, form a pair, creating a balanced heraldry, symbol of victory. On a colossal scale, the pharaoh grasps a bunch of defeated foes, his mace uplifted to strike them down, while the god Amun holds out the sword of victory. Behind and below in rows, looking like cartouches with human heads (here, mainly Asiatic), but crenellated to signify locations, the long series of ovals contain the names of areas, nations, towns and groups all to be considered as subject to Pharaoh's writ, or to be in awe of him (Figs. 4 and 6).¹⁸ The figure of the king poised to smite the defeated foe had been an ideogram of victory, ever since the time of Narmer and the founding of the pharaonic monarchy, as his great ceremonial palette bears witness. The triumph scenes of the pharaohs is quoted at least 90 times over 3000 years of Egyptian history. Thus, it is probably the longest-lasting and best attested iconographical motif of Egyptian culture.¹⁹ I think that the triumph scene is a purely formal representation of Pharaoh's timeless role of victor for Egypt and its gods. Furthermore, the triumph scenes of the warrior Ramesside pharaohs, in which the king is represented smiting ethnical groups of northern and southern enemies with his mace in the presence of Amun-Re, usually occurred in relation with narrative battle scenes, in order to glorify the victories of the warrior pharaohs. According to previous Egyptologists, the triumph scenes are a generalized summary of the battle reliefs during the Ramesside Period.²⁰

Yenoam (*Yn[m]*) [A] has been registered in the eastern topographical list of Sety I at Karnak (no. 57 A).²¹ It is remarkable that there is a significant alterations at the name-rings nos. 54-70 of this topographical list (which included the name of Yenoam), in which two versions (respectively, African and Asiatic names) can be distinguished. The superimposed hieroglyphs had already been noticed by Champollion and Rosellini, but the first

15. E.F. MORRIS, *The Architecture of Imperialism, Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 349-350.

16. A.J. SPALINGER, *Icons of Power: A Strategy of Reinterpretation*, Prague, 2011, p. 93.

17. PM II², p. 55 (168), 57 (170); *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pp. 48-65, pls. 15-18; *KRI I*, 25-29, 32; *KRITA I*, 21-24, 26.

18. *KRITANC I*, 27.

19. M.M. LUISELLI, "The Ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies': an attempt to visualize cultural memory?," in: M. Bommas (ed.), *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, London, 2011, p. 17.

20. M. RAAFAT ABBAS, "The Triumph Scene and Text of Merenptah at Karnak," *Karnak 15*, 2015, p. 246.

21. *KIU 1012; Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, p. 56; pl. 15B; *KRI I*, 29; *KRITA I*, 23.

thoroughgoing examination of the traces was by W.M. Müller. His conclusions, which made the African names into the secondary (later) version, have been generally accepted by later general authorities. Müller's interpretation had to be reversed that the original Nubian names had been filled with a layer of plaster and the later, Asiatic toponyms cut into this medium. Since the later version would be cut into the stone only where the tip of the chisel penetrated through the plaster, the traces of this version are fainter than those of the earlier, which had not been erased before it was changed. It is perhaps the feebleness of these later traces that led Müller to believe that they belonged to an earlier, effaced version. In the name-ring of Yenoam at this topographical list (no. 57), the African signs are deeper, although the n has obliterated the feet of the bꜣ-bird, and plaster remains inside the owl-m (**Fig. 5**).²²

I think that the occurrence of Yenoam in the topographical lists of Sety I related to his wish of reflecting his military activity in such Asiatic areas, where we found that he had mentioned the towns of Pahil/Pella (no. 54), Hammath (no. 55) and Beth-Shan (no. 56) before Yenoam (no. 57).²³ These towns had been mentioned as the theatre of his military operations in the account of the First Beth-Shan Stela, as we stated above.

Moreover, Yenoam (*Y[n'm]*) [**B**] has been registered in the western topographical list of Sety I at Karnak (no. 52).²⁴ (**Fig. 7**)

I think it is important to state that Yenoam had been mentioned in the topographical list of the temple of Sety I at Abydos (no. 1).²⁵ and in the topographical lists of Sety I at the north and south sphinxes of his temple at Qurneh (both nos. 17).²⁶

22. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pp. 49-50.

23. *KRI I*, 29; *KRITA I*, 23.

24. KIU 1013; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, p. 65, pl. 17C; *KRI I*, 32; *KRITA I*, 26.

25. *KRI I*, 32.

26. *Ibid.*, 33-34.

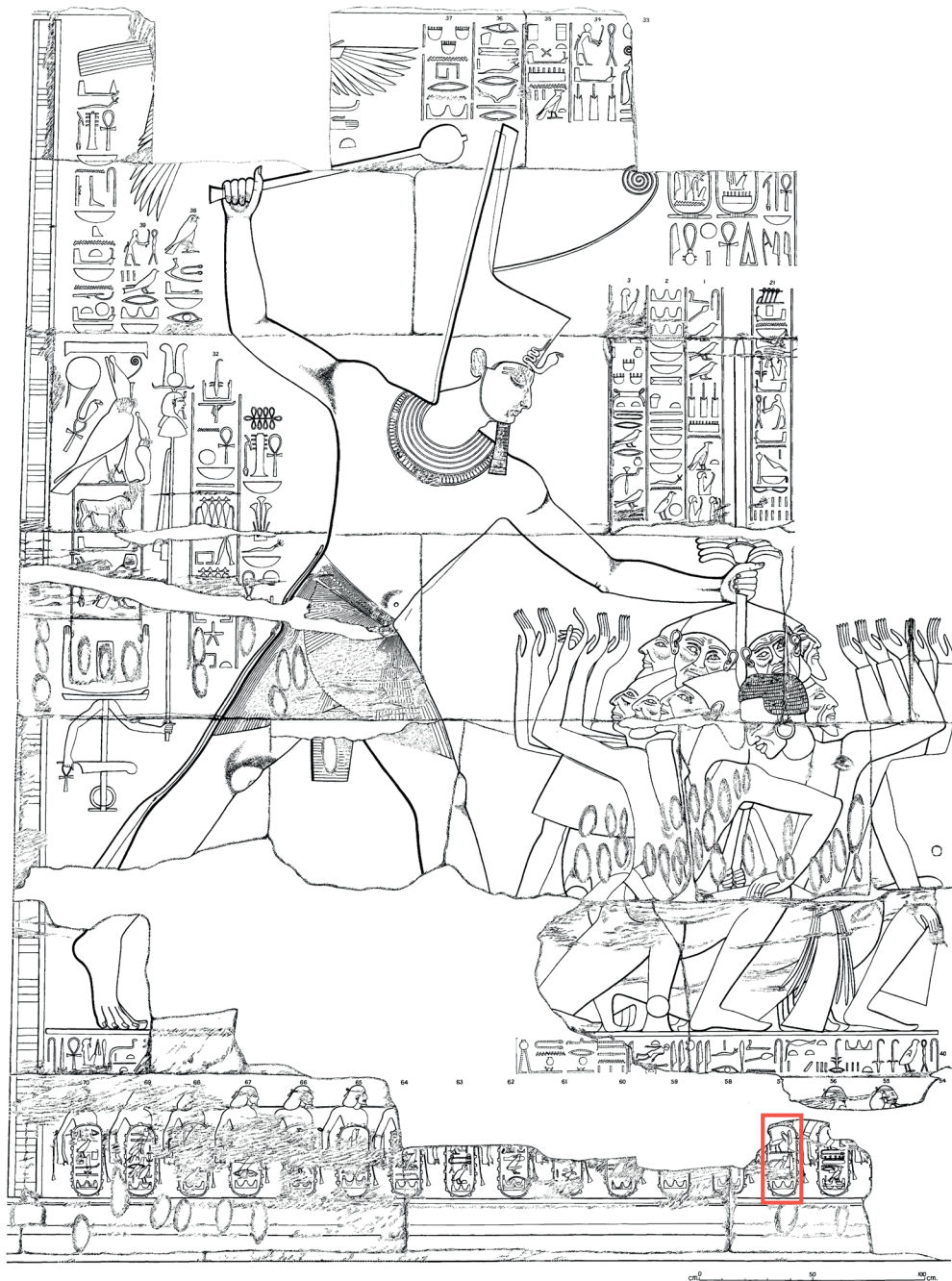


Fig. 4. The town of Yenoam in the eastern triumph-scene and topographical list of Sety I at Karnak (no. 57); from *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pl. 15B.



Fig. 5. The name-ring of Yenoam in the eastern triumph scene and topographical list of Sety I at Karnak (no. 57); from *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pl. 15B.



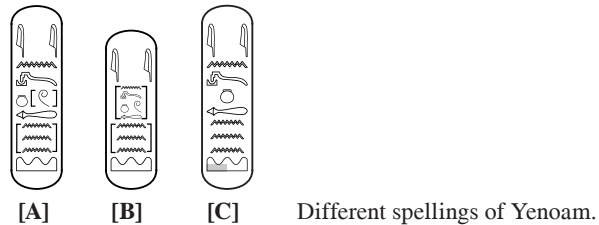
Fig. 6. The town of Yenoam in the western triumph-scene and topographical list of Sety I at Karnak (no. 52); from *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pl. 17C.



Fig. 7. The name-ring of Yenoam in the western triumph scene and topographical list of Sety I at Karnak (no. 52); from *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pl. 17C.

3. Yenoam in the Eastern triumph scene and topographical list of Ramesses II at Karnak²⁷

The whole of the exterior of the southern outside wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak was covered by Ramesses II with a double series of scenes and inscriptions containing important topographical material. On both sides of the entrance to the Hypostyle Hall are reliefs with topographical lists. Yenoam (*Yn'm*) [C] has been registered in this eastern triumph scene and list (no. 29).²⁸



4. The Town of Yenoam in Merenptah's Victory stela of Year 5 at Karnak (duplicate of Israel stela)²⁹

The triumph hymn of Merenptah recorded on two monuments in Thebes – the much celebrated Cairo Museum Victory Stela (Israel Stela; CGC 34025 = JE 31408), verso, and a duplicate, though more fragmentary, stela inscribed on the inner face of the east wall of the “Cour de la Cachette” in Karnak temple (**Fig. 8**).³⁰



Fig. 8. The Victory Stela of Year 5 of Merenptah at Karnak (duplicate of Israel Stela). © CNRS-CFEETK 154714/A. Bellod.

27. KIU 1000; PM II², p. 58 (173); J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden, 1937, no. XXIV; *KRI* II, 162-163; *KRITA* II, 37-38.

28. J. SIMONS, *op. cit.*, no. XXIV (p. 71); *KRI* II, 163; *KRITA* II, 38.

29. KIU 4281; PM II², p. 131 (487); *KRI* IV, pp. 12-19; *KRITA* IV, 10-15; Ch. KUENTZ, “Le double de la stèle d’Israël à Karnak,” *BIFAO* 21, 1923, pp. 113-117; F.J. YURCO, “Merenptah’s Canaanite Campaign,” *JARCE* 23, 1986, pp. 198, 206; H. SOUROUZIAN, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, Mainz am Rhein, 1989, pp. 144-145, pl. 26a.

30. B.G. DAVIES, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, Jonsered, 1997, p. 173.

In Merenptah's triumph hymn at Karnak (duplicate of Israel stela), Yenoam had been mentioned as follows:



[...] [...] Jsqrn mh̄w m Qdr Yn[‘m]

[Brought away] is Ashkelon, taken is Gezer, Yenoam...

According to the texts of Cairo Stela (Israel Stela), the rest of this section would be as follows:



jn Jsqrn mh̄w m Qdr Yn[‘m] jrw m tm wn

Brought away is Ashkelon, taken is Gezer, Yenoam is reduced to non-existence.³¹

5. The depiction of Merenptah besieges or attacks of an unnamed town (probably Yenoam) in his war scenes at Karnak

The war scenes of Merenptah at Karnak and the theory of Yurco

In 1978, the late Franck Yurco first proposed that the later war scenes on the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall and on the west wall of the “Cour de la Cachette” were not, after all, part of the same composition, but that the latter had been made by Merenptah instead.³² Yurco's findings were quickly and heartily endorsed by Kitchen,³³ Stager,³⁴ and with – some modifications – by Rainey.³⁵ These conclusions also came under more incredulous scrutiny from a handful of scholars including Redford, Sourouzian, and Iskander.³⁶ The war scenes of Merenptah at Karnak are found on the transverse axis of the temple, on the outer western wall of the “Cour de la Cachette”, the court between the Great Hypostyle Hall and the Seventh Pylon of Thutmose III. These scenes included four battle scenes.³⁷ Besides the originality of Merenptah's presence on this wall, Yurco also pointed out the correspondence of Ashkelon in the scenes and on the Victory-Stela (Israel stela), as well as the presence in the scenes of two other towns captured, and a battle people without a town, these would have corresponded to the other two towns, Gezer and Yenoam, plus the people of Israel, on the Victory stela.³⁸

At the upper (second) register of Merenptah's war scenes in Asia at Karnak that located north of the Hittite treaty,³⁹ Merenptah depicted advances in his chariot against a city (**Fig. 9**). Even if all the texts are lost, F. J. Yurco provided useful argument to hypothesize that it was probably Yenoam. In the triumph hymn of Merenptah, the pharaoh names three city states Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yenoam. These are set within the context of two regional references: the Canaan, described as plundered into every sort of woe, and Hurru (Khor), said to have become a widow because of Egypt. Canaan as a definite region, with Gaza as its capital, is well attested in the Nineteenth

31. KRI IV, p. 19; KRITA IV, p. 15; B.G. DAVIES, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, pp. 185-187.

32. P.J. BRAND, “The Date of the War Scenes at Karnak and the History of the Late Nineteenth Dynasty,” in: M. Collier, S. Snape (eds.), *Ramesseid Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, Bolton, 2011, pp. 51-52; see: F.J. YURCO, “Merenptah's Palestinian Campaign,” *JSSSEA* 8, 1978, p. 70; *id.*, *JARCE* 23, 1986, pp. 189-215.

33. KRITANC II, 72-78; K.A. KITCHEN, “L'Égypte Ancienne et l'Ancien Testament. Aperçus nouveaux,” *BSFE* 128, 1993, p. 21.

34. L.E. STAGER, “Merenptah, Israel and the Sea Peoples: New Light on the Old Relief,” *Eretz-Israel* 18, 1985, pp. 56-64.

35. A.F. RAINEY, “Israel in Merenptah's Inscription and Reliefs,” *IEJ* 51, 2001, pp. 57-75.

36. P.J. BRAND, *op. cit.*, p. 52; D.B. REDFORD, “The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela,” *IEJ* 36, 1986, pp. 188-200; H. SOUROUZIAN, *op. cit.*, p. 150; S. ISKANDER, *The Reign of Merenptah*, PhD thesis, New York, 2002, pp. 316-329.

37. F.J. YURCO, *JARCE* 23, 1986, p. 190 ff, figs. 1-9.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-195.

39. PM II², p. 132-3 (491-5); KRITA II, 38-39.

Dynasty texts, and included within its territory Ashkelon, Gezer, and even Yenoam. In the reign of Merenptah, Gaza, the capital, was called Gdt, and not Pa-Canaan, as in some other reigns; accordingly, Pa-Canaan in the triumph hymn of Merenptah most likely refers to the region. Hurru (Khor) is used in a more general sense to indicate most, if not all, of Egypt's Syro-Palestinian realm, as Yurco stated. Accordingly, the triumph hymn of Merenptah can be construed as Hurru becoming a widow because of Merenptah's plundering of the region of Canaan.⁴⁰

Finally, Yurco argued that the identification of scenes 2 and 3 of Merenptah's war scenes at Karnak with the towns of Gezer and Yenoam is based primarily on the assumption that the places named on the Israel and Karnak stelae were arranged geographically. Indeed, if Ashkelon, Gezer and Yenoam are identified on a map, they do lie in a south to north progression, from the coastal plain, into the hill country.⁴¹



Fig. 9. Merenptah besieges or attacks an unnamed town, probably Yenoam (upper register of Merenptah's war scenes at Karnak); from F.J. YURCO, *JARCE* 23, 1986, fig. 4.

Historical Notes

1. The war scenes of Merenptah at Karnak included scenes for his campaigns against Shasu and Canaanites beside his sieges Ashkelon and the two other cities (the proposed Gezer and Yenoam).⁴² This may give an indication that Merenptah has followed the line of march of Sety I's first Asiatic campaign, particularly the Shasu and Yenoam campaigns,⁴³ designed to reassert Egyptian authority in Canaan. Therefore, the identification of the besieged city in scene (3) of Merenptah's war scenes at Karnak with Yenoam, which stated by Yurco, is sure indeed.⁴⁴

40. F.J. YURCO, *op. cit.*, p. 190; see: A.H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, Oxford, 1947, pp. 201, 191, 180-187; R.A. CAMINOS, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 108-110 (*P. Anastasi* III, v^o 6.1 and 6.6).

41. F.J. YURCO, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 190 ff, figs. 1-9.

43. See: *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* IV; *KRI* I, 6-11, 13-15, 17-22; *KRITA* I, 6-12, 14-20.

44. The battle reliefs of Merenptah at Karnak have several parallels with the battle reliefs of Sety I found on the northern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall. See: F.J. YURCO, *op. cit.*, p. 209; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* IV, pls. 13-14.

2. It has been remarked by A.J. Spalinger that the foes – in this scene – do not appear to have resisted the pharaoh by means of chariots and perhaps the enemies were not even the urban dwellers but instead semi-nomads. This supposition, however, seems untenable due to their clothing and headdresses. We can assume that the resistance shown against Merenptah here was half-hearted or rather feeble, to say the least.⁴⁵

45. A.J. SPALINGER, *Icons of Power*, p. 56.