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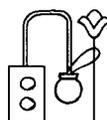
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THE TAKING OF JOPPA



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ABSTRACT

The story of *The Taking of Joppa* is a window onto the workings of New Kingdom foreign military policy towards the Levant. Comparative and contextual study reveals marked differences from accepted norms of Egyptian literature, suggesting a unique opening into the political climate in which it was written. But what is *The Taking of Joppa* and how is it best read? This study aims to highlight the complexity and value of this long-overlooked text.

The thesis begins with a detailed literary analysis of the piece. Coupling linguistic questions with the investigation of many of the names, gods and cultural references that appear, the text is laid open for study within the wider concerns of its historical context.

A study of genre places *The Taking of Joppa* alongside military tomb biographies, with which it shares much of its subject matter. *The Tale of Sinuhe*, *The Siege of Megiddo* and *The Battle of Kadesh* are also examined as pieces close in style and concern to *Joppa*.

Examination of the historical background to the narrative setting and to the date of the papyrus on which *Joppa* is recorded leads to a complementary study of the New Kingdom's empire-building efforts. Textual, material, and sociological issues are examined, as both external and internal manifestations of Egyptian culture.

The study concludes with a discussion of the piece's political and ideological power within the context of an Egyptian empire. Historical, linguistic and archaeological evidence conspires to show that *The Taking of Joppa* is a complex and highly constructed text, essential in understanding many aspects of foreign and domestic Egyptian affairs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	Helck, von W. and Otto, E. (1975-), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i>
<i>Wb</i>	Erman, A & Grapow, H. (1926-63), <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

'PROBABLY LEGENDARY'

With these words, Peet sums up his and much modern analysis of *The Taking of Joppa* (Peet, 1925, 226). The tale of this Levantine town's capture by an Egyptian force through stealth and deception is indeed unusual. Its subject matter, at odds with the stereotypical view of Egyptian 'norms', is no doubt what leads Peet to his terse conclusion.

The text describes the triumph of a New Kingdom Egyptian military force over the town of Joppa, a port on the East Mediterranean coast, during the mid-part of the 15th century BCE. This victory is not achieved by military might in battle, or even in a siege, but by a devious stratagem invented by the commander of the Egyptian force, Djehuty. It consists of a false surrender by the Egyptians and the concealment of soldiers in baskets amongst what are supposedly the spoils of war. After the baskets are moved within the walls of the town, the Egyptian soldiers climb out from the booty and capture the inhabitants. The prisoners are sent back to serve the king in Egypt.

It is the differences and oddities of *Joppa* that demand its further study. The piece is set in the time of Tuthmosis III, one of the most active military monarchs in the country's history who had many victories personally ascribed to him. Why, then, is he portrayed as being back in Egypt and far from the victory? Furthermore, the idea of attacker and defender is turned on its head, something that is condemned in other military accounts but is celebrated here as the key to the military victory. The language of the piece, and the papyrus on which it was written, date to the time of Rameses II. What does it mean for *Joppa* that it found the form in which we have it today some two centuries after it is set?

SOME NOTES ON THESIS STRUCTURE

I begin by presenting an up-to-date version of the text, drawing on commentators and direct study of the papyrus on which the account is recorded. This has three parts: an exposition of the narrative to give a framework for study, an examination of the text and

language, and examinations of each of the main characters, events and objects. Through this, the most complete understanding of the source material will be achieved.

Parallels with the story of the Trojan horse are immediately evident, as are those with the tale of 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves' from the *Arabian Nights* cycle (Dawood, 1977, 15ff.). These echoes of other ancient texts have informed much of the scholarship on *Joppa* (Goedicke, 1968, 219 – 233). In this study, such considerations will be largely set aside in favour of an analysis which evaluates the piece as a product of Egyptian culture. 'What is *The Taking of Joppa*' examines the genre of the text in a number of military and literary contexts, ranging from tomb biographies to battle accounts. Understanding the framework in which to read *Joppa* is essential for an appreciation of its nature and purpose.

The text makes internal claims for its own dating, setting itself within the reign of Tuthmosis III. The language and style of the piece, and the papyrus on which it is preserved, confirm a later date of composition. 'The Historical Context of *The Taking of Joppa*: The Narrative Setting' discusses these opposing claims in relation to independent accounts, literary and material, of the New Kingdom. It begins by taking the text as it stands, and attempts to determine the consistency between its account and the other historical records we have. This is an exercise both in historical reconstruction, and in exploring the processes of the story's development.

Just as *Joppa* is anchored within the reign of Tuthmosis III, it is also specific about its geographical setting. 'The Archaeological Context' moves on to a discussion of the archaeology of ancient Joppa itself, with a review of the material culture finds and the way they reflect back upon the text. The results of this survey are then utilised to develop discussion about the text's subject matter, and also provide clues to its recording in the time of Rameses II.

From what we know of the New Kingdom, it was a time of great change but also of restating values that had been 'lost' in the preceding Intermediate Period. 'The Sociological Context' continues by looking at the various sociological and ideological processes at work during that time, processes that would have shaped and influenced, and possibly been questioned and subverted, in *Joppa*'s composition. 'The Reign of Rameses II' concludes the section with a study of the time when *Joppa* achieved the

form that we have it in today. Two centuries after Tuthmosis III, Rameses' reign recalls some of the concerns and undertakings of his predecessor, but within a different political landscape.

The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate *The Taking of Joppa*'s literary complexity. It's recording in Late Egyptian on a Ramesside papyrus is no accident, and suggests a *Sitz im Lieben* close to its time of writing. *Joppa* finds its fullest expression in reinforcing Egyptian historical claims to the Levant, while leaving the military ideology surrounding Rameses II intact.

PAPYRUS HARRIS 500

The Taking of Joppa appears in hieratic script on the *verso* of Papyrus Harris 500, currently housed at the British Museum (EA 10060). It shares the papyrus with *The Story of the Foredoomed Prince*, and a number of Egyptian love songs on the *recto*.

The papyrus was apparently found with others in a box under the ruins of the 'Ramesseum' at Thebes. The majority of these texts were purchased by Anthony Harris during the first half of the 19th Century and kept at his house in Alexandria (*LÄ* IV, 707). An unfortunate event occurred, however, whilst he was making copies of the texts – an explosion took place in a powder mill near his house, and consequently many of the papyri were destroyed or damaged. Soon after this, Papyrus 500 was purchased by the British Museum in a 'mutilated' state (Budge, 1923, 45). The complete papyrus, now housed behind glass in wooden frame, is 1435 mm long by an average of 203 mm in width.

The size of the section on which the extant text of *The Taking of Joppa* is written is 403mm long by 192mm at its widest point. It is written in strong, assured script in both black and red inks with no obvious areas of blotching or mistakes, and each line maintains a fairly consistent 10mm script height. Red ink is used more extensively throughout the following *Foredoomed Prince*, mostly in dots which seemingly indicate meter or delineation. Gosline argues that these are 'teaching marks', used as an aid in copying and memorising the text (Gosline, 1999, vi), but no equivalent appears in *Joppa*.

While it is difficult to judge accurately, it seems that the *recto* and *verso* are written in different hands. This led Blok, following Müller, to suggest the papyrus was a palimpsest (Blok, 1925, XV), though his observations are mostly based on comparative column length and the claim is made only for the love songs of the *verso*.

Joppa appears in the first three columns to the right on the *verso*, at an average width of 135mm for the first, 155mm for the second and 80mm for the third. Columns one and two are quite heavily degraded, but column three remains mostly intact. All are shorter than any found in the following part of the papyrus. It is hard to tell from the narrative how much of the beginning of the story is missing, though Blok estimates two columns or 36 cm (Blok, 1925, XV).

The Hieratic script is that of the New Kingdom, and appears more in line with the 'administrative' style than the 'literary' (Parkinson & Quirke, 1995, 25). Budge identifies the script as belonging 'to the period of the XXth or XXIst Dynasty' (Budge, 1823, 45). Neither Gardiner nor Goedicke make particularly precise claims beyond a set of reigns for the date of *Joppa*, but the fact it appears in Gardiner's *Late Egyptian Stories* together with the *Tale of the Foredoomed Prince* suggests agreement with Budge (Gardiner, 1932; Goedicke, 1968).

For a text that places its content within a specific time period, *Joppa* makes no discernable attempt to display 'archaisms', such as those observed in the Shabaka and Palermo stones (van der Plas, *GM* 73, 49). Where phrases that could be considered Middle Egyptian appear, they are common forms demonstrated in other New Kingdom texts. As the following commentary shows, *Joppa*'s language is Late Egyptian and the text displays many widespread characteristics of this form. The proximity of the reign of Tuthmosis III to the dating of the text of Papyrus Harris 500 does not allow for many precise observations to be drawn from the discrepancy, but the text does not seem to be trying to hoodwink the reader into thinking that *Joppa* is older tale.

For this thesis, the major transcriptions and translations have been collated together with the British Museum papyrus and its facsimile (Budge, 1923, EA 10060). The main studies used for the commentary were Gardiner's 1932 rendering (Gardiner, 1932, 82ff.) together with Peet's orthographical comments on Blok's work and Goedicke's highly annotated translation. Coupled with the papyrus, this approach allowed accurate

measurements of lacunae and interpretation of dubious hieratic signs, together with an integration of scholarly opinion where problems occurred. It also allowed key questions of this study, the date of the language used and literary intricacy, to be addressed directly.

The text has been published in hieroglyphics using the *WinGlyph* program created by Hans van den Berg.¹ Where hieroglyphic signs and groups are shown in discussion, if they are direct quotations from the *Joppa* transcription they appear from right-to-left (their running direction on the papyrus). Hieroglyphs from other sources are shown left-to-right in accordance with modern Egyptian dictionaries and grammar texts.

REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

By 1925, *The Taking of Joppa* was famous enough for Peet to refer to it as ‘well worn’ (Peet, 1925, 225). C.W. Goodwin had translated the text as an ‘historical romance’ for the *Transcriptions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* Volume 3, and a facsimile of the hieratic text together with a transcription and French translation had been published by Maspero in 1879 (Budge, 1923, 46). These renderings are straight translations rather than studies, the style that Peet follows in his article of 1925.

Peet aims to produce a translation that avoids being ‘wooden and unreadable’ (a criticism he levels at his colleagues), yet still remains true to the grammar and syntax of the text. He also attacks those who ‘interpret’ the translations of others.

Peet produces a translation with minimal footnotes from his own collation of the papyrus. His interpretation of the passage is clear from his subtitle:

An incident, probably legendary, in one of King Tuthmosis III’s campaigns in Syria (Peet, 1925, 226).²

We may commend this attitude in a time when the written record was still seen as the foundation for historical and archaeological study. However, his lone translation is not accompanied by any discussion of genre and factors of context remain unaddressed.

¹ Available for download at <http://www.gustavianum.uu.se/vm/download.html>

² *Joppa* fares better than *The Story of the Foredoomed Prince*, which receives the subtitle ‘A fairy story’!

Within the article, Peet refers to his review in the same journal of a recently published doctoral thesis by H.P. Blok (Blok, 1925), which focuses on the same two texts as Peet translates. His review (longer than his article!) corrects Blok's grammar and readings on virtually every line.

Again, Blok's work focuses on both *Joppa* and *The Foredoomed Prince*, his treatment of the latter taking up the larger part of the thesis. The study is a philological and linguistic one, and gives no consideration given to the wider life of the text beyond attempts to illustrate points of linguistic interest. The title 'Volksverhalen'³ conveys the author's view of the genre of the text without discussion or argument.

Though Blok's work remains one of the most in-depth to date on *Joppa*, its deeply linguistic concerns make it somewhat outdated in the wake of 80 further years of the study of Egyptian language. He also favours comparisons with Coptic texts, and while this is arguably a valid approach it has the effect of moving *Joppa* out of its New Kingdom timeframe.

In more recent scholarship, Goedicke's 1968 translation and commentary is the most comprehensive (Goedicke, 1968, 219 – 233). Goedicke combines a linguistic study with an 'interpretation' in an attempt to draw attention to the piece:

...the story of the « Taking of Joppa » does not excite as much interest among modern scholars as its contents and presentation deserve. Since the text is generally considered a legend built around a historical nucleus, neither its historical information nor its finesse seem sufficiently explored...The details of the plot and the significance of the related events have never been satisfactorily clarified (Goedicke, 1968, 219).

Goedicke's primary concern is with the parallels that exist between *Joppa* and other ancient stories of military subterfuge, most notably *The Iliad* (Goedicke, 1968, 232). Whilst his extended footnote on the roots of the 'Trojan horse' is out of place here, the study remains the most recent and useful in terms of linguistic interpretation.

Overall, *Joppa* has been viewed as the poor cousin of *The Foredoomed Prince*. This is certainly due to the latter being a longer passage but could also, as Goedicke intimates, be due to *Joppa* having no easily identifiable genre: 'probably legendary' and

³ 'Folktale' or 'folklore'.

'Volksverhalen' veil a lack of discussion. *Joppa* is given full prominence in this study, beginning with the crucial issue of classification after a full description of the narrative and linguistic characteristics of the piece.

The Taking of Joppa relates the capture of the coastal town of Joppa by a body of Egyptian soldiers during the reign of Tuthmosis III, sixth regent of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt. It is presented as a military report detailing the actions of these soldiers with special reference to their commander, Djehuty. In the course of the action described, the troops come into contact with a number of other individuals and groups: the leader of the town of Joppa, the town's militia and the townspeople among others. The capture of the town is notable for its unconventional method; the Egyptian soldiers, pretending to have surrendered, smuggle armed comrades into the town in baskets. On being released, these soldiers capture the town's occupants and enslave them for deportation to Egypt. The theme of deception, especially on the part of Djehuty, is foremost right through the piece.

This deception is presented on a number of levels, most obviously in the narrative events of the story. Enemy characters and groups are persuaded to do and say things that have hidden consequences: enemy horses are captured through what appears to be an act of hospitality; the enemy ruler is incapacitated by an object he believes to have only symbolic significance; the gates of the town are opened after a false declaration of surrender.

At a deeper level, linguistic trickery is a theme that runs throughout the passage and informs much of the action. All of the characters are presented as speaking Egyptian, but there seems to be a number of instances where things are said to the enemy that have a variety of meanings and subtexts available only to someone with a deep, perhaps even written, knowledge of the language. The most obvious example of this is the statement given to the footman of the ruler of Joppa as a report to his 'mistress': 'Behold! My hand has enslaved them.' The passage makes clear that there is a double-meaning between the apparently surrendered Egyptian force, and the baskets that were filled with men who had literally been 'sealed up' by Djehuty. This is made explicit to the reader through the statement that 'this was said of the 200 baskets that were filled with men', but the irony is lost on the enemy with their defeat being the result.

Other examples include the various connotations of the names of Djehuty and of the god Seth, the statement of Djehuty concerning the 'club of king Menkheperre', and the employment of the basket determinative in the orthography of a number of words – a running 'reading' joke referring back to the means of the subterfuge. For a full discussion of these linguistic elements see the following commentary on the passage.

Joppa involves a variety of characters, each with specific functions, and the piece has an almost even split between speech and action. The narrative is told in the 3rd person, with some description directed at the reader as a means of explaining certain actions. Interaction is always presented as a one-to-one encounter of individuals or homogenous groups, such as Djehuty addressing the ruler of Joppa, Djehuty addressing the soldiers, or the footman addressing his mistress. The form generally employed by the whole piece is speech or an order from Djehuty, followed by a description of his wishes carried out as actions.

The opening is extremely damaged, but when it becomes decipherable the reader is presented with Djehuty urging the *maryannu*, a military element associated with Joppa, to enter into the Egyptian camp. The reason for this soon becomes clear: Djehuty wishes to incapacitate the *maryannu* by taking their horses. This is achieved by two strategies. The first is Djehuty's erroneous statement that he will give himself up to Joppa and its ruler, and the second is a ploy to get the *maryannu*, or the leaders of the *maryannu* (possibly the ruler of Joppa himself), drunk. The proposal that they come into the camp is reinforced by a warning from Djehuty that any passing vagrant could steal the horses. The combination of all these elements results in the *maryannu*'s horses being brought into the camp and secured.

The opening of the piece raises some interesting questions surrounding the background to the narrative as we receive it. The usual portrayal of the siege of a town within this period would place an opposing force outside and a defending, native force inside.¹ This is demonstrated in *The Siege of Megiddo* (Lichtheim, 1976, 29ff.), another account set within the reign of Tuthmosis III. The usual outcome of this scenario is the surrender of the town in question, usually through a dwindling of their stored resources,

¹ For a full discussion of the model see 'The Taking of Joppa and the Ideology of War' below.

or the withdrawal of the opposing force outside. The situation here is presented as the outside force surrendering to those trapped inside.

This may, of course, signal the deception of the overall strategy but, compared to the other tactics used such an unexpected surrender would appear transparent and provoke suspicion from the defensive force. A better understanding may refer to the presence of the *maryannu*. As discussed later, this title is ascribed to a wide variety of forces within the ancient Near East and is most associated with horses and mobility. Whether these *maryannu* originated from the town of Joppa itself or from elsewhere cannot be determined, but the fact that they are outside the Egyptian camp as the account begins may suggest that they have the upper hand over the Egyptians.² That is, the presence of the *maryannu* compels Djehuty and the Egyptian force to enact a fake surrender. Otherwise there is no compelling reason for the Egyptians to give themselves up to Joppa, or for the town to believe in this unlikely stratagem from the outset.

The neutralisation of the *maryannu* moves the plot forward, with pieces of Djehuty's scheme falling neatly into place. The next stage involves the disabling of the leader of the town, referred to throughout the piece in common Egyptian style as 'the rebel of Joppa'.

The rebel is not introduced anywhere in the extant text, so it is possible that this occurs somewhere in the lost opening section. It may also be that the earlier drunkenness refers to him, as he would be in the prime position to tell the *maryannu* to enter the Egyptian camp. His first appearance in line [1,8] has him directly addressing Djehuty, with what amounts to an order to the Egyptian commander.

The rebel requests to see the 'great club of King Menkheperre'. This object is discussed later, but it seems in the rebel's eyes to hold some sort of symbolic value. The ownership of this item may further illustrate the defeat of the Egyptian force, at least in the mind of the rebel, but whatever its significance he wishes to see it. Djehuty obliges by fetching the club, but his purpose for it is not the one the rebel suspects. Djehuty, after making a speech about the strength of Tuthmosis III, raises the club and, with a

² See 'The Characters of Joppa: *mʿyryn3*' below.

blow to the forehead, renders the rebel unconscious. The prostrate rebel is then bound and restrained with a weight of copper.

The trick, as later with the baskets, is one of confusion. In this instance, what seems to be an object of royal significance is in reality a weapon that is about to be used against the rebel. As in the larger strategy, the enemy is fooled and the object of his confusion turned against him. Given the way in which Djehuty's (fake) surrender is seen as synonymous with the surrender of the Egyptian forces, the defeat of the rebel must virtually symbolise the defeat of the town. The difference is in the relative situations: even with the rebel incapacitated, the stronghold remains to be taken.

Having dealt with the town's leader, Djehuty moves on to the major part of the plan. Baskets are brought, and 200 soldiers are commanded to descend into them. They are supplied with bindings to use on the townspeople by their comrades, and then sealed in. The rest of the troops remove their sandals and weapons and, it seems, place them in the remaining baskets.

In the Levantine ethnic and geographical setting of Joppa the action of removing sandals is a sign of submission and respect,³ and this is probably the foremost meaning here. The Egyptian men carrying the baskets are therefore presented as the ineffective, conquered force carrying in their own possessions as spoils of war for the enemy: yet another of Djehuty's ruses.

Once this has been done, the reason for Djehuty's actions are made explicit in [2,8-9]: 'Having entered the town you will release your companions. Seize all the people in the town and place them in bindings straight away'.

With the rebel captured, a different method has to be found to gain entry to Joppa. The way this is achieved is through use of the 'footman', a character who is depicted as a personal assistant to the ruler of Joppa. He seems to have remained outside of the

³ For examples see Exodus 3.5; Deuteronomy 25.9,10. A further interesting reference can be found in Ruth 4.7: 'Now this was the custom in former times in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging: to confirm a transaction, the one drew off his sandal and gave it to the other, and this was the manner of attesting in Israel.'

Egyptian camp, or possibly with the *maryannu*, as a soldier is ‘sent out’ to him with a message.

The footman is given a message to deliver to ‘his mistress’, claimed to be from his master, to open the gate of the town. Whoever this mistress is, she seems to enjoy a position of power within Joppa. The most logical explanation, given the reference to the rebel of Joppa as the footman’s ‘lord’, is that this is the rebel’s wife, who acts as ruler of Joppa in his absence. This is not to make assumptions about the system of rule in the Levant at this time, but an indication of her role within the narrative. While she is not actively portrayed as commanding the town,⁴ she is the internal element that needs to be convinced for the scheme to succeed.

This section of the plan, like the others, is completely successful. The town is opened and, as instructed, the soldiers in the baskets are released and capture all the inhabitants. There is no mention of waiting until nightfall, or some other convenient time – as soon as entry is gained, the action is taken. If the *maryannu* are seen as a force based in the town of Joppa itself, their immobilisation would mean that the town’s physical defences would be their only remaining security.⁵ Once these are breached, there is no remaining obstacle to an Egyptian victory. The actual report of the final capture is extremely brief, taking up four-and-a-half of the shortest lines of the piece.

It is interesting to note that no one is killed at any point in this passage: all enemies are first tricked and then constrained. This seems to reflect certain Egyptian victory practices. In the *Biography of Ahmose*, the subject presents captured enemies to the king who then rewards them back to Ahmose as slaves in recognition of his endeavours in battle, a motif that recurs several times.⁶ This is economic in principle – land could be given as a reward, but it would be useless without people to work it. In Djehuty’s efforts to capture the maximum number of the enemy possible, he does great service to both his own military reputation and the Egyptian tribute system as a whole.

⁴ In [2,14] the passive is used: ‘Then the fortifications of the town were opened’, with no mention of who actually caused this to happen.

⁵ See the chapter ‘The Archaeology of Joppa’ below, for a discussion of the defences that may have been in place in the time the account is set.

⁶ See ‘What is *The Taking of Joppa?*’ below for a discussion of this biography.

With the capture complete, and ascribed in loyal form to ‘the strong arm of the Pharaoh’, Djehuty sends word of the victory back to Egypt. The choice of vocabulary here displays a degree of modesty on the part of the commander. Whilst the writer could simply be adhering to a formula, an opportunity to heighten his reputation with the king is not something an ancient Egyptian would pass over lightly! Given the cultural background provided by tomb biographies,⁷ it seems unlikely that omitting reports of personal success could be viewed as a virtue. The phrasing used is more probably chosen because Djehuty’s requests for more troops to bring back captives make his achievements obvious, and it again plays down the role of kingship within the text. That Djehuty requests reinforcement sheds light on his function and the nature of this conquest – both seem to be taking place within the context of a wider Egyptian campaign. This is not presented as a raid into foreign territory, and as such fits well into the known expansionist tactics of Tuthmosis III.⁸

As mentioned above, taking captives as spoils of war is a notable achievement. They claim high value as plunder for both the army and the individual responsible for their capture, but Djehuty makes his intentions for the former residents of Joppa clear: they are to be slaves to this dynasty’s most significant god, Amun. Beyond their economic worth the actual function of the slaves is imprecise, but it is likely that the ‘house’ mentioned refers not to the palace but to the temple complex at Karnak. Tuthmosis III was something of a champion of the temple, adding many significant features during his reign (Weigall, 1910, 84ff), and the writer may well be making an historical reference. Djehuty’s petition entirely fits the pattern of what a faithful servant of both the monarchy and ideology of the Eighteenth Dynasty would request.

With the message complete, and all victories ascribed to both the king and the gods, the account ends in traditional fashion with a scribal colophon attesting to its accuracy. It should be no surprise that the scribe labels himself a ‘scribe of the army’, as this would add weight to his claims of accuracy and further suggest to the reader that this was an eyewitness account of an actual military occurrence.

⁷ See *The Autobiography of Weni* and *The Autobiography of Harkuf* in Lichtheim (1975); *The Prayers of Pahari* in Lichtheim (1976); *The Statue Inscription of Djedkhonsefankh* (especially, one suspects, line 9f) in Lichtheim (1980)

The Taking of Joppa is, then, a complex piece, combining a number of elements to present a narrative located in the reign of Tuthmosis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Its use of dialogue, 3rd person perspective and a variety of characters together form a coherent story that presents itself as a reliable account of an event. Wordplay, ambiguity of meaning and a seemingly conscious effort to conform to Egyptian formulae and military expressions show it to be, at the same time, a highly coherent piece of writing.

This complexity is reinforced by the following linguistic analysis of the piece. Themes that have been ascertained from this initial discussion of the text are revisited later in a discussion of armed protocol and the advocacy of deviousness in achieving military goals. Coupled with a review of the history of the New Kingdom empire, this study shows how a intricate piece like *Joppa* can fit into a context of military history beyond the timeframe of its narrative setting.

⁸ See 'The Military Campaigns of Tuthmosis III' below.

TRANSCRIPTION

- 1,1
- 1,2
- 1,3
- 1,4
- 1,5
- 1,6
- 1,7
- 1,8
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- 1,11
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- 2,1
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- 2,14
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- 3,5

	3,6
	3,7
	3,8
	3,9
	3,10
	3,11
	3,12
	3,13
	3,14

TRANSLITERATION

1,1	... 100 ... 20 m ^c yryn3(w)...sn m rdi n htpw
1,2	... n D _h wty im ... w... f...[w ^c]w t3 iw ^c yt Pr- ^c 3 ^c nhw wd3w snbw
1,3	...[r] hrw.sn hr ir hr-s3 wnwt st th iw D _h wty hr dd n...
1,4	... wi hn ^c hm.t hrdw p3y.k dmi n h ^c .t.k imi s ^c k n3
1,5	m ^c yryn3(w) n3 n htriw mtw.[t]w dit n.sn wnmw(t) mr-pw ir w ^c n ^c pwyr znn
1,6	...sn iw.tw hr h _w n3 n htriw iw.tw hr dit n.sn wnmwt iw
1,7	...nsw Mn-hpr-R ^c ^c nhw wd3w snbw iw.tw hr lit hr smi n D _h wty hr
1,8	ir p3hry n Ypw hr dd n D _h wty ib.i r ptr t3 ^c wnt ^c 3t n nsw Mn-hpr-R ^c ^c nhw wd3w snbw
1,9	nty ... 3ti-wt-nf ^r t rn.s w3h k3 n nswt Mn-hpr-R ^c ^c nhw wd3w snbw iw.s n.k m p3 hrw
1,10	... nf ^r t mtw.k in sw n.i iw.f hr irt m mitt iw.f hr int t3 ^c wnw n nsw Mn-hpr-R ^c
1,11	^c nhw wd3w snbw... m p3y.f sdy iw.f hr ^c h ^c m dwn.f hr dd ii nw im.i p3hry n
1,12	Ypw ... nsw Mn-hpr-R ^c ^c nhw wd3w snbw p3 m3iw hs3w s3 Shmt iw di n.f Imn p3y.f
1,13	... iw.f hr f3i drt.f iw.f hr hwi hr m3 ^c n p3hry [n] Ypw iw.f hr h3yt
2,1	m irt ... m-b3h.f iw.f hr di.tw.f m khw ... f m ^c t t3 dhriw
2,2	iw.f hr ... im[i] ... m ... ^c n hmti ... hb3 n p3
2,3	hry n Ypw iw.tw hr dit p3 ^c n hmti n 4 nmst m rdwy.fy iw.f hr dit in.tw
2,4	p3 500 n thbst i.di.f iri.tw iw.f hr dit h3yt 200 n w ^c w
2,5	r r3.sn iw.tw hr mh kniw.sn m- ^c mh3w hr khw iw.tw hr htm.w
2,6	hr htmw iw.tw hr dit n.sn n3yw.sn tbwt hn ^c n3yw.sn
2,7	m3wt itrw iw.tw hr dit w ^c w.w nbt nfr hry sn s 500
2,8	iw.tw hr dd n.sn wn.tn hr ^c k r p3 dmit iw.tn hr wn n3 y.tn
2,9	iryw mtw.n mh m rmt nb nty m p3 dmit mtw.n rdit.w mh3w hr
2,10	r ^c iw.tw hr pri r dd n p3 ktn n p3hry n Ypw hr.f n3 p3y.k
2,11	nb i.sm dd n t3y.k hnwt ndm ib i.dit n.n sth D _h wty hn ^c hmti.f hrdw.f
2,12	ptr h3t b3kw.sn k3i n.s r p3y 200 n thbst nty mh m rmt

- 2,13 *hr k3h3 hr mh3w wni.n.f hr šmt r h3t.sn r sndm ib n t3y.f hrwt*
 2,14 *r dd mh.n m Dhwtj iw.tw hr wn n3 n htm n p3 dmit r h3t n3 n w^cw.w*
 3,1 *iw.sn hr ^ck r p3 dmit iw.sn*
 3,2 *hr wn n3yw.sn iryw iw.sn hr mh m p3*
 3,3 *dmitw m šri m ^c3yt iw.sn hr di.t.w*
 3,4 *mh3w m k3h3 hr r^c iw p3 hpš*
 3,5 *tnr n Pr-^c3 ^cn^hw wd3w snbw hr mh m p3 dmit*
 3,6 *sdr Dhwtj iw h3b.f r Kmt n*
 3,7 *nswt Mn-hpr-R^c ^cn^hw wd3w snbw p3y.f nb r dd ndm-*
 3,8 *ib.k diw n.k imn p3y.k it nfr p3hry n*
 3,9 *Ypw hn^c rmt.f nbt mitt p3y.f dmit*
 3,10 *imi iw rmt r it3.w*
 3,11 *m h3kw mh.k pr n it.k 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*
 3,12 *m hmw hmwt iw hrw hry rdw.ky*
 3,13 *r nhh dt iw.s pw nfr in k3 n*
 3,14 *zh3/sš ikr m db^cw.fy zh3/sš mš^c ...*

TRANSLATION

[1,1] ...100...20 *maryannu*...them, likewise to give offerings [1,2] ...to Djehuty, let there be given to him ... soldiers of the troops of Pharaoh, may he live, prosper, and be healthy [1,3] ...before them. Now after one hour they had become drunk, Djehuty said to [1,4] ‘...myself, my wife and children to your town and yourself. Let [1,5] the *maryannu* bring in the horses, and let food be given to them; else one *aperu* raider will pass by ...[1,6] ...them.’ Then the horses were secured and given fodder. [1,7] ...King Menkheperre, l.p.h. Then one came to report to Djehuty.

Then [1,8] the rebel of Joppa said to Djehuty, ‘My wish is to behold the great club of King Menkheperre, l.p.h. [1,9] whose name is ... *ati-ut-nofret*.’ ‘As the *ka* of King Menkheperre l.p.h. endures, it shall be yours on this day... [1,10] ...*nofret* when you bring it to me.’ He did this, and brought the club of King Menkheperre [1,11] l.p.h....in his cloak. He drew himself up and said ‘Look here at me, rebel of [1,12] Joppa...King Menkheperre l.p.h., the fierce lion, son of Sekhmet, to whom Amun has given his...’ [1,13] ...then he raised his hand and smote the forehead of the rebel of Joppa, and he fell [2,1] prostrate...before him.

He placed him in fetters ... (of) leather upon his arms. [2,2] He ... gave ... copper ... to make a restraint for the [2,3] rebel of Joppa.' They put a piece of copper weighing 4 *nmst* upon his feet. And he commanded [2,4] the 500 baskets which he had prepared to be brought. He made 200 soldiers descend [2,5] into their openings. Thereupon their fellows filled their arms with bindings and fetters and sealed them [2,6] with seals. They were given their sandals, together with their [2,7] staffs and *itwrrs*. Every good soldier was assigned to carry them, 500 men in all. [2,8] They were told, 'Having entered into the town you will release your [2,9] companions, and we shall seize all the people in the town and then place them in bindings immediately'.

[2,10] Then one went out to tell the footman of the rebel of Joppa 'Thus says your [2,11] lord: 'Go! Say to your mistress "Rejoice! Seth delivers Djehuty to us, together with his wife and children. [2,12] Behold! My hand has enslaved them." This was said of the 200 baskets that were filled with men [2,13] and with fetters and bindings. He hastened and went in front of them to sweeten the heart of his mistress [2,14] saying 'We have seized Djehuty.' Then the fortifications of the town were opened before the soldiers

[3,1] They entered the town and [3,2] released their companions. They seized [3,3] the citizens, both young and old, and put them [3,4] in bindings and fetters straight away. The strong arm [3,5] of Pharaoh l.p.h. captured the town.

[3,6] That night Djehuty sent to Egypt to [3,7] King Menkheperre l.p.h. his lord to say 'Rejoice! [3,8] Amun your good father has given to you the rebel [3,9] of Joppa together with all his people, and his town also. [3,10] Send people to take them [3,11] as captives that you may fill the house of your father Amun-Re, king of the gods, [3,12] with the male and female slaves fallen under your feet [3,13] for eternity.' It has come well written from the *ka* of [3,14] the scribe trusty with his fingers, the scribe of the army...

[1,1]

The numbers here are unclear, with many commentators noting a difficulty in reading the second numeral. Gardiner took the obscured  to refer to more than simply '100' on account of the angle of the tail (Gardiner, 1932, 82a). Peet suggests a reading of '120', but without the full writing no attempt can be made at supplying all digits of the numeral (Peet, 1925, 226).

I follow all major commentators here with the reconstruction from 'm^cyr...' The term *maryannu* may refer to a class of warriors within a military system, or perhaps even a separate force defined by ethnicity as well as function. See below for a full discussion of the term.

Various translated 'after the manner of bundles' (Peet, 1925, 226) and 'likewise baskets' (Goedicke, 1968, 219), the text is extremely damaged in the second half of the line. The subject of the 3rd plural dependent pronoun is also lost. Goedicke wished to see an invitation to the *maryannu* to sit down to food and drink. He suggests a reconstruction of *htpw n wnm*, 'likewise food to eat' (Goedicke, 1968, 221). The preposition *mi* suggests the meanings 'like', 'according to' or 'nevertheless', and follows the word or clause to which it refers (Junge, 2001, 87), which leaves *htpw*, 'offerings' to stand with the verb *rdi*. 'Baskets' is discounted as a translation for *htpw* (Lesko, 2002, 336) due to the different vocabulary used later in the passage. The exact meaning of this final phrase cannot be determined, and the fragmentary nature of the opening leads Gardiner to state: 'It seems hopeless to attempt serious restorations in these first lines.'

[1,2]

Without the preceding words the context of the preposition  is unknown, and may have any one of the meanings commonly ascribed.

Once again, out of context it is difficult to suggest the force of the word *im*, though it could be part of the titular phrase *imy-r3*, 'commander' (Junge, 2001, 324). This leads to the damaged middle section of the line, where no real meaning can be established until a plausible reconstruction of *w^cw* (Faulkner et al., 1973, 82).

The shortened version of the formulaic phrase *ḥw wdꜣw snbw*, ‘life, prosperity, health’ appears here and throughout the passage accompanying references to the king. The phrase is used continuously throughout Egyptian history, and though Gardiner categorises it as a 3rd person Old Perfective with the meaning ‘may he be given life...’ (Gardiner, 1994, §313), its prolonged use probably gave rise to a phrase that, like the cartouche accompanying it, exists somewhat outside grammatical norms (Griffith, 1898, 27, 13; 29, 31; 30, 25; Sethe, 1906 – 1958, 3, 5; 15, 9). The force is wholly honorific to the preceding name, and is translated throughout this study with the common shorthand ‘l.p.h.’

[1,3]

hrw.sn is best understood as the closing of the previous lost phrase since *ir* introduces the next. This second phrase terminates in the verb *dd.n*, after which we can expect the direct speech partially recorded in the next line. The suffix *.sn* makes either the Egyptian soldiers or the *maryannu* the likely subjects of this preceding phrase as no other plural entity has yet been referred to in the extant text. On purely narrative grounds an acceptable reconstruction might be ‘placed food and drink before them’, making the *maryannu* the recipients and the *iwꜣyt*, the Egyptian soldiers, the agents.

If we accept the above reading, the phrase describing the drunkenness of the *maryannu* seems almost euphemistic. The verb is from the *th* root suggesting ideas of plummeting, and this meaning presumably derives from the association with the effects of alcohol (*Wb* V 324). *tht* is attested in Pahari to mean ‘drunkenness’ (Faulkner, 1962, 301), and the form here suggests a plural participle: ‘their being/becoming drunk’. Taking *wnwt* in its accepted meaning of time we might translate ‘hour’ or ‘moment’, literally ‘after one hour of their drunkenness’. This fits with the use of *hr* at the beginning of the clause. Frequently used to emphasise contingency or conditionality, it can have a variety of temporal or conditional meanings: ‘so’, ‘now’, ‘therefore’, ‘but’, etc. (Junge, 2001, 88). This is reinforced by the use of *hr-sꜣ*, which gives the meaning of ‘after’ or ‘behind’ in both the spatial and temporal sense (Junge, 2001, 348).

Gardiner suggests that the use of *tw* followed immediately by Djehuty as the subject introduces what is said as ‘a statement of outstanding interest’ (Gardiner, 1994, §117).¹

[1,4]

The undamaged second half of this line offers few problems for translation, containing a full phrase. Goedicke, as Gardiner (Gardiner, 1932, 82a), prefixes a reference to the ‘rebel of Joppa’ (Goedicke, 1968, 219), stating that *n h^c.t.k* ‘is probably more than a reinforcement of the preceding statement of possession and rather to be taken literally « to yourself »’ (Goedicke, 1968, 221). Even rendered in this manner, the meaning of intensification is clear: Djehuty is giving himself up completely.

[1,5]

Peet and Gardiner interpret a first mention of the *maryannu* here (Peet, 1925, 226.; Gardiner, 1932, 82a). Their suggestion is persuasive, but understanding the narrative becomes problematic if the *maryannu* are only now to enter.

The first appearance of the Late Egyptian *mtw.tw* form occurs in this line in the expression *mtw.tw di.t*. It is generally used to ‘continue a future expression’ (Junge, 2001, 64), and will often take a conditional meaning in an ‘if...then...’ construction. Its use points further to a composition date some centuries later than the narrative is set, appearing in its Ramesside form throughout *Joppa* (Junge, 2001, 104).

The use of *ir* as an auxiliary, introductory verb in Egyptian is well known, although there seems to be no consensus over its use in Late versions of the language. While three major ‘groups’ of use have been identified (Sethe, *Verbum*, II, §§193-206, from Gardiner, 1930, 220ff), namely as ‘various Late-Egyptian periphrases of the old *sdm.f* form’ (Gardiner, 1930, 220), the meanings conveyed by at least two of these are unknown. In the broadest terms the auxiliary verb is taken as a future tense (Junge, 2001, 95ff.), and this allows the translation ‘lest one *aperu* raider will...’.

znn can take a variety of meanings, but is most commonly understood as ‘pass by’ or ‘surpass’ (*Wb* III 460). Figuratively, it can mean to go beyond the acceptable, the known, or to go too far (Junge, 2001, 350). From Middle Egyptian come ideas of *sny-mnt*, calamity (Faulkner, 1996, 231). All of which fit well into the narrative here that

¹ See [1,6] for a discussion of the use of *tw* in the passage.

takes the form of a threat or warning to the *maryannu*. Taking into account the missing beginning of the next line, the meaning may be ‘lest one *aperu* pass by and steal them’ (i.e. the unguarded horses).

[1,6]

53mm have been lost prior to the *sn* evident in this line (Gardiner, 1932, 82a). It is therefore difficult to suggest a reconstruction, though a good assumption is that the plural ending refers to the *maryannu*’s horses of the previous phrase.

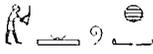
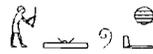
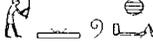
iw.f (hr) is used extensively in various forms throughout the text of *Joppa*, as it is in Late Egyptian in general (Junge, 2001, 372f.). One of its major uses is as a Circumstantial, both First Present and Third Future, but neither of these fit particularly well into the narrative pattern of *Joppa*. Its role throughout the passage is therefore more likely to be an introduction to a non-initial main sentence:

This use might be illustrated by a sequence of the following kind: ‘She got up, took her coat, went downstairs, opened the door and went downtown’. The *iw=f hr sdm* form is thus a kind of basic form for continuing narrative, hence the most commonly used form of narrative texts and passages. It is the nature of such texts (reports and narratives, etc.) that they are mostly related in the past tense; the style of several literary stories, such as Wenamun, the Two Brothers, and Horus and Seth, is dominated by the form. (Junge, 2001, 207)

It is noteworthy that Junge goes on to quote *Joppa*’s papyrus-mate, *The Foredoomed Prince*, as another example of this.

These characteristics allow, in many cases, the form to be left transparent in the text, what Junge refers to as ‘logical semantic openness’ (Junge 2001, 207). As suggested in the quote above, ‘and’ or punctuation marks move the narrative forward without the need for any interjection.

A further feature of this *iw.tw hr* form is its association with ‘vestiges of Middle Egyptian syntax’ (Junge, 2001, 209f.). The setting of *Joppa* in the past, with all attached connotations, could be seen to facilitate the use of a ‘fossilised’ or ‘old’ (Junge, 2001, 210) verb form. *iw.tw hr* constructs both the ongoing tense of the text and also the narrative flavour, achieving linguistically what the subject matter is attempting to do through narrative: suggest to the reader that they are receiving a report of past events.

The essence of the action in this line is open to debate. Gardiner corrects an earlier reading of  to , which he suggests is itself a rendering of , hence a transliteration *hwi* (Gardiner, 1932, 82f.). Goedicke extends an accepted translation of ‘protect’ or ‘set aside’ (Lesko, 2002, I 353) to ‘hobble’ (Goedicke, 1968, 223). While he is correct in stating that the meaning ‘is not to protect them against theft’ (Goedicke, 1968, 223), although this is what the Egyptian force would have the *maryannu* believe, his translation takes the interpretation of the common  determinative too far. A more general translation of ‘secure’ is preferred for this reason, with the force of the phrase being the removal of military potency from the enemy.

The construction *dit.n.sn* seems to be operating here in the same form as the Middle Egyptian passive. The true Late Egyptian passive form takes a *sdm.tw* construction but the Middle Egyptian form continued in use throughout the Late period, mostly in legal formulae (Junge, 2001, 101). As both forms were in use, it is unsurprising to find this earlier one in a passage purporting to relate an event that took place some time before its probable writing. *wmmw(t)* can then be taken to relate to the horses, so a translation of ‘fodder’ is used. The phrase, literally ‘then one secured...then one gave...’ is cast in a passive voice for a smoother translation.

[1,7]

A gap of 53mm also exists at the beginning of this line. The introduction the ‘club of King Menkheperre’, seemingly with no direct reference before it, has led to much speculation about the lost phrase. Wilkinson opted for ‘the enemy of Joppa wanted to see the great staff of King Menkheperre’ while Lefebvre supplies ‘à ce moment arriva la massue du roi Menkhéperre’ (Goedicke, 1968, 223). Neither suggestion explains the mysterious item’s sudden appearance, and not only is Wilkinson’s phrase too long for the space it also repeats what is made plain in the following lines (Goedicke, 1968, 223).

The phrase is most likely to follow on the sense of the previous line. The narrative thread from there ends when ‘one came to report this to Djehuty’, and the *hr ir* suggests the beginning of a new sequence of events (Goedicke, 1968, 223; Gardiner, 1994, §163 – 167). The occurrence of *iw* at the end of the previous line makes this small section

unlikely to be reported speech, so some narrative comment on the preceding events is the most likely restoration.

Goedicke makes an imaginative suggestion for a word play that refers both back to the misleading of the *maryannu* and forward to the appearance the club. He restores *iw* [*tw hr ʿwn.w n*] *nswt Mnḥprꜣ*, which he translates ‘then one abducted them for king Menkheperre’ (Goedicke, 1968, 224). While he admits that this is longer than the lost phrase, the picture is of a soldier reporting what has happened to Djehuty and the (drunk?) rebel of Joppa overhearing ʿwn.w – ‘abducted’, and misunderstanding it for ʿwnt – ‘club’ (Goedicke, 1968, 224).²

The suggestion is a clever one, and ties very nicely into the narrative. Although wordplay is undoubtedly a feature of *Joppa*, due to the lack of context for the lacuna it is difficult to accept it as a definite restoration. The fragmentary nature of the beginning of the piece also allows speculation about occurrences of the ‘club’ before this, perhaps even in the context of speech between Djehuty and the rebel of Joppa. This is not to deny the possibility of the pun, but the narrative does not support the idea that the rebel of Joppa misheard and, on the basis of his confusion, Djehuty decided to fetch a club and pretend it was a fictional ‘club of king Menkheperre’. Indeed, had Djehuty not disabled the rebel the Egyptian stratagem would have stalled and the appearance of the club must therefore be considered something more than accident. As such this gap sadly does not necessitate any mention, or pseudo mention, of ʿwnt.

The *hr* here acts as a conjunction of contingency (Junge, 2001, 346), allowing the translation ‘then’ or ‘thus’.

[1,8]

The restoration, as proposed by Gardiner (Gardiner, 1932, 82a), is a long one, but one fitting completely with the context and phraseology of this section of the piece. Djehuty, as we discover in the following lines, agrees to bring the ‘club’ and presents it to the rebel of Joppa before attacking him with it.³ The only logical explanation is that it is the rebel who asks to behold the object.

² For a similar example of possible word-play within the text see note on Seth, in ‘The Characters of *Joppa*’ below.

The wish of the rebel of Joppa to see this club is made more intriguing by his use of the honorific *ḥnhw wd3w snbw* following the king's name. It is surprising to find this distinctly Egyptian epithet on the lips of a foreigner, especially one of an enemy. Throughout the piece the inhabitants of Joppa are presented as having a grasp of the Egyptian language,⁴ and so it would seem incorrect to assume that the rebel is simply repeating the name as he would have heard it. It is more likely that the scribe or author of the piece added the honorific title as a matter of course. Although usually in hieratic it has a more abbreviated form, the phrase appears in its three-sign form throughout *Joppa*. Perhaps this occurrence was an accident, force of habit supplying it here, or perhaps the writer did it consciously but without the notion that it was out of place on foreign lips. The signs $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ actually spill over onto the next column, into the beginning of [2,8]. This could be taken as a late addition, being the only example of this in the column, although examination of the papyrus does not suggest it. Again, scribal habit is probably the key.

[1,9]

The fragmentary nature of the passage leads to problems reading the beginning of this line. The transliteration of the elements *3ti*,⁵ *wt*, and *nfrt*⁶ give little that can be meaningfully rendered into English, but *rn.s*, 'her name', suggests that we are not looking at a simple noun. Each of the three phonetic parts appear more normally as parts of larger words, and it is in recognition of all these points that Goedicke restores 'Astarte-nofret' (Goedicke, 1968, 225).

He takes the 'her' to refer to the mistress of the ruler of Joppa,⁷ a character we meet later in the passage, as opposed to the name of the club referred to in the preceding line. The use of the seated woman determinative supports this. Peet also saw a name here, but reads *Tiwtnwfret* (Gardiner, 1932, 83a). Faulkner suggests a woman offered to Djehuty in exchange for the club (Faulkner et al., 1973, 82). A problem arises by the fact that, as Gardiner notes, any of these readings would need the name to begin

³ See [1,12] ff.

⁴ See [2,11], where instructions are given to the 'footman'.

⁵ It is uncertain whether 𓆎 is to be transliterated *ti* or simply *t*. See Gardiner (1994) 520 (U33)

⁶ This is the only group that could possibly stand alone in meaning. It suggests *nfrt* – 'good things', and also *nfrwt* – 'fair woman'. Yet both these readings are rendered differently in hieroglyphics from the transcription here, and while this is not completely detrimental to a translation it is very hard to restore the larger passage from this inconclusive translation. See Faulkner (1962) 131f.

immediately after the $\overline{\text{//}\Delta}$ sign group (Gardiner, 1932, 82a). This would leave virtually no room for narrative development, and further compounds the problem of placing this word in context.

If a reading is proposed, the best is still probably as the name of the rebel of Joppa's wife, rather than the title of the club. Goedicke's reading of a specifically Canaanite goddess name here is more a product of the narrative setting than restoration from the text, and there are further complications if his half-Egyptian-half-foreign name is accepted. The following line gives no help either, where the name seems to appear again but in a more damaged state and with a different orthography. The word is therefore left in its untranslated state here.

Midway through this line there seems to be a change of speaker. [1,8] ends with the rebel of Joppa speaking to Djehuty but the contents of the second half of [1,9] can hardly appear on the same lips, where a confirmation of the rebel's wishes occurs. It would also be puzzling to find a reference here to the *ka*, that most Egyptian of concepts, in the speech of a foreigner.⁸ It is hardly less difficult to find a change of character here with none of the normal introductions to speech that occur throughout the passage.⁹

The reading must therefore centre on the narrative considerations. The phrase makes little sense if spoken by the rebel, and so is placed on the lips of Djehuty despite the complications of a change of speaker. This also allows for a word play on *n.k*. The usual translation suggests 'with you' or 'belong to you', but there is the possibility of a locative emphasis giving 'in' or 'upon'.¹⁰ This would leave a pleasing ambiguity and a reference to Djehuty's true intentions for the club when he presents it to the rebel.

⁷ In the text the only relationship that can be drawn out is slightly tenuous. The footman, a servant of the rebel of Joppa, is told to take a message to his 'mistress'. This woman seems to have had some authority in the town.

⁸ Goedicke confidently claims this to be 'the only attested case where a foreign ruler swears by the *ka* of an Egyptian king', although there is the example of 'l.p.h.' as noted in the previous line. Goedicke (1968) 225f.

⁹ [1,3], [1,8], [1,11], for example.

¹⁰ For another example of this within the passage see [1,5]: *mʿyrynʒ(w) nʒ n ḥtrlw*, where the *maryannu* could be 'upon' their horses. See Peet, Gardiner and Shaw as referenced at [1,5].

[1,10]

Once again the fragmentary opening includes a reference to *nfri*. If this is in the same context as the previous line it is unclear. The form of writing is missing the female determinative, which makes the possible meanings noted in [1,9] more varied, but the damage to the papyrus is still prohibitive to determining anything concrete.

Speculation has led to diverse readings. Erman prefers ‘be so good and bring it to me’,¹¹ where Peet determines it to be a name and designation of the club (Gardiner, 1932, 83a). Goedicke suggests *iw.k ptr nfri* which he translates ‘you shall see something beautiful’ (Goedicke, 1968, 226), but the use of pronouns means that the line can only be spoken by the rebel. Goedicke reinforces his argument with an ambiguity in the meaning of *nfri* which, he suggests, can also mean ‘end’ (Goedicke, 1968, 226). Though this is something of an over-extension of the meaning when the orthography is taken into account,¹² the linguistic interplay between the Egyptians and those regarded as foreigners is a recurrent feature of this passage. It could also be viewed as another example of Egyptian word play beyond the comprehension of the enemy. While these suggestions are attractive the damage to the text precludes real reconstruction, and so the word has, as in the preceding line, been left transliterated here.

Gardiner supplies the  to read , *n.i* – ‘to me’. There is ‘no trace of lost fibres’ and this is therefore not a matter of reconstruction (Gardiner, 1932, 83a). Peet has a more ingenious solution, reading *sw.wi* and postulating haplography due to the Semitic origin of the speech (Peet, 1925, 337). The more straightforward argument of Gardiner is preferred.

Goedicke makes much of the phrase *m mitt* (Goedicke, 1968, 226f.), usually translated ‘accordingly’ or ‘likewise’ (Lesko, 2002, I 180). This is a consequence of his earlier comments on the confusion of *wn.w* – ‘abducted/robbed’ and *wnt* – ‘club’ (Lesko, 2002, 63), and he proposes its use as introducing a ‘clause with fictitious contents’ (Goedicke, 1968, 226) on the basis of Erman’s work on the phrase *mi nty*.¹³ If Goedicke’s readings of [1,7] and [1,8] are rejected, this tenuous theory can be avoided and the more usual meaning of the word preserved. The phrase would therefore read

¹¹ Erman, *Egyptian Literature* 168 from Goedicke (1968) 226

¹²  - *nfriw* and  - *nfri* are the more normal writings of ‘end’, neither of which are particularly close to the word here.

¹³ The reference is to Erman’s *Neuägyptische Grammatik* §838. See Goedicke (1968) 226

‘he did this accordingly’, the next line confirming the subject as Djehuty and the reference being to the preceding speech, simplified in the translation to ‘he did this’. This allows the *iw.f hr* form to be translated as ‘and’, a common device when acting as an introduction to a non-initial main clause (Junge, 2001, 207f.).

It can safely be assumed that the *ṛnhw wd3w snbw* – ‘life, prosperity, health’ – that is expected after the king’s name is contained in the lost beginning of the next line. As seen in [1,8], this is added even in cases where it might originally have been omitted. With no appearance at the end of this line we can be fairly certain that it makes up part of the lacuna.

[1,11]

The difficulty here is in the narrative significance of *sdw* (*Wb* IV 376), translated as ‘cloak’. The writing is extremely strange, with the meaning derived entirely from the use of δ , cord, as the determinative. This might be a substitute for $\overline{\text{TTTT}}$, the usual ideogram for clothing items,¹⁴ but still leaves 𓂏 as a problem, ‘abnormally reduced’ as Gardiner notes (Gardiner, 1932, 83a). With no clear answer I follow the major commentators in my translation, which gives the best narrative flow.

If the general understanding of ‘cloak’ is a matter of agreement among commentators its place in the narrative is not. Gardiner wishes to restore [*ṛnh(w) wd3(w) snb(w) iw.f hr mh m*] *p^cy.f sdw* – ‘“...l.p.h” and he seized his cloak’ (Gardiner, 1932, 83a). Peet translates ‘and concealed it behind his cloak’, referring to a further stratagem of Djehuty in the capture of the rebel and his town (Goedicke, 1968, 226f.). Goedicke restores *ntf shp ht m p3y.f sdw* – ‘[he brought a stick] from his cloak’ (Goedicke, 1968, 227 & 219f.). Of all these suggestions, Gardiner’s is the most convincing in terms of length if arguments about the appearance of the honorific formula for the king are accepted.¹⁵ In terms of narrative development after this line, Peet’s suggestion is the most helpful. I would suggest a scene where a weapon the rebel of Joppa believes to be of significance is presented somewhat obscured.

¹⁴ See Gardiner (1994) S28 and V6, where Gardiner claims that substitution is not in evidence until Dynasty 19.

¹⁵ See [1,10]

Unfortunately the complete loss of the text, together with the problematic orthography, makes any restoration of the actual words little more than guesswork. In recognition of this, it has not been restored in the translation.

iw.f hr ḥc m dwn.f would literally run along the lines of ‘and he stood with (his legs) stretched out’ or ‘stood stretched out both ways’ (Faulkner, 1962, 311). The translation ‘he drew himself up’ is not to suggest a reflexive nature but to give an accurate meaning in the context. Djehuty stands tall in order to deliver both the forceful message, introduced by the imperative, and the physical blow to the rebel’s head described in [1,13].¹⁶

[1,12]

The two restorations here seem sensible, and hardly open to debate given their appearance throughout the passage. The content of the rest of the lacuna is pure speculation, but the sense of ‘behold’ that Gardiner suggests would fit well (Gardiner, 1932, 83a).

The phrase is part of the direct speech of Djehuty to the rebel, preceding the physical attack that will take the Egyptian plan into its next stage. The nature of the king is described in highly metaphorical terms. *p3 m3iw ḥs3w* – ‘this fierce lion’ is written without the more common  determinative, a writing attested in Papyrus Westcar and the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* (P. Westcar 7,5; Sh.S. 30; Lesko, 2002, 173), but the use of , animal hide, does not detract from the obvious connotations. It also has an assonant quality that suggests it could have been a popular epithet, often used of royalty.

[1,13]

Restoring the second half of the damaged portion with the usual introduction to action seems correct, given the narrative thrust of the rest of the line. Various suggestions have been made for the missing words, mostly with reference to the appearance of Amun in [3,8]. A repeat of *it.f nfr* – ‘his good father’ or *it.f hpš.f* – ‘the strong arm of his father’ would be feasible here.¹⁷

¹⁶ See also the rendering ‘stood upright’ in Capart, Gardiner, and Walle (1936) 176 n.1

¹⁷ The former suggestion is Peet’s, the latter Gardiner’s, see Gardiner (1932) 83a

The nature of the bindings used on the rebel of Joppa are hard to judge. There seems to have been the need for two types, but the only feature to distinguish one from the other is its material. Goedicke takes the following line to suggest that these *kḥw* were fashioned from , *hmti*, ‘copper’ (Goedicke, 1968, 220ff; Janssen, 1975, 441). The second type of binding is categorised to only by reference to the material it is fashioned from: , *dhriw*, ‘leather’ (*Wb* V 481).

The best point of reference is the later account of how Djehuty’s troops captured the town. On the occasion the soldiers enter into the baskets, and where the narrative describes the events after the soldiers reveal themselves, the word *kḥw* is used:

iw.tw ḥr mh kniw.sn m^c mh3w ḥr kḥw

Thereupon their fellows filled their arms with bindings and fetters

mh3w m kḥ ḥr r^c

...(and put all the people of the town) in bindings and fetters straight away.

These *kḥw* are a preferred form of restraint, used widely in the piece. It is therefore difficult to see them being fashioned from the copper mentioned in the next line, although this close association has led to the identification of *kḥw* with ‘manacles’ (Goedicke, 1968, 220ff). Copper would render such methods of constraint costly and heavy. More obviously, the determinative implies that a *kḥ* was made out of wood. From the appearances of the object in various texts, Wilson suggests it ‘does not impede walking, could be made quickly by soldiers and was small and light enough to be carried in baskets’ (Wilson, 1997, 1068). I use the general term ‘fetters’, which does not carry the image of being made of metal. This fits with the mention of ‘leather’ later in the line, together with the reconstruction of *ḥt*, and whilst no physical evidence appears for it here, *mh3w* is a plausible suggestion for part of the lacuna given its proximity to *kḥw* throughout the the passage. My reading of the following line would therefore revolve around these ‘fetters’ being attached in some way to the copper mentioned, rather than being fashioned from it.

[2,2]

The fragmentary nature of this line once again throws up a host of reconstructions. Gardiner wishes to read *iw.f ḥr mh im.f*, ‘and he seized him...’ but, as Goedicke points

out, this seems redundant in the context of the previous line's description of the rebel's capture (see Gardiner, 1932, 83a; Goedicke, 1968, 227). Goedicke's own suggestion is *iw.f hr dd im in.tw n.i p3 ˆ n biw ir.tw hr (?) hb* (Goedicke, 1968, 227), 'and he said "Now bring to me a piece of copper to restrain (the rebel of Joppa)"". He makes no suggestion as to how the orthography of his proposal might fit into the breaks in the papyrus and it is therefore difficult to judge the accuracy of his restoration. The reconstruction of the narrative to refer further to the enemy's constraint is, however, convincing. *hb3* can have a variety of meanings, from ideas of deduction and damage to destruction (Lesko, 2002, 354). The narrative idea is of the capture of the rebel, and 'restrain' (Goedicke's suggestion also) is used.

The pattern of Djehuty ordering an event and it being done appears in lines [1,4] and [2,8] and their following sections. Given the narrative of [2,3], the suggestion of direct speech here is a good one. Therefore, while a restoration word for word is difficult, the phrase is presented as speech.

[2,3]

The *iw.tw* is taken as the beginning of narrative again after speech, a function it performs throughout the passage.²⁰

The problematic word in this line is *nmst*. In isolation, Faulkner regards this as referring to a type of jar (Faulkner, 1962, 133), and the orthography is very similar here.²¹ It is probable from the context that *nmst* refers to a unit of weight (Lesko, 2002, 238), but it remains extremely difficult to pin this down to a modern, or even Egyptian, equivalent.²² It seems that the Egyptian standard weight was the *qedet* (Petrie, 1926, 13ff.), a measurement that was widely used between the 18th and 23rd Dynasties and therefore current at the time of *Joppa's* setting (Petrie, 1926, 13). The relationship between the *qedet* and the *nmst* is not stated (Petrie, 1926, 13ff.), but the action of [2,3] suggests that the function of the 4 *nmst* of copper is to restrain, or at least severely impair the movement of, the rebel of Joppa.

²⁰ [1,6] and [2,14], for example.

²¹ It is possible to argue that confusion could occur in the hieratic transcription of 𓏏 and the \square that Gardiner reads (1932). The phonetic sign for *p* is taken as such here, and left untransliterated

²² Janssen has no mention of the *nmst* in his study *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, 1975.

As suggested in [2,2], the narrative picture is the fettered rebel being attached to this weight of copper, to prevent his escape when he regains consciousness. The *maryannu*, whose horses were confiscated earlier in the passage, are not mentioned again. They too have been rendered ineffectual, as *iw.f hr* introduces the final and most destructive part of the plan with Djehuty once again the protagonist. It is the following stratagem that leads to the capture of the town of Joppa itself.

A more literal translation of *iw.f hr dit in.tw*²³ would be a rather clumsy ‘And he caused to be brought’. A smoother grammatical order in the English is preferred. The pronoun refers to Djehuty, who after the capture of the rebel assumes the principal role in the passage once again.

[2,4]

The numerals in this line have been the cause of much discussion. The reading of the first numeral seems correct, and is uniform across scholars, but this seems to contradict the statement in [2,12] where 200 baskets are mentioned. The number 500 does appear again, in [2,7], concerning the soldiers given the task of carrying the baskets.

The word used here for baskets is a hapax legomenon (*Wb* V 326). Its meaning is derived from the use of determinative and narrative context.

It is difficult to see what is going on here. ‘200 soldiers cannot be put into 500 baskets’ states Gardiner (Gardiner, 1932, 83a), but this is clearly incorrect. If there were 500 baskets, there can be 200 with soldiers in and 300 without. If, therefore, 500 is amended in this line to 200, [2,7] must also be changed. If, however, these numbers stand (which is not, as Gardiner suggests, logically impossible) then only one number, that of 200 in [2,12], needs to be changed. A slightly more liberal reading can leave all numbers unchanged: the speaker in [2,12] could be taken as referring to the 200 ‘suspect’ baskets out of a total of 500, as the passage clearly states that ‘This was said of the 200 baskets which were filled with men’ rather than the 300 innocuous ones. I would therefore propose 500 baskets, 200 of which contain men and 300 of which are either empty or contain the sorts of ‘spoils of war’ that Djehuty claims all do.

²³ See [2,3].

The construction *i.dif* in the middle of this line is a difficult one. The reed and man determinatives could belong to the ‘baskets’, preceding them, but that word seems to end with the three plural strokes. The two signs taken alone make little sense either. The best reading is therefore as the prefix to a relative participle, with a perfective aspect (Junge, 2001, 66), giving ‘which he had prepared’. As *dit* is employed in relation to commanding the soldiers in the surrounding lines, a translation of ‘prepared’ is used rather than ‘give’. The participle then combines with the verb *iri*, best read as *iri.tw* here in the form of a passive: ‘to be brought’. Overall, this reading makes better sense than the possibility of *i.dif* as a form of the circumstantial present, and reinforces dating of the piece as the relative *i-* prefix was not in use before the start of the 19th Dynasty (Junge, 2001, 66).

The rhythm of the passage increases from this point. Whereas the previous section followed a structure of speech proceeded by the actions to which the speech referred, this section of *Joppa* is composed of a string of events described only from the third-person perspective. The events in this final scene are punctuated by the speech to the ‘footman’ commencing in [2,10], but the action only really slows with Djehuty’s letter to his king pronouncing the victory.

[2,5]

The motivation for Djehuty’s seemingly strange orders becomes more clear as this section of the passage progresses, but the full explanation of his plan is not given until [2,8]. As noted in [2,4], the pattern of much of the passage before this is of speech followed by action whereas here the explanation for the behaviour of the army comes only after their actions are complete. Due to the difference from earlier sections this is certainly a narrative device used by the writer to engage readers, drawing them forward to the climax of the campaign against the town.

As revealed in Djehuty’s explanation of [2,8] onwards, the ‘feters and bindings’ supplied to the soldiers are to be used in binding up the townspeople of Joppa. Similar implements were used to restrain the rebel: see [2,1] for a discussion of the terms.

The action of shutting the soldiers in the baskets (continued in the following line) is literally rendered as ‘sealed them with seals’. While this is clumsy in English, it serves to highlight the importance of the action. On entering the town, the soldiers carrying

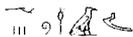
the baskets have to *wn*, ‘open’ or ‘release’, their companions which suggests they have been sealed in well. Perhaps this was a general custom for spoils of battle, or perhaps it is additional security to Djehuty’s plan to minimise suspicion that the baskets might have been tampered with.

[2,6]

It is difficult to see whom the ‘they’ refers to in this line. As Goedicke correctly notes, it can hardly refer to the subjects of the previous line as they are already sealed within their baskets (Goedicke, 1968, 228). He sees references in the word ‘sandal’ to an elaborate carrying device used for the transportation of these baskets mentioned once and only in *Joppa* (Goedicke, 1968, 228), an argument that is tenuous at best. A better reading would see the subject of this line as the remainder of soldiers, ‘their fellows’ of [2,5] who are the last active subjects referred to.

[2,7]

The beginning of this line continues the narrative strand of the previous as the Egyptian soldiers give up their weapons in the manner of a force that has been conquered.

, phonetically *m3wd.w*, is taken as a form of *m3wt*, ‘shaft of a spear’ – a word that exists with a variety of orthographies (*Wb* II 27) – an acceptable reading given Gardiner’s comments on the fluidity of the second radical of  (Gardiner, 1994, 524). The derived meaning is also more likely than Goedicke’s suppositions about ‘carrying poles’ as part of the apparatus for transporting the baskets (Goedicke, 1968, 228).

itwrr is more problematic, and Goedicke’s suggests a link to Assyrian and Hebrew words meaning ‘to hang’, and therefore to his aforementioned basket carriers (Goedicke, 1968, 228). Echoes of *itrty*, ‘two sides’ (Lesko, 2002, 52), are also possible, suggesting a method of transportation for these baskets between polls, but the narrative does not bear either of these suggestions out. The transliteration of  as a double *r* seems to be correct given similar appearances in other words (see Gardiner, 1994, 460, E23), but there is no obvious translation for the resulting word. Petrie notes the existence of a ‘staff head’, where staves were often shod or tipped with metal, but he refers to a walking stick rather than a combat weapon (Petrie, 1917, 129). The determinative of  is identical to the preceding word, and a similar meaning is

probable. An *itwrr* is therefore understood to be another part of Egyptian military equipment, most likely a second form of weapon.

The latter part of the phrase harks back in style to the reports of the *maryannu*'s horses being confiscated in [1,6]. *iw.tw hr* introduces a new action where a number of 'good' soldiers are chosen. A translation of *nfr* as 'strong' is possibly preferred here, as Djehuty's orders of [2,8] suggest that these men will be responsible for carrying the baskets. The question of number arises again, with 500 appearing a second time, but if earlier statements about [2,4] are accepted then we are reading about a core group of stronger soldiers, picked out of the larger Egyptian force (all of which is pretending to have been conquered), who will be responsible for carrying the baskets of spoil.

[2,8]

iw.tw once again introduces a new clause in which Djehuty outlines further details of his plan. This is the first point where the reason for the above actions is explained, which represents a different narrative device than previously used in the passage.

The word for 'enter',  occurs in other texts with the nuance of trust (Lesko, 2002, 80). *s n ꜥk* appears in the Prisse papyrus with the meaning of 'trusted man', literally 'man having the entry' (Prisse Papyrus, 7,3, from Faulkner, 1962, 50), and the verb is used in the phrase meaning 'to become intimate', *ꜥk ib*, literally 'to enter a heart' (Urk. IV 46,13, from Faulkner, 1962, 50). The undertone of trust is pertinent; Djehuty's plan rests on the people of Joppa believing the Egyptian force to have been defeated, and therefore letting them into the town.

, *wn*, literally means 'to open' (Lesko, 2002, 100), but as the subject of the verb is the 'companions' the meaning here is their release from the baskets. *tn* is a variant of the 2nd person plural *tn*.

The organisation of the clauses here with *wn(n)* and *iw* suggests this sentence falls under the Late Egyptian category of a closed complex (Junge, 2001, 279ff.).

In accordance with their character, these balanced sentence constructions convey the mutual dependence of two statements – "if this, then that". In practice, the effects resemble those of consequence relationships...the mutual dependence may be represented by any logical dependence

subsequent ability to convince his ‘mistress’ of the same. This suggests a role involving speaking with the authority of the rebel when empowered to, at least in private. Combined with the second determinative of , a personal envoy and messenger is envisaged, with the hieratic sign referring to movement. ‘Footman’ is the preferred translation, a word that both recalls these characteristics and fits nicely with the scribe’s choice of hieroglyph.

[2,11]

The first occurrence of the reed and man signs in this line is in the straightforward form of introducing the imperative: *i.šm*, ‘Go!’. *šmt* is reduced in this mode to two radicals (Junge, 2001, 78). The second occurrence is more difficult, and stands in one of the most complex parts of the passage; reported speech is presented to the footman within a spoken order. It could be understood as the interjection *ii*, possibly a derivative of *ib* (Junge, 2001, 322). This can have an independent translation of ‘truly’ or ‘indeed’, but functions equally well in this context as reinforcement to *dit*.

There is again the possibility of it being an imperative prefix, translating as ‘Give to Seth Djehuty...’. A problem here is the *t* sign, which we would expect to be missing (Junge, 2001, 78). A further option is a reading as a relative participle, with the plural strokes translated as a dependent pronoun in the construction *n.n*, ‘to us’ (Junge, 2001, 77). This would allow ‘(It is) Seth who has given Djehuty to us’ (the reading favoured by Faulkner et al., 1972, 83). *sth Dhwtj* could also be interpreted as a form of the name of the commander: ‘Seth-Djehuty’.

None of the above options irons out all the difficulties, and the arguments multiply if suggestions of dittography from the earlier occurrence are introduced. Given Seth’s attributes as a god of foreigners, together with the narrative considerations, the relative participle is favoured in translation.

Gardiner wishes to supply  after , with a reading of *ib.k* (Gardiner, 1932, 84a). He rejects the more usual 2nd singular feminine suffix pronoun  citing a passage from *Horus and Seth* 3,1 (Gardiner, 1932, 84a). The phrase is such a common one that the meaning can be accepted without any modification to the text (*Wb* I 59f.; Lesko, 2002, 22f.). ‘Your’ is supplied in translation, but Gardiner’s need for a suffix is rejected.

The 'we' here refers to the forces friendly to Joppa that were sent out to the Egyptian camp at the very beginning of the passage, and this small piece of speech moves back into the singular in the next line when 'my hand has enslaved them' is placed on the lips of the rebel by Djehuty.²⁴

Djehuty's 'wife and children' have been used throughout *Joppa* as an illustration of the complete nature of the Egyptian force's bogus surrender/defeat.

[2,12]

h3t literally means 'front' (Gardiner, 1994, 462, F4) but the writing of  is far more uncertain here than in its occurrences later in the passage (Gardiner, 1932, 84a). This has lead Peet, agreeing with Maspero, to read . The distinction between the two readings is less stated in this context than elsewhere, as *h3t* can be understood elliptically to mean 'forepart' (Lesko, 2002, 296). The orthography of the word is therefore not altered, and the translation of 'hand', permissible for either this reading or the adjusted one, is used. A further substitution of   for   is a product of Peet's misunderstanding of the narrative, and is not adopted (cited in Gardiner, 1932, 84a).

The change from the plural of the previous line, 'we deliver', to the singular has been noted above. It is also accompanied by the note that this 'was said of the 200 baskets that were filled with men with fetters and bindings', a phrase that would seem redundant. Had this phrase been omitted, the first half of the line could easily be taken to refer to Djehuty, his wife and children, who are the subjects of the previous line. It is definitely not part of what is said to the footman, as that would constitute the explanation of the plan to the enemy. Its inclusion therefore points to a change of emphasis from the first part of the speech.

This is perhaps the best example of the word play that occurs throughout this passage in the context of the Egyptians talking to and confusing the inhabitants of Joppa. The phrase 'my hand has enslaved them' is used because it is deemed to be something fitting for the rebel of Joppa to say in the circumstances, but it would also sit comfortably on another character's lips: Djehuty's. The Egyptian commander has, after all, just sealed 200 of his men into baskets. If arguments above concerning the number of baskets are

²⁴ For a discussion of this change in emphasis, see [2,12]

accepted,²⁵ Djehuty is referring to the 200 with men in rather than the baskets of spoil and the many other soldiers that would be involved in a convincing fake surrender. Moreover, the word choice of *b3kw.sn* to communicate the capture rather than more common verbs²⁶ may well be because it contains the phonogram , *k*, the hieroglyph of a basket (Gardiner, 1994, 525, V31).

Again we are dealing with a phrase that operates on many levels, all of which are to the detriment of Egypt's enemies. On the surface the phrase alleges to be from Joppa's ruler, when in fact it is part of the Egyptian plan. The details of this plan are ironically contained in the fraudulent statement, a fact pointed out to the reader by the second half of this line but unavailable to those who would benefit from realising it. Finally, the Egyptians push home a linguistic advantage with a word play on 'baskets', perceivable only to a reader who has the speech transcribed and, possibly, a listener with a deep, native understanding of the language.

[2,13]

The 'fettors and bindings' refer once again to the equipment taken with the soldiers into the baskets, used shortly to capture the people of the town of Joppa.

The false speech of the rebel has convinced the footman, who 'hastens' back to his mistress. The *sdm.in.f* form of the verb appearing here is often used to indicate result, or to name or describe a consequence (Gardiner, 1994, §429). The lack of *iw.tw* from the beginning of what is patently a new, separate phrase suggests that these meanings were foremost in the scribe's mind: the footman's actions are a direct result of the Egyptian plan.

[2,14]

As noted in [2,12], the phrase used by the footman is different from that claimed to be the words of his master, given to him by Djehuty. The use of the verb *mh* (Lesko, 2002, 197f.), which differs from *b3kw.sn* used earlier, reinforces arguments about the Egyptians' use of wordplay throughout this passage.

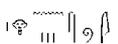
²⁵ See [2,4] for discussion.

²⁶ *b3kw.sn* is strange as it is something of a pseudo-verb, constructed from *b3k* – 'slave' (Lesko, 2002, 128). When the footman reports this speech to his mistress in [2,14] he uses the more usual verb *mh*, 'capture', as does Djehuty when informing the king of the victory of the Egyptian forces in [3,5] when they have literally enslaved the town.

Regardless of the form of words used, the plan to allow the concealed soldiers into the town is portrayed as working instantly. The role of the ‘mistress’ is not clarified any more by this line, but the towns defences are opened as soon as the report claiming to be from the rebel reaches her. *wn*, used to describe the action of opening the town, recalls instructions to release the soldiers from the baskets: as the fortifications are opened now, so the soldiers baskets soon will be. *w^cw* is also nicely ambiguous – it could refer both to the soldiers carrying the baskets, taking part in the enactment of defeat, or equally to the men in the baskets still active and dangerous.

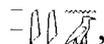
[3,1]

The shortened length of the third column tends to make the reader think that the action is quickening here, as the story reaches its climax. In actual fact, this section serves only to describe in narrative the events that Djehuty outlined in his speech of [2,8] onwards. The verbs used are identical, and the emphasis must be on the nature in which the plan is acted out in precisely the way it had been conceived: the only change is the introduction of the 3rd plural to refer to the soldiers of the Egyptian force.

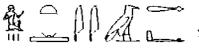
There is difficulty in satisfactorily restoring the lacuna at the end of this line. Gardiner admits that his suggestion shown here is too short and proposes that it might have been  with dittography occurring at the beginning of the next line (Gardiner, 1932, 84a). This suggestion is not entirely convincing so, while acknowledging the reading as difficult, the shortened version is favoured as conveying the most probable meaning of the lost section.

[3,2]

As in the previous line, the structure of Djehuty’s speech is picked out precisely in the use of almost identical vocabulary. *mh*, ‘seize’, is used; as in the footman’s speech, the context is independent of the word play of [2,12] where *b3k*, ‘enslave’, occurs. It also highlights the double-meaning of the words delivered to the mistress.

The space available in the lost section is an issue. Gardiner’s reconstruction is followed here, though his further suggestion of , *n3y*, the demonstrative plural agreeing with ‘citizens’ in the following line, is also possible and may fit better in the space (Gardiner, 1932, 84a; Lesko, 2002, 225).

[3,3]

The more usual translation of *dmit* as ‘town’ is difficult given the middle phrase of this line (*Wb* V 455). While ‘town’ can refer to the people that live there, in *Joppa* it has always been used in a geographical sense. *dmitw* is therefore read, translated ‘citizens’.²⁷ Gardiner’s additions of  and , while grammatically correct, are unnecessary (Gardiner, 1932, 84a) – the meaning of the line is clear.

It is interesting that the scribe uses the phrase *m šri m ʿ3yt*, ‘both young and old’. The precision with which this section follows Djehuty’s speech has been noted, and in [2,9] the Egyptian soldiers are instructed to seize ‘all’, *nb*, by him. The use of more embellished phrasing is due to the comprehensive nature of Djehuty’s attack, which has continually been stressed. All people from across the full range of ages are captured, no one is overlooked or omitted, and Djehuty’s victory is complete.

[3,4]

Bindings and fetters have been the most prominent weapons throughout the story of *Joppa*. This is a function of the non-violent nature in which the enemy are overcome – by wits rather than brute force. As Djehuty commanded, the action takes place *hr rʿ*, ‘straight away’ (the addition of *r* is a longer writing than usual: Lesko, 2002, 321). This forms a contrast to the action of the soldiers in *The Siege of Megiddo* where, despite a huge advantage, Tuthmosis III’s troops remain on the battlefield to collect spoil, and give the enemy the chance to regroup within the walls of their town (Lichtheim, 1976, 29ff). While I do not suggest that the phrase in *Joppa* is a genuine ‘dig’ at the actions of the military there, the sentiments of a force being swift, focussed and well disciplined in victory are to the fore.

For a discussion of *hpš* (Lesko, 2002, 357f.) see below.

[3,5]

This line marks the end of the action of taking the town, and the passage now moves into something of an epilogue describing Djehuty’s report back to Tuthmosis III.

²⁷ Strictly ‘fellow-citizens’, see Faulkner (1962) 313. See also [3,8] where *rmṯ*, ‘people’, and *dmit*, ‘town’, are clearly distinguished.

The opening word of this line is best transliterated as *tnr* (*Wb* V 382). It is characteristically Late Egyptian, appearing in this exact form twice in papyri from Medinat Habu and again in a Nineteenth Dynasty text from Thebes (*Wb* V 382).

[3,6]

This is a complex line, seemingly separated by the *tw* in the middle which normally introduces a new clause of events. *sdr* is associated with sleep and rest, with a primary reading of ‘spend the night’ (*Wb* IV 390f.). The first half of the line makes little sense if this is its meaning here. The lack of preposition makes it equally unlikely that, reading the previous lines, the understanding is ‘the strong arm of the Pharaoh captured the town while Djehuty rested’. This would place Djehuty further from the action than anywhere else in the passage. *sdr* is consequently recognised to have a temporal sense, which overcomes narrative if not grammatical problems, and means ‘the time of resting/sleeping’. It is therefore translated ‘that night’. The choice of words may be fitting: while his force rests after victory, Djehuty is still the peerless commander reporting to his king before considering himself.

The mention of *Kmt*, ‘Egypt’, is interesting. ‘King Menkheperre’ is identified in the next line as the letters recipient, and the fact that he is placed in Egypt may suggest a further polishing of Djehuty’s reputation: the location of the Pharaoh means he could have had no direct bearing on the plan or the victory, despite the admonitions of [3,4] onwards. Given Tuthmosis III’s ongoing campaign throughout Syria-Palestine, this may be an attempt to locate *Joppa* within a specific timeframe, during a period where the monarch was in Egypt rather than out fighting himself. Either way, this small detail enhances one of the threads that runs through the piece, Djehuty’s prominence in the absence of his king.

[3,7]

There is a positive echo here of the lines fed to the footman in [2,11], where the message is addressed to *t3y.k hnwt*, ‘your mistress’, and here to *p3y.f nb*, ‘his lord’. The imperative to rejoice, *sndm-ib*, literally ‘sweeten your heart’ (Junge, 2001, 338), is identical in form to the earlier speech,²⁸ and this constitutes yet another piece of

²⁸ The reading of , *ib*, ‘heart’, is slightly obscured, though there are no grounds to doubt Peet’s reading here. See Gardiner (1932) 84a

linguistic irony by the Egyptians: the true victor is greeted in the same way that the false victor was deceived.

[3,9]

The universality of the victory is stressed again, though in more conventional language than that used in [3,3]. *rmt*, ‘people’ is commonly used to refer to the people of Egypt (*Wb* II 421ff.) but has been used earlier regarding the inhabitants of Joppa.²⁹ It appears again in the next line, though with its more traditional understanding of ‘Egyptians’. A difference exists between *rmt.f*, ‘his [the rebel’s] people’, and simply *rmt*. While it might be argued that the author is making a tacit statement about the people of Joppa’s actual position as Egyptians (i.e. servants of Egypt’s empire), it is more likely that the word is simply used in a wider sense here.

Gardiner notes that    , *mitt*, ‘also’ or ‘likewise’, is more usually written      , *m mitt* (Gardiner, 1932, 84a; Junge, 2001, 334). Either is acceptable, and both forms occur throughout Egyptian literature.

[3,10;11]

It is here that the true status of the captured inhabitants of Joppa is revealed: they are to be *h3kw*, ‘captives’ or ‘plunder’ (Lesko, 2002, 300). The orthography of the word is strange, with an extra  and the nondescript determinative . The appearance of the vulture is probably dittography in place of the  expected, and the determinative  has such a variety of meanings and phonetic values (Gardiner, 1994, 538, Z9) that its inclusion may well be justified on purely grammatical grounds. It is, however, best to see it as Hieratic shorthand of the more usual, complex  (Gardiner, 1994, 443, A13)

[3,12]

Yet another aspect of the victory is brought out here, again relating to the universality of the Egyptians’ conquest. ‘All’ and ‘both young and old’ have been used to describe the entire range of captives, and here *hmw* and *hmwt* tell the reader that the capture was also across gender (Lesko, 2002, 310f.). The victory is again attributed to the king through the use of the 2nd person singular suffix, . The phrasing is more passive than in

²⁹ As Djehuty outlines his plan in [2,9].

previous statements, highlighting the status of Amun-Re who, throughout Djehuty's letter, has been credited with causing the Egyptian triumph.³⁰

[3,13;14]

The admonitions to both Amun-Re and Tuthmosis III are brought to an end with the victory understood in an eternal sense. In the dominance of god and king, Egypt is proclaimed and its natural state as rightful, perpetual subjugator of its enemies affirmed.

This is a fitting way for Djehuty to finish a report of Egyptian ascendancy, and brings the story of the taking of Joppa to its close. What follows is a scribal colophon, common in Egyptian literature,³¹ stating that the writer has recorded the material *nfr*, 'well', or in this context 'flawlessly' or 'completely' (Lesko, 2002, 235f.). The mention of the *ka*, the distinctively Egyptian aspect of the self, serves to highlight that the scribe works from the deepest levels of honesty and trustworthiness.

³⁰ See the message's opening line at [3,8].

³¹ See *The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni* and *The Prophecies of Neferti* in Lichtheim (1975); *The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Rameses II* and *The Instruction of Amenemope* in Lichtheim (1976); *The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* and *The Stories of Setne Khamwas* in Lichtheim (1980). For a discussion of the scribe see 'The Characters of Joppa' below.

This section explores the main individuals, places and objects that appear in *The Taking of Joppa*. By understanding their cultural background and significance, a better understanding of the whole piece is possible. These characters also demonstrate the concerns of the text, and the assumptions it makes of the reader and the culture in which it was designed to be received. The insights gained will inform judgements surrounding the texts purpose, discussed later in the study.

INDIVIDUALS

Dhwiti

Dhwiti is the name of the commander of the Egyptian force sent against Joppa. To all intents and purposes he is the hero of the piece, the prime mover who personally attacks the ruler of Joppa and masterminds the taking of the town from his position as leader of the Egyptian troops.

The name Djehuty seems to have been extremely common throughout the 18th Dynasty, with evidence of its use for both males and females (Boylan, 1922, 175f.). With appearances in Egyptian texts from the 3rd Dynasty, and with at least 38 variations, it is no surprise to find it used in the setting of the reign of Tuthmosis III (Ranke, 1935 Volume 1, 407ff.). While this popularity hinders too deep an interpretation of its appearance here, the name does have strong undercurrents of meaning and would have had ‘historical’ connotations in later Dynasties.

The most striking and important feature is that the name refers to the god the Greeks rendered ‘Thoth’ (Bleeker, 1973, 106). As noted below with the name Seth, Thoth had a kaleidoscope of spellings multiplied even further by the vast amount of time over which the god was worshipped. These range from the ‘*scriptio plena*’  of the Old Kingdom through to examples of  and  which require a thorough knowledge of the name independent of phonetic orthography (Boylan, 1922, 1f.; *LÄ* VI, 498). The form  that appears throughout *Joppa* is a valid, standard writing, with the hieratic sign for  closely resembling that for  (Boylan, 1922, 3).

The determinative of a man demonstrates that we are dealing with a human name derived from the god's.

While the writing of Djehuty's name may reveal nothing strange, there is much speculation over the etymology. Many attempts have been made to link the name with the bird represented in the hieroglyph, an ibis. Reading the  which, as in the writing of Djehuty here, often accompanies the name as an adjectival form, Naville, Piehl and Maspero have put forward suggestions in the form 'le dieu à tête de grue' or 'le dieu en forme d'ibis' (Boylan, 1922, 6). Goodwin understands  as a dual which creates an intensive form, thus 'Great Ibis' (Boylan, 1922, 7), yet there is no proof of a word meaning any type of bird in the forms ,  or  that would justify the above claims (Boylan, 1922, 8). There is even less basis for finding  as an orthographic root, for while  has a possible reading 'ibis' the absence of shared vocabulary between its writing and the writing of the name of Thoth rules it out (Boylan, 1922, 8f.).

Boylan finds a place adjective the most attractive reading, keeping  in its adjectival form proposed above but paralleling Thoth with such names as *Ruti* – 'he of the lion' (i.e. Atum), and 'the god of Sepa' (i.e. Anubis) (Boylan, 1922, 5). Thus *Dhwti* would be rendered 'he of *Dhwt*', yet both Boylan and Bleeker concede that no place by that name has ever been recorded (Bleeker, 1973, 106). Boylan further makes an intriguing note about the connection of Thoth to the first month of the year. The month was known in the later period simply as 'Thoth', but an earlier name was  or , allowing the rendering *hty*. Furthermore, this name seems to be connected with the Feast of the Drunkenness of Hathor. The relationship between the name of the month and the name Thoth is probably explained by the god's growing importance in the 18th Dynasty rather than by etymology, but the echo of drunkenness within the *Joppa* passage is a poignant one.

If a deep understanding of the god's name remains veiled, the opposite can be said for his function. To describe it most broadly, Thoth was the god of writing and knowledge with characterisations accented heavily by this ascribed intellectualism. Thoth is frequently portrayed holding a scribal palette and pen or notched palm leaf, engaged in some act of recording or calculation (*LÄ* VI, 501). This extended to his portrayal at

many scenes of the judgement of the dead, frequently recording verdicts but also connected to the workings of the scale on which the human heart was weighed (Bleeker, 1973, 136ff.). The role of judge often extended into the court of the gods, where many conflicts are resolved through Thoth's judgement over the divinities concerned. Thoth further enjoyed a connection with the moon, and there are suggestions from this that he was seen as delimiting and determining the course of mortals' lives (Bleeker, 1973, 118f.). Throughout these functions, he is portrayed as the 'supreme authority [who] is responsible for the maintenance of Ma-a-t in society' (Bleeker, 1973, 143).

Thoth is commonly credited with the invention of writing, with 'he who hath given words and script' and 'Lord of books' as common epithets, and , 'the dweller in the library' recorded from Ptolemaic times.¹ Not surprisingly Thoth came to be the god associated with scribes and the learned in general. His knowledge extended into the unknowable. 'He knows what is in the heart' claims one text,² a notion substantiated by his inclusion in judgement scenes. These factors led to Thoth's personification as the possessor of all knowledge:

Behold his Majesty knew all that had happened: there was nothing that he did not know: he was Thoth in all things: there was no word that he did not accomplish...³

Djehuty, then, seems a very appropriate name for the person of the commander described in *The Taking of Joppa*. The story revolves around the brilliant stratagem devised by him, and the flawless way in which it was executed. With the prime characteristic of Thoth being his intellect the name  is synonymous with this trait. Thoth's role as one who restores harmony (Bleeker, 1973, 118) is also fitting in that Djehuty returns Joppa rightfully to Egypt from under the rebel. While the popularity of the name in the 18th Dynasty explains much of its appearance here, the nuances are entirely fitting to the presentation of Djehuty's actions.

A final case can be made for viewing Djehuty as a 'loyal name'. The nomen of Tuthmosis III was , *Dḥwti-ms*, with all the Thoth related orthography used

¹ Berlin 2293 and Urk. IV, 53 cited as examples, Boylan (1922) 99

² Architrave of *Hrihor*, Sethe, 3, 66, from Boylan (1922) 101

³ Rekhmire 7, from Boylan (1922) 103

within the many cartouche variations (Davies, 1987, 45). It is, however, unlikely that we are looking at a 'nickname', or shorthand, for the king. Tuthmosis III was consistently represented as leading the Egyptian army himself (Lichtheim, 1976, 29ff.), and a royal leader would gain nothing by being shy about military endeavours. Above all, Tuthmosis III is clearly described as being 'in Egypt', away from the action, in [3,6]. In *Joppa*, the prenomen for Tuthmosis III, Menkheperre, is always used when referring to the king.

A number of intriguing material finds from the time of Tuthmosis III relating to the name Djehuty exist, independent of the text. These include a tomb, two inscribed bowls, a knife, a ring and alabaster canopic jars, some with overtly military inscription. A Spanish archaeological venture entitled *Proyecto Djehuty* (www.excavacionegipto.com), and has brought these material remains back to the fore.

The Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tomb 11, the main focus of *Proyecto Djehuty*, has an illustrious history of excavation by Champollion and Lepsius, although the limit of their publications was the wall inscriptions. These were later re-published by Sethe in *Urkunden* Volume 2 (Sethe, 1906-58). The inscriptions follow standard forms of Egyptian biography, with no military content and references to Amon-Re and Hathor that are typical of their geographical and cultural context. Titular phrases include 'Supervisor of the Treasure', 'Supervisor of the Works' and 'Supervisor of the cattle of Amon' (Gala'n, 'Plates of Djehuty in the Museum of the Louvre', *Proyecto Djehuty*). Aside from the name of its occupant, there is no evidence to overtly tie this tomb to *The Taking of Joppa*.

The gold bowl, inscribed with a dedication to a 'Djehuty', offers a far more tangible link. The object was discovered in an undocumented context, and dates to Tuthmosis III's reign (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1982, 119). The inscription reads:

Given through the favour of the king, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, to the hereditary prince and noble, the god's father, the beloved of the god, who is trusted by the king in all the foreign lands and the islands that are in the midst of the sea, who fills the storehouses with lapis-lazuli, silver and gold, the overseer of the foreign lands, the general, whose *ka* acted for the lord of the two lands, the king's scribe, Djehuty (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1982, 120)

A second, fragmentary inscription on a silver bowl found in the same tomb reads:

...king's scribe and overseer of the northern foreign lands, Djehuty
(Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1982, 120)

Serious doubts exist over the authenticity of both these objects:

A pesar de que la paleografía del texto levanta serias dudas sobre su antigüedad, es muy difícil que un texto así fuera compuesto en 1827 (Champollion descifra el sistema de escritura egipcia en 1822 y su gramática no aparece hasta 1836-41). Aún así, Lilyquist levanta sospechas sobre Anastasi (quien tenía en sus manos el plato de plata y se carteó con Champollion en 1824) (Gala'n, 'The Plates of Djehuty in the Museum of the Louvre', *Proyecto Djehuty*).⁴

The link between the Djehuty of the bowls and the commander in *Joppa* is obviously a pleasing one, and the correspondence between the sparse information about either person is encouraging. Yet it is impossible to draw one-to-one comparisons, if only because of the name's popularity. While the material discoveries could offer a background to the character, the appearance of Djehuty in the passage must be taken purely on merit. In the absence of solid links the military commander of the force at Joppa, who displays such initiative and political cunning, must be studied within the narrative universe presented by the text.

Djehuty's Role of Command

The designation of 'host' is undoubtedly problematic in terms of specifics and, if we identify the Egyptian military force in *The Taking of Joppa* as such, can we say anything specific about its highest ranking official, Djehuty?

The foremost problem with an examination of Djehuty's role is that nowhere is he given a title, with the reconstruction of *lm* into *lmy-r3*, 'commander', in [1,2] tentative at best and uninformative. His importance within the unit is without doubt: his surrender is

⁴ 'Although the paleography of the text raises serious doubts on its antiquity, it is very unlikely that a text could have been composed thus in 1827 (Champollion deciphered the system of Egyptian writing in 1822 and its grammar did not appear until 1836-41). Even so, Lilyquist [curator, New York Metropolitan Museum] raises suspicions concerning Anastasi [the silver bowl's previous owner until his death in 1857] (that he had ownership of the silver plate, and corresponded with Champollion in 1824)'

tantamount to his force's surrender, and the news that opens Joppa's gates to receive the spoils of battle is simply 'We have seized Djehuty'.⁵ Furthermore he negotiates face-to-face with the 'Rebel of Joppa' and he reports directly to King Menkheperre. Therefore it is logical to designate Djehuty as 'commander'.

The official title *hry pdt*, commander of the host, appears many times in military texts throughout the New Kingdom. By comparison with other military officers the rank seems to be one of the highest in the army, subordinate only to a 'general' and the king (Schulman, 1964, 53). The title has many permutations: commander of the host, commander of the host of Kush, commander of the host of the Two Lands, commander of the host of infantry, to name a few (Schulman, 1964, 150ff.).

One of the most common duties of such a commander was foreign service. A geographical qualification, the instance of Kush listed above, is a common feature, as is a reference to a fort or garrison, or even a border patrol (Schulman, 1964, 150ff.). It is probable that a number of such commanders would have been responsible for a large region. *Papyrus Anastasi V* records the beginning of the following missive: 'The commander of the host Kakemur of Tjeku to the commander of the host Yeni and the commander of the host Bakenptah...'⁶ While the functions of the names used here are unclear (whether geographical, personal, or the name of the military host) the passage suggests a co-ordination between a number of equally ranked officials in the military administration of the region.

An interesting section from the same papyrus suggests that the king in person conferred the rank of commander of the host:

The commander of a host and overseer of the foreign lands, Penamun, to the commander of a host Pahripedjet...I have heard the letter which you made, saying 'Pharaoh, l.p.h., my good lord, l.p.h., has made his good counsels for me. Pharaoh, l.p.h., has given (me) to be commander of the host of the well'.⁷

⁵ See line [2,14]

⁶ P. Anastasi V, rt, 19, 2 &3, from Schulman (1964) 103

⁷ P. Anastasi V, rt, 11, 7 – 12, 3, from Schulman (1964) 102

Does Djehuty fulfil the criteria of comparable texts? In the military sense, the answer is yes. Djehuty is unequivocally in command of the military force sent against Joppa, and the stress on foreign duties fulfilled by other host commanders serves to confirm that he shares this rank. Also, communication by letter seems accepted form for such commanders. At the end of *Joppa* we find Djehuty doing just this, addressing a letter to the king who perhaps personally appointed him to his rank.

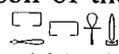
Two other observations by Schulman make the designation of Djehuty as *hry pdt* even more appealing:

Among his other duties the ‘commander of the host’ was concerned with the disposition of patrols and sentinels, especially in connection with the pursuit of criminals...Another of his duties was the supervision and control of the captured enemies... (Schulman, 1964, 55)

It is possible to imagine that the designation of the ruler of Joppa as rebel points to an Egyptian understanding of him as a criminal, one who has turned against imperial rule. Djehuty, as *hry pdt*, would be fulfilling his role, in both foreign administration and military command, by returning a town, its rulers and people to their correct subservient state under Egyptian rule by armed force.

Pr-ꜥ3

The title of ‘King’ here takes the circumlocution , most commonly translated as ‘Pharaoh’. Yet in using Pharaoh to describe the ruler of Egypt there is the constant danger of anachronism. The subject of kingship is an area in which Egyptian scribes seem predisposed to wordiness, avoiding direct reference presumably for reasons of reverence to a divine monarchy. The system, which often referred to gods by certain aspects i.e. *Shmt* as ‘the powerful one’, *Itm* ‘the hidden one’, seems to be carried through to a monarchy revered as god-like. Gardiner notes:

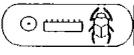
The Egyptian original  *Pr-ꜥ3* ‘Great House’ was used in the Old Kingdom as part of many phrases like *smr Pr-ꜥ3* ‘courtier of the Great House’, and clearly referred to the Palace itself or to the court, and not to the person of the king. From the end of Dyn. XII onwards the term is written  *Pr-ꜥ3 ꜥnh wdꜥ snb* ‘Great House, may it live, prosper, be in health’...but still it seems to mean only the palace. The earliest certain instance when *Pr-ꜥ3* refers actually to the king is in a letter to

Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), which is addressed to  *Pr-ḥꜥ ḥnh* *wḏꜥ snb nb* ‘Pharaoh, l.p.h., the Master’ (Gardiner, 1994, 75).

However this explanation is dubious, not least in the wish formula of ‘l.p.h.’ referring to a building. It seems more likely that, by the time *Pr-ḥꜥ ḥnh wḏꜥ snb* is became current, the term ‘Great House’ had become a euphemism for the person of the king, used in preference to a title for reasons of decorum and respect (*LÄ* IV, 1021). Moreover, there are a number of possible instances of the use of *Pr-ḥꜥ* to refer to the king Tuthmosis III and IV⁸. Importantly, the appearance of the orthography of  in a scene of funerary offerings on the wall of Hatshepsut’s temple at Deir el Bahari has been consistently overlooked (Navelle, 1894, pl. vi.). While the sense of the word may not necessarily be ‘Pharaoh’, the fact that this writing of  occurs alongside instances of  shows that the orthography was available much earlier than Gardiner suggests.

There can be no doubt from this instance, and those following, that *Pr-ḥꜥ* refers to the king throughout the *Taking of Joppa*. The word’s derivation makes its use euphemistic, but the distinction between whether this is a ‘direct’ euphemism for the king or an ‘indirect’ one referring to the royal residence and hence to the king is, perhaps, too subtle to be fruitfully investigated. While its appearance here can be used as evidence that *Joppa* is a New Kingdom text, it cannot be used explicitly to point to a date of composition. Though more common later, Tuthmosis III seems to have been the first Egyptian king to be addressed directly and non-euphemistically by this title (*LÄ* IV, 1021).

Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ

The king referred to throughout *Joppa* is Tuthmosis III, the form of the name used being his nomen of , *Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ*.⁹ Its use here is entirely consistent with Egyptian custom, and has the added advantage of avoiding connections between  *Dhwti*, the commander of the Egyptians, and , *Dhwti-ms*, Tuthmosis III’s prenomen (Quirke, 1990, 59). ‘Menkheperre’ also distinguishes Tuthmosis III from the three other kings that shared the prenomen in the 18th Dynasty.

⁸ See Mond and Myers (1940) Plates. 93, 5 and Texts, 160, detailing Tuthmosis III’s plunder from ‘miserable Kush’. Also Texts, 25 on the difficulty of dating these passages.

⁹ For a full discussion of Egyptian names as related to royalty see Quirke (1990). Here the common transcription Menkheperre is used.

Tuthmosis III's reign in the mid-15th century BCE is defined by his exploits in the Levant and Southern Asia. His military activities may even have taken him beyond the Euphrates,¹⁰ but the important exploit, in terms of securing an Egyptian empire, was the creation of vassal states east of the Mediterranean coast. Reports of military activities date from year 13 of his reign¹¹ and continue until year 42. References exist to conflicts after this but it is difficult to determine their nature, and whether they took place under the following king Amenophis II (*LÄ VI*, 541f.). Tuthmosis III's rise to power is one of the most deeply contested periods in the study of Egypt's monarchy due to the existence of another contemporary regent, the female king Hatshepsut (*LÄ VI*, 540 ff.).

The inevitable historical gloss over the events that led to Tuthmosis III's ascendancy has caused precise details of the period to be lost. The clues left suggest an active move towards a custodian being put in place for the young king's power early in his reign.¹² This custodian was Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis II's half-sister and widow, the step-mother of Tuthmosis III.¹³ The theory of an active move by her some while after Tuthmosis II's death is reinforced by references to Tuthmosis III's actions in years one and two of his reign,¹⁴ after which date (and until Hatshepsut's death) the common depiction of the monarchy is of both regents together or Hatshepsut alone (*LÄ VI*, 542).

The time does not seem to have been detrimental to Tuthmosis III. While Hatshepsut takes precedence over Tuthmosis when they are pictured together, the king never forfeits his royal titles, and Hatshepsut is often labelled as 'king's wife' (*LÄ VI*, 542). He is also able to draft royal decrees in his name alone, and appoint senior members of court (*LÄ VI*, 542).

¹⁰ Tuthmosis III's erection of a stele at Carchemish, next to a similar stele of his predecessor Tuthmosis I, is recorded in the former's campaign inscription in the temple to Amun at Karnak. The evidence for Egyptian activity this far north is scarce, and the inference of matching his grandfather's exploits makes the claim on behalf of Tuthmosis III open to suspicion.

¹¹ A.H. Gardiner & J. Cerny, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* Pl.61:180, from Redford (1967) 60

¹² 'Lacau-Chevrier, Hatshepsout, 133; Schott, Festdaten, 97; id., in: NAWG 1955, 212; Helck, op. cit., 116.' from *LÄ V* 545

¹³ 'Hatshepsut, Queen' from Brodrick and Morton (1996), 65f.

¹⁴ 'Firth-Quibell, Step Pyramid I, 80 (D)...Urk. IV, 193 (71); Dunham-Janssen, Second Cataract Forts I, pl. 30.' from *LÄ V* 545

The accepted view of this co-regency has been that Hatshepsut preferred a policy of internal construction and wealth creation to military foreign affairs (Brodrick & Morton, 1996, 65f.), and this is borne out in her famed trade-expedition to Punt.¹⁵ The two major military campaigns during this time reportedly waged by Tuthmosis III alone,¹⁶ and the sustained foreign military activity that began shortly after her death,¹⁷ also support this. Yet there is evidence that a Nubian campaign, waged by Hatshepsut herself, took place early in the co-regency,¹⁸ and it is unlikely that Tuthmosis III could have achieved such military dominance so quickly had the army lain still and stagnating for the twenty years prior to his reign.

Evidence of the destruction of Hatshepsut's name from monuments after her death is difficult to interpret in any way other than a hostile retaliation against the previously established order.¹⁹ This is more an attack on the unorthodox than against the memory of Hatshepsut herself, but circumstantial and positive evidence nonetheless conspire to show that it wasn't until after her death that Tuthmosis III embarked on an internal and external programme that would place him alongside the greatest warrior-kings in Egyptian history.²⁰

p3 hry n Ypw

p3 hry n Ypw refers to the ruler of Joppa, using the epithet of rebel. The Egyptian practice of applying such titles to foreign leaders who fail to be subservient to their rule is common,²¹ and says much of the Egyptian mindset when it came to conflicts such as this. The legitimacy of the Egyptian offensive is never questioned, and we should not

¹⁵ The details of the expedition are recorded in Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari temple, the destination of much of the goods from the Red Sea state. See Naville (1894) for a full reproduction.

¹⁶ Gardiner & Cerny, *Inscriptions, and Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum*, pl. 34, lines 9 – 10, from Redford (1967) 60

¹⁷ Recorded on the walls of the temple of Amun at Karnak, much of the account is reproduced in Sethe (1906 – 1958)

¹⁸ See Habachi, *JNES* 16, 99ff., and Naville (1894) VI, pl. 152, from Redford (1967) 58

¹⁹ Redford, most vehement among commentators in his defence of Hatshepsut, sees this as nothing more than a necessary part of accession. The majority view is of a reaction by Tuthmosis III against an oppressor, and an attempted return to the norms of Egyptian monarchy (a male ruler) by eradication of the anomaly of Hatshepsut. Redford (1967) 87ff. as against Dodson (1995) 83

²⁰ See The Historical Context of *The Taking of Joppa - The Levantine Campaigns of Tuthmosis III*, below.

²¹ For examples see Tuthmosis III's annals, Spalinger (1977). The siege of Megiddo also uses similar epithets, namely 'wretched foe'. See Lichtheim (1976) 12ff.

look for a reference to a town that had been captured already but one that Egypt, against the backdrop of its empire-building strategy, considers as its own.

This is the rebel of Joppa's first appearance in the text as we receive it, and even here it is a partial restoration. It is easy to assume the character has already been introduced somewhere in the lost sections preceding this. Against this it can be argued that the title *p3 hry n Ypw* contains all that needs to be known about the character's identity, and therefore no prior reference is needed. From the rest of the piece it is possible to construct all we need to know about the rebel: he feels able to command Djehuty, presumably because he believes Djehuty to have surrendered ([1,4] and [1,8]); his word, even when reported by one of his servants, is the word of authority within Joppa ([2,10]ff.); his capture is the foremost item in Djehuty's report to the king ([3,8]f.). While it is therefore probable that the character has appeared before, this cannot be argued from a paucity of information following his appearance here.

zh(3)

'Scribe' is an extremely common title in ancient Egypt, referred to in almost every organisational situation. The army is no different, and the 'military scribe' is a consistent figure in campaign reports and other texts from an army context.

Schulman, in collating the uses of the term, proposes a rank structure for scribes within the general infantry. While this may be over-organising the available information it is no doubt fruitful to see where the scribe claiming responsibility for this text fits, 'good' or 'true' as he is 'with his fingers'.

The scribe titled in the piece is , 'scribe of the army' (a common haplographic contraction of ). Taken in its most general meaning, this association between a scribe and the army is very well attested:

I am a scribe who writes commands for the army.²²

...the scribe of the king who writes commands for the victorious army.²³

²² P. Anastasi I, 13, 5-6, from Schulman (1964) 98

²³ P. Anastasi I, 2, 3, from Schulman (1964)

...The scribe taxes Upper and Lower Egypt. He is the one who receives for them. He is the one who reckons for every person and for all the army.²⁴

A scribal colophon on a military document is not out of place.

Schulman draws further inferences from the expedition report of Hammamat 12, which lists 20 'scribes of the army' among the troops. With reference to the number of troops mentioned in this text, Schulman suggests there is roughly one scribe to every 250 'military personnel' (Schulman, 1964, 64, 124) The numbers of troops mentioned within *The Taking of Joppa* are over 700 men, giving a force that is more than large enough to justify the inclusion of several scribes by Schulman's accounting.

Yet even Schulman concedes that the title 'scribe of the army' is a generic term devoid of reference to rank (Schulman, 1964, 64f.), and so the inclusion of the title in the colophon fails to suggest a specific role. The best way to understand this reference is to enquire why it has been used in the context of this *Joppa*.

We have seen that the text claims to be 'historical' in the broad sense and the inclusion of a scribal colophon is a reinforcement of this, as well as a statement about precision in recording found at the end of many Egyptian pieces. The military aspect is most likely due to the content matter of the piece, but one might also infer a deeper level of commitment to truthful record in a command structure that demanded it *a priori* as well as for functional reasons. This is reinforced by the admonition of the trustiness of the scribe's fingers: the stress is not on an individual's status but on the preceding document's accuracy, as a direct result of the scribe's writing and observational skills.

²⁴ P. Chester Beatty IV, vs., 4, 1-2, (Be a scribe), from Schulman (1964) 122

The Egyptian Military Force at Joppa

The word *iwꜣyt* may suggest ‘garrison troops’ (Goedicke, 1968, 221), although Faulkner demonstrates that the word is used to describe a number of military groups, and not exclusively Egyptian (Faulkner, 1953, 44). Here the word is used to describe the troops under Djehuty’s command, in contrast to the *maryannu*. That is, while conveying the nationality as Egyptian, little reference is given to their military status.

The 18th Dynasty, the setting for our piece, is widely seen as a time of increased military activity fulfilling an Egyptian expansionist policy, a backlash against the recently expelled ‘foreign rulers’, the Hyksos. The ‘pressing demands of Egyptian imperialism led to the establishment of a large professional army’ (Shaw, 1991, 26). While the King was necessarily the supreme commander of such a force, the command structure by which the whole functioned is better known from this period than any preceding.

The lowest rank of the army was the infantryman, *wꜣw*, attested throughout the New Kingdom and identified with most other types of unit (Schulman, 1964, 36f.). *wꜣw* carries no specific meaning beyond the individual, with addition of titles to communicate both the unit to which the soldier belonged and (possibly self-conferred) honorific titles such as ‘of the king’. References to *wꜣw* being stationed onboard ships exist, but no association with other Egyptian divisions, such as chariotry, is attested. There is also evidence that these men could be conscripted by military leaders for non-military duties, such as forced labour (Schulman, 1964, 36f.). *wꜣw* represents the most common, as well as the lowest, of the Egyptian military ranks.

While records of ‘squads’ of soldiers numbering ten and ‘platoons’ of 50 exist (Shaw, 1991, 27), it seems the most important detachment of infantrymen was the *s3* – ‘company’. A company consisted of 200 or 250 men and, unlike the smaller units, was assigned administrative staff as well as soldiers (Schulman, 1964, 26ff.). It is a matter for debate whether the platoon of 50 was the basic army unit, but it seems that while numbering was often conducted with 50 as a standard denominator (200 being four platoons, 250 being five), the company constitutes the smallest complete corps.

However the information given by *The Taking of Joppa* suggests an Egyptian force in excess of 700 men. No number that conforms to a complete single army unit as described in comparable texts is given, but it is worth noting that the minimum number of 700 far exceeds the maximum number given for a company and could comprise three such bodies.

The best designation for the force described in our passage is therefore *pdt*, 'host'. This is not an exclusively military term, Te Velde noting Goyon Hammamat No. 89: '...commanders of the host of the staff (of miners), four men; people of the host of the staff (of gold washers), one hundred men.'²⁵ It should also be noted that these fall short of the proposed number for a company of infantrymen.

Even in the military context, there is disagreement over the number of soldiers that would constitute a host. Phrases such as 'I sent forth a victorious host',²⁶ 'the pick of the host was mobilized',²⁷ and 'send forth a host to destroy the rebellious countries',²⁸ reaffirm the use of *pdt* in a military enumeration without revealing any more of the unit's specifics. We can infer that a host was a sufficient military force to stage a battle: 'The wretched enemy chief of Libya, *M^r-ywy* the son of *Dd*, has descended upon the country of Tehenu together with his host'.²⁹ Yet they do not constitute a full-scale army: '...you are sent on a mission to Djahi at the head of the victorious soldiers in order to trample down those rebels...The host of soldiers which is before you consists of nineteen hundred...(the) total being five thousand in all.'³⁰

If, by virtue of the difference in rank of their prospective commanders, the host was larger than the company, it is not unreasonable to assume that it comprises at the least, two companies, and possibly, if not probably, even more (Schulman, 1964, 31)

'Host' therefore seems a fitting designation for the unit of troops portrayed in the *Joppa* passage. The minimum number of 700 comprises more than a 'company', but the number does not equate to the available reports of possible Egyptian armies. The

²⁵ Goyon Hammamat No. 89, lines 10 & 11, from Schulman (1964) 119

²⁶ Kamose Stela, line 29, from Schulman (1964) 87

²⁷ Karnak Inscription of Merenptah, line 11, from Schulman (1964) 117

²⁸ Medinet Habu, line 32, from Schulman (1964) 120

²⁹ Karnak Inscription of Merenptah, line 13, from Schulman (1964) 117

³⁰ P. Anastasi I, 17, 3 & 4, from Schulman (1964) 99

character of the *Joppa* unit is therefore of an autonomous whole, but not an overwhelming force. If, indeed, it were overwhelming there would be little need of Djehuty's stratagem, although this assumes that the Egyptian force arrived at Joppa expecting a conventional battle/siege and did not concoct the basket plan until this did not succeed.³¹ We are presented with a believable army detachment of a size that in no way detracts from the crafty tactics employed in its victory, one that conveys the necessary meaning for the reader without the need for more complex military details.

m^cyryn3

While the first occurrence of the word *m^cyryn3* in Joppa is in too fragmentary a part of the piece to be understood, its second setting immediately suggests a military context. The word is surrounded by references to other military units, and fits into the overall plot where the Egyptian commander brokers a false deal with the armed forces of the opposing side. First appearing in New Kingdom texts (*LA* III, 1190f), Egypt's encounters with this group may be a direct result of the expansionist policies of this period. A preliminary conclusion is that *m^cyryn3* represents a class of militia serving the town of Joppa.

Following Peet and Gardiner's restoration of the narrative these soldiers appear *n n3 ḥtri*, 'on their horses' or perhaps even 'on their chariots'. Shaw has no hesitation in following the second interpretation:

Apart from its value as a piece of military technology, the chariot was of paramount social and political significance since it heralded the appearance of the chariot corps: a new aristocratic warrior class modelled on the ubiquitous Asiatic military elite known to the Egyptians as the *maryannu* ('young heroes') (Shaw, 1991, 41)

It is undoubtedly true that the place of the chariot in the evolution of warfare in the ancient Near East cannot be understated. Its primary role in battle was as a platform from which archers could fire steadily, and its mobility allowed fast and effective deployment and redeployment of resources across a battlefield in response to changing patterns in any specific engagement (Shaw, 1991, 39ff.; Yavin, 1963, 4f.).

³¹ Something that, without the missing start of the narrative, is difficult to tell. See 'The Narrative of *Joppa*', for the suggestion that the Egyptian force may have had to act because of the arrival of the *maryannu*.

Chariots, or parts of chariots, have been found in tombs constructed throughout the New Kingdom, most famously in that of Tutankhamun, and it seems that it was during this period that they became part of Egyptian military equipment.³² The first documented appearance is in the 'second stela' of Kamose, where the text refers to chariotry used by the Hyksos.³³ While representations of wheeled sledge-like contraptions date from earlier periods (Littauer and Crouwel, 1985, 96f.), these cannot be taken as precursors of the light, spoke-wheeled vehicles that appear in the 18th Dynasty. It is this link between chariots and foreign powers that has led to such interest in the *maryannu* as chariot troops used by Egypt's neighbours.

The correspondence between the *m^cyryn3* and Egyptian horse-mounted troops may be more complex than the short piece by Shaw suggests. Chariotry as a section of the army is, with one possible exception, never referred to as a distinct military unit, and ranks are not ascribed to chariot officers until late in the 18th Dynasty (Schulman, 1964, 14). In the account of Tuthmosis III's siege of Megiddo a distinction is made between 'foot' and 'horse' troops, but the description goes no further.³⁴ Texts providing more specific information appear in the reign of Amenhotep III, and it is not until then that the two major divisions of chariotry and infantry are finally defined (Schulman, 1964, 15).

The linguistic roots of the term *m^cyryn3* are difficult to trace. Albright's comments are sparse as he proposes an 'Indo-Iranian origin which was adopted by the Mitannians and the Syrians. The ending suggests that it reached the Egyptians through the W. Semites' (Albright, 1934, 43). Schulman also traces the origin of *maryannu* to a general 'Asiatic' root, suggesting *mahar* – 'hero' and *n'arin* – 'soldier' as the linguistic base.³⁵ A close parallel can be drawn with *m^crui* which Albright translates as 'attendant, groom' (Albright, 1934, 43) but as this is also a foreign loan word its value in aiding interpretation is limited.

³² For an encyclopaedic list of New Kingdom chariot finds see Littauer and Crouwel (1985) 67ff.

³³ See L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital*, from Littauer and Crouwel (1985) 96

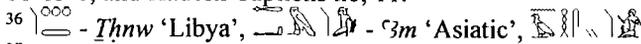
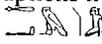
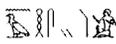
³⁴ Sethe (1906 – 1958) 649; 652, from Schulman (1964) 89

The prime consideration must be the word's consistent appearance within the passage as a whole, as the term's exact etymological meaning seems obscured by a lack of a specific root language. This fact is compounded by the syllabic nature of the writing here, with the only clue to the term's semantic nature given by the 'throwing stick' determinative commonly used to denote foreign entities.³⁶

We then have a term describing individuals who, as part of Djehuty's military tactics, are invited into the Egyptian army's camp. In close connection with these individuals are horses, and the capture of these (they are *ḥwi* – 'secured' or even perhaps 'hobbled') (Goedicke, 1968, 223) seems tantamount to putting the *mʿyryn3* out of action. Interestingly Goedicke, following Helck, does away with a *maryannu* reconstruction altogether, opting instead for *mri* – 'groom' (presumably following Albright). The restoration is indeed open to debate, but the connection with horses is not.³⁷

Opting for *maryannu* as the restoration, the term seems to be employed in the generally accepted sense of horse-warrior. A translation mentioning 'chariotry' is possible from a narrative point of view but, given the lack of precise language relating to chariot based military units, it is unfair to expect the Late Egyptian to be this specific. As it is not strictly an Egyptian military term (Schulman, 1964), *maryannu*'s primary sense here must be the foreign element, rather than a precise reference to a military rank or unit. The potency of the chariot is well known to the author, and in such terms the reference to the *mʿyryn3* would be a reference to a dangerous element in the enemy's force, one that it is vital to disable.

³⁵ Schulman (1964) 24. The Egyptian references cited here are P. Anastasi 1, 23, 5-6, stela Philadelphia 61-13-1, and Kadesh Captions no, 11.

³⁶  - *ḥnw* 'Libya',  - *ʿ3m* 'Asiatic',  - *Nhsy* 'Nubia', for example.

³⁷ Though not in connection with arguments set out here, Shaw makes a tantalising reference to Papyrus Anastasi I referring to a visit made by an Egyptian charioteer in Canaan to a chariot repair shop in Joppa. Could Joppa have been famous for its connection with horses and horse-based military technology? If so, does Djehuty's stratagem disable the most potent element of Joppa's defence? See Shaw (1991)

ṣprw

The peoples the Egyptians refer to as ṣprw have long caused puzzlement to scholars of all areas of the ancient Near East. Appearing across a vast geographical area, and throughout several millennia, the exact nature of the title is still an area of contention (*LÄ* II, 952 ff.). In the most general terms, the ṣprw were a group that existed outside the structures of the known political powers.

‘At least nine Egyptian texts clearly mentioning ṣprw are now known. These texts range from the first quarter of the fifteenth century B.C. to the eleventh century B.C.’ (Cazelles, 1973, 4; see also *LÄ* II, 953 f.). The driving force behind their appearance seems to have been the expansionist policy of the dynasties of this period; after the expulsion of the Hyksos Egyptian military activities led them further and further into the previously uncharted east (Greenberg, 1955). Taken with appearances in Syrian, Hittite and Hurrian texts, as well as their identification with the SA.GAZ of Sumerian documents,³⁸ the ṣprw are located by modern scholars throughout the ancient Near East.

The identity of the Egyptian ṣpr.w with the cuneiform SA.GAZ/H. is made all but certain by (a) the philological identity of Egyptian ṣpr.w with the contemporaneous Ugaritic ṣprm - which, in turn, is equated with SA.GAZ; (b) the similarity in activity between the independent SA.GAZ/H. of Amarna times, and the Palestinian ṣpr.w at large of the preceding and following periods; (c) the similarity in social status between the two; the disrepute of Amarna SA GAZ/H. appears to be shared fully by the Palestinian ṣpr.w. (Greenberg, 1955, 81f.)

The ṣprw do not receive a particularly good press in Egyptian documents. Seti I encountered a group attacking nomads in the Galilean hills.³⁹ Consistently cast in menial roles, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III set them to work pressing wine,⁴⁰ while Rameses II, III and IV used them for various building and quarrying work.⁴¹ A victory text of Amenhotep II suggests they arrived in Egypt as captives taken as booty from Asiatic campaigns.⁴² There is no evidence to suggest the attitudes displayed by *Joppa* to the ṣprw (or, indeed, the *maryannu*) can help with a precise dating.

³⁸ For an exhaustive list of documentary appearances see Greenberg (1955) also Bottéro (1954)

³⁹ Beth-shan stele of Seti I, from Greenberg (1955) 46

⁴⁰ From The Tomb of Puyemre, from Greenberg (1955) 55

⁴¹ See Papyrus Leiden, 348, recto 6:6, Great Papyrus Harris 31, 8 and Wadi Hammamat quarry list of Rameses IV, among others, from Greenberg (1955) 56f.

⁴² Memphis Stele of Amenhotep II, from Greenberg (1955) 56

This disrepute is in evidence from the earliest Sumerian texts (*LĀ* II, 952). A number of legal documents dating from around 1900 BCE involve court cases in which SA.GAZ seems to have a pejorative connotation.⁴³ Later the SA.GAZ appear in a military context, perhaps as conscripted troops, yet there is a great sense in which the SA.GAZ are not slaves but a group that occupy a level in society whereby they are used for unskilled manual labour or military applications (Cazelles, 1973, 10ff. and sources).

An etymological study of SA.GAZ reveals little, as the word has no translation from the Sumerian. The writing SAG.GAZ appears late and would seem to mean 'head-breaker', but this is a subsequent interpretation of the original writing (Cazelles, 1973, 7). More worthy of note is the Akkadian rendering of the Sumerian, which is always *habbatu*, meaning 'brigand' and 'highway robber' (Cazelles, 1973, 6f.). This has led to the suggestion that the Sumerian is in fact a interpretation of an Akkadian word *šaggašu*, meaning 'agressor', although the use of a different Akkadian word for translation back from the Sumerian somewhat undermines this theory (Cazelles, 1973, 7). Greenberg suggests this substitution could be due to a need for the connotations of the Akkadian to be separated from those of the West-Semitic *šgš*, to which he traces an original meaning of 'disturber' (Greenberg, 1955, 89).

The most direct link to the Egyptian *ṣprw* seems to be in Hurrian texts reporting groups known as the *Ḫapiru*. It has long been noted that a number of personal names attributed to the SA.GAZ have been close to Hurrian form, and there is evidence for SA.GAZ groups collecting around towns ruled by princes with Hurrian names (Cazelles, 1973, 18ff.). Cazelles may be correct in his bold statement that 'the connection between the *Ḫapiru* and the Hurrians can therefore be considered as proven' (Cazelles, 1973, 18), but the language difficulties of, for instance, the Hurrian lack of an ayin (ʿ) make the possibility of this root for the Egyptian *ṣprw* unlikely.

A final subject worthy of note is the long-suggested identification of the *ṣprw* with the Biblical *ʿibrim*, the 'Hebrews' (Greenberg, 1955, 91f.; *LĀ* II, 952). The etymology of *ʿibrim* is as difficult to ascertain as the previous examples, with much confusion over

⁴³ See Greenberg (1955) 15ff. for Sumerian source references and translations.

the labials *p* and *b* and their interchange. The $\rho\beta(\rho)$ root suggests ideas of ‘passing over’ or ‘through’. There is also much speculation over the relationship between the ‘Israelites’, the group of the Exodus, and ‘Hebrews’. The groups do seem to be separated in texts from many countries,⁴⁴ though pre-Exodus the Bible only uses the term *‘Ibrim*, making a one-to-one relationship between the groups debatable. The difficulties lead many to agree with Böhl: ‘all Israelites were Hebrews, but not all Hebrews were Israelites.’⁴⁵

The context of *The Taking of Joppa* suggests the word is not used to invoke ideas of ethnicity but about the function of the *‘prw*. Yet even if the interaction of *‘prw* with the *maryannu* is understood as the subject of this line, there is still speculation here. Greenberg reads the passage as Djehuty’s wish to stable the Egyptian horses within the town of Joppa lest an *‘prw* steal them (Greenberg, 1955, 81), whereas Cazelles thinks ‘there is the danger that they will insinuate themselves in liaison with the *maryannu*, who are asking for fodder for their animals’ (Cazelles, 1973, 14). Helck sees the *‘prw* representing the infantry where the *maryannu* are the cavalry in a unified military force.⁴⁶

The different interpretations are evidence of the fractured nature of the passage at this point. The indication is that the text here is direct speech of an Egyptian soldier (Djehuty even) to the *maryannu* as part of the stratagem to capture Joppa. The force of the line is a command for action, with , *m-r3-pw*, the compound preposition for ‘or’ better rendered as ‘or else’, ‘lest’, in this case (Junge, 2001, 84). The subject of the warning is , *‘prw*.⁴⁷

This still leaves uncertainty in the interpretation of the damaged text, but a good rendering for the line would be ‘let the *maryannu* with their horses be given food, lest one *aperu* raider strike...’ I am hesitant to follow Goedicke’s restoration of *m r-pw w^c n ‘pr snn* [sic] *n3 n htrw m [nnt.]sn* – ‘or one ‘aper will surpass the chariot-horses in

⁴⁴ For a full listing of examples see Greenberg and Bottéro.

⁴⁵ F. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 67, from Greenberg (1955) 92

⁴⁶ W. Helck, *Vetus Testamentum* 18, 530, from Cazelles (1973) 14.

⁴⁷ There is also a notable similarity in the phonetics of *m r-pw* and *‘prw*, perhaps another example of the Egyptian word play that seems to go on, especially at the expense of non-Egyptians, throughout the passage. See following.

their weariness' (Goedicke, 1968, 222), but a similar sense is likely. The admonition is to the *maryannu* (or their leader) to do as the Egyptians ask, else face some (now lost) humiliation at the hands of the *ṣprw*.

The connotations attached to *ṣprw* are therefore those recognised throughout the ancient Near East: the raider, the wanderer, the one on the outside of society. An attack by the *ṣprw* would be common in the countryside where the meeting between the Egyptians and the *maryannu* takes place, and therefore while a small party may fall prey to a group of raiders a military outfit would be humiliated by defeat at the hands of a single vagabond. To avoid such humiliation, the *maryannu* are advised to stable their horses in the Egyptian camp. The ruse of the Egyptians' mock surrender has been established at this point, and with this goad they secure the defeat of an important element of Joppa's defence.

This is therefore an example of a cross-cultural reference to the *ṣprw*. The author of *The Taking of Joppa* clearly believes the term to have a meaning for the *maryannu*, else the comment would not provoke the recorded response. It seems that, in line with a common semantic of 'outsider', sociological views concerning the *ṣprw* persisted across the ancient Near East. The word does not occur here as a specific ethnic or class label, but is inserted to bring to mind various stereotypes. The fact that the outcome of the siege may turn on the connotations that *ṣprw* holds suggests an ingrained negative view of any branded with the name, a view strongly pervading Egypt and many neighbouring peoples.

PLACES

Ypw

Commonly translated 'Joppa' or 'Jaffa', the ancient town of *Ypw* was situated where the southern edge of Tel Aviv now lies. Its position on a short promontory made it a natural harbour, and it became one of the few seaports along the coast of Palestine (Dessel, 1997, 206).

The name of the town is attested throughout near Eastern texts (*LÄ* III, 270). From Biblical sources, Joppa is considered to be part of the territory of the tribe of Dan (Joshua 19.46). Its existence as a port is shown by its connection with the shipping of cedars from Lebanon during the construction of the Second Temple at Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 2.15; Ezra 3.7), and Jonah flees there in his attempt to find a ship to take him from his prophetic calling (Jonah 1:3).

In many texts Egyptian influence was recorded. Alongside its mention here and on the victory inscriptions of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, Joppa is mentioned as an Egyptian stronghold in the Amarna letters of the 14th Century BCE and Papyrus Anastasi I of the 13th (Dessel, 1997, 206). An Akkadian sent from Ugarit also mentions Joppa in connection with an Egyptian official who operated from there, and Sennacherib refers to his conquest of the town in a prism stele of the 8th Century BCE (Dessel, 1997, 206). The town was certainly under Egyptian rule soon after the time of Tuthmosis III, and would have been a significant strategic target for Egypt before this.

This thesis examines the material culture remains of Joppa in the chapter on the historical context of the piece, below, and develops ideas of the town's importance to Egypt to inform *The Taking of Joppa's* place in the history of the empire.

OBJECTS

The Club

The club is a well-known tool in the production of fibres and the processing of flax throughout Egypt's history (Petrie, 1917, 54). The hieroglyphic signs for the related mace,  and , while not synonymous with the club, appear in a number of variations in the writing system (Gardiner, 1994, 510, T1 and T2). Yet the club does not seem to have been used as a weapon of choice for the Egyptian forces, whose preference was for sharp-tipped projectile weapons and daggers (see Petrie, 1917, ch.s VI, VII). A number of ceremonial spears exist, with various dedications (Petrie, 1917, 31), and the *wšš*-sceptre, preserved in its hieroglyphic form (Gardiner, 1994, 503, R19), seems to have fulfilled an emblematic function for the Upper Egyptian nome of Hermonthis (Gardiner, 1994, 503).

Other club-like instruments are known from the workmen's village of the Necropolis at Thebes (Janssen, 1975, 312ff.). They include the *h3*, a spike for hacking out tombs from rock (Janssen, 1975, 312f.), the *krdn*, 'a very expensive and heavy object, used in all probability to break up rock' (Janssen, 1975, 319), and *'nt*, a carpenter's adze (Janssen, 1975, 321). Of sticks in general, Fischer notes that there was 'scarcely any object in the life of ancient Egypt that was so commonly and constantly in use, that was used in so many different ways, and that took so great a variety of forms' (Fischer, *JEA* 64, 158).

Hassan comments on the staff as an emblem of power or authority, stemming from its use by divinities and then of the *mks* and *3ms* by the king (Hassan, 1976 in Fischer, *JEA* 64, 161). There is evidence for 18th Dynasty viziers carrying *'b3* sceptres, and also of goatherds and surveyors using staffs as a practical element but also as emblems of their professions (Fischer, *JEA* 64, 161). Further compelling references are to the *shn* sceptre of Akhenaten and the *hrp* staff of Tutankhamen (Fischer, *JEA* 64, 161). The most impressive example of a staff is the faience *w3s* sceptre of Amenhotep II (Friedman, 1998, 61), currently housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Whilst famous for being one of the largest faience objects known, its function and purpose are unclear.

None of which, it must be admitted, sheds much light on the 'great club' here. Whatever its true nature, there is an undercurrent of symbolism that the writer is tapping into where this type of object can function other than practically, perhaps as a standard. Whether an actual object fulfilling the specific function suggested in this passage existed (the capture of which functioned as a transmission of military and/or political power), or whether this is yet another aspect of a Djehuty-initiated stratagem, is impossible to tell.

As with all characters in *Joppa*, exact details are subservient to the needs of the narrative. Though Goedicke's arguments of misunderstanding by the rebel are probably a step too far, Djehuty's ability to trick and confuse are to the fore in his dealings with the rebel here. The purpose of the club is the incapacitation of the enemy, opening the way for the decisive stage of Djehuty's plan.

Baskets

The baskets mentioned here are the method by which Djehuty plans to conceal his soldiers and move them into the city. In Egypt, the manufacture of baskets can be traced to the end of the 6th millennium BCE where the leaves of date palms were split and woven (Lucas, 1962, 128f.). This process was continued for many centuries, with several large baskets constructed by this method discovered in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Queen Meryetamun.⁴⁸ Baskets fulfilled various uses across Egypt and the Near East, being found extensively in temple, domestic and mortuary contexts.⁴⁹ In relation to *Joppa*'s narrative setting, 'the Eighteenth Dynasty...was a period of elaborate artistic development in which extremely fine basketry was made' (Forbes, 1964, 184).

The vocabulary used for the baskets here is not demonstrated elsewhere (Erman & Grapow, 1926-63, V 326). The nearest equivalent is the *kbs*, a grain basket that shares the same determinative (Janssen, 1975, 133ff.) and is incidentally well attested from the Ramesside period (Janssen, 1975, 134).

The first question for the reader is perhaps 'is it probable that baskets capable of holding a man existed?' This is difficult to determine, due to the perishable nature of many of the materials used in basketry. There is evidence for baskets being reinforced with leather bases to allow heavier objects to be carried, a practice that survives in parts of Africa to the present day, but extant examples are of small dimensions (Schick, 1998, 26f.). A number of early examples exist in the British Museum, including a basketwork coffin from 2950 BCE (EA52887), and some early pre-Dynastic reed baskets (EA 58695 and 58696), and a large number of baskets with a variety of contents were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Wendrich, 2000, 265).

Despite the fact that most of the raw materials used were flexible, the baskets themselves were not, due to the technology employed. In particular, coiling results in strong baskets with rigid walls. Rigid materials, such as reeds, papyrus culms and midribs of date-palm leaves, were used for the production of twined or bound screens, (trap)doors, roofs and boxes (Wendrich, 2000, 265).

⁴⁸ H.E. Winlock, *Meryet-Amun*, 34-35, 76-77, from Lucas (1962) 129

⁴⁹ Forbes (1964), 182ff. See also Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1982) 134 – 137 and Schick (1998) ch 5.

The passage is clearly not structured to answer specific questions about basketry, and the appearance of these objects in the piece must be understood in their narrative context. The baskets here are containers of goods, presumably their most common purpose, and they are presented to the inhabitants of Joppa as such, carrying the spoils of battle from their ‘conquered’ enemies. Their function, however, is subverted by yet another stratagem of the Egyptian commander, and the baskets become tools of concealment for the Egyptian soldiers. Considerations of the size of extant examples are meaningless in *Joppa*’s context other than to illustrate that basketry was a wide-enough spread industry not to have roused any sort of suspicion. Neither is the passage structured to show how the military force might have baskets at their disposal, or whether Joppa supplied these. The Egyptians are taking the first steps in the plan that will eventually secure the town, once again overcoming their enemies with cunning rather than force.

The correlation between function and aspect of size, shape, flexibility and spacing is not a simple linear one. Ethnoarchaeological research shows that the function of baskets is often very specific, and that tradition plays an important role. Furthermore, there is a difference between function and use: a basket might be used for something other than its official function and there are many instances of reuse of baskets and mats, for other purposes than their original function (Wendrich, 2000, 265).

ḥpš

iw p3 ḥpš ti.n r nḥt n Pr-ʿ3, ‘the strong arm of Pharaoh’, is a phrase imbued with many meanings within the Egyptian belief system. It occurs in the Osiris and Seth myths, where ideas of the downfall of the world into chaos begin with Osiris’ death. The means of his demise involve Seth, in the shape of a bull, killing Osiris with his ‘fore-leg’, *ḥpš*.⁵⁰ There is also mention of *ḥpš* in the story of Seth’s victory over the serpent Apopis:

Let Seth stretch forth his arm [*ḥpš*] to let Apopis fall! – says Isis in her incantation.⁵¹

⁵⁰ S. Schott, ‘Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Weltende’, *Studia biblica et orientalia*. Vol. III; *Oriens Antiquus* 1959 (= *Analecta biblica* 12 (1959)), p. 328, from Te Velde (1967) 86

⁵¹ A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramese VI*, 400, from Te Velde (1967) 87

It seems that this *hps̄* may be ‘presented’ to the king at war in the form of a scimitar,⁵² the deadly force of Seth’s action translated onto the sword’s owner. Such is the potency of the *hps̄* that, in the mythical cycle, it is removed from Seth and guarded in the heavens by Isis and the sons of Horus (Osiris reborn) where it took the form of the constellation of the bulls leg.⁵³

The inclusion of *hps̄* in the phrase of the king’s victory should therefore not surprise, but it is given added depth in *Joppa* by several earlier occurrences. The constellation of the fore-leg was also known as *ms̄htyw*, ‘adze’,⁵⁴ a bludgeoning weapon which must have been similar in form to that used by Djehuty against the rebel of Joppa.⁵⁵ The identification of Djehuty with Seth is made apparent in [2,11] and the symbolic function suggested for the ‘great club’ in [2,8] can be likened to the *w3s̄*-sceptre, an object, along with the similar *d̄m*-sceptre, linked with Seth due to the resemblance between its animal-head top and the Seth animal (Gardiner, 1994, 509, S40 & S41, and 460, E20 – Seth animal). The *d̄m*-sceptre is even found in the context of a weapon in the ‘Contendings of Seth and Horus’:

I shall take my *d̄m*-sceptre...and every day I shall kill one of you.⁵⁶

While all these nuances may not be intended in the use of *hps̄* here, the scribe has chosen a phrase with many ideological connotations. These are seen in the attribution of the victory at Joppa to the king and in the various mythological echoes that *hps̄* invokes. The reference to weapon-wielding in the hands, as well as several mentions of victory in terms of arms⁵⁷ and background allusions to Seth, make it probable that its use is to reinforce the various earlier motifs.

⁵² L. Habachi, ‘Khatâ‘na-Qantir: Importance’, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, le Caire* 52, pl. XXIX and p. 508, from Te Velde (1967) 88

⁵³ See Te Velde (1967) 88 fig. 12, also Schott, *op cit.* and *Papyrus Jumilhac* XVII, 11-12, from Te Velde (1967) 86

⁵⁴ *Pap. Jumilhac* from Te Velde (1967) 86; E. Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, vol. II, scene 46 f-k, from Te Velde (1967) 88

⁵⁵ See [1,8] ff.

⁵⁶ *Papyrus Beatty* I, 5, 2, from Te Velde (1967) 90

⁵⁷ See [1,13] – ‘he raised his hand and smote the forehead of the rebel’, [2,12] – ‘Behold! My hand has enslaved them’, the *hps̄* here, and perhaps even [2,5] where it is specifically *kn̄l.sn*, ‘their [the soldiers] arms’, that are filled with ‘bindings’ with which to enslave the town.

Amun

Amun is one of the most ancient and important gods in the Egyptian pantheon. There are suggestions that his name first appears in the Pyramid Texts of the 5th Dynasty, and it is evident in the primeval Hermopolitan Ogdoad in the form *Amun Kematef* (Shaw and Nicholson, 1995, 31f.; *LÄ* I, 238). Regardless of the history of the deity, when the god appeared in Theban texts from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom his ascendancy was already secured (*LÄ* I, 239).

The history of Amun's rise to prominence was a direct result of the shifting political geography of Egypt. The principal shrine of Amun was at Thebes (*LÄ* I, 239), and thus he played a small part in the pantheons of the Old Kingdom (Shorter, 1937, 13). The move of the seat of power to Upper Egypt in the Middle Kingdom allowed the god's prominence to grow, but it was the victory over the Hyksos by Theban royalty, attributed to the local deity, that cemented Amun's elevated position (Shorter, 1937, 13).

At the peak of Amun's popularity this position was unrivalled. 'From the very beginning this new god was thought of as a royal god, that is, on one hand as father protector, and representative of the dynasty, but on the other as king of the gods and of the world' (Otto, 1966, 121). The god's nature as 'father' is stated explicitly in a text that seems to describe him magically taking the form of the king in order to make the queen pregnant with his heir:

He found her as she rested in the beauty of her palace. She awoke at the perfume of the god and laughed in the presence of his Majesty. He straightway came unto her and greatly desired her, he gave his heart to her, and he caused her to behold him in his divine form after he had come into her presence. She rejoiced to behold his beauty and his love passed into her body; the palace overflowed with the perfume of the god, and all his savour was that of Punt.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Inscription in the temple of Hatshepsut at Der el Bahari, from Shorter (1937) 15

Throughout *Joppa* Amun is referred to as Tuthmosis III's father.⁵⁹ Depending on views of the accepted family relationship of Tuthmosis III, there may be the further suggestion in the above quotation that the king was thought to be the child of a union between Amun and Hatshepsut. Many kings of the 18th Dynasty also incorporated *Imn* into their names, and though this is not exclusive to the Dynasty there is a sense in which 'Amun your good father' would, for some kings, be taken in a partially literal sense. In any case, the connection between the ruler and Amun is found within *Joppa* as in contemporary sources.

In his role as king of the gods (*LÄ* I, 243), Amun is often referred to in the form Amun-Re. Re was himself a god with roots leading back to the Second Dynasty (Hornung, 1971, 91. footnote 100; Wilkinson, 1999, 261ff.), and the name appears as an element of royal names throughout Egyptian history.⁶⁰ Re is primarily a god of the sun, and the constant presence of the sun's worship in Egypt maintained the god's significance. It seems that it is this ancient, longstanding importance that leads to the syncretism of the gods in one leading deity.

The form that this combination takes is difficult to discover. Bonnet suggests:

The formula Amun-Re does not signify that Amun is subsumed in Re or Re in Amun. Nor does it establish that they are identical; Amun does not equal Re. It observes that Re is in Amun in such a way that he is not lost in Amun, but remains himself just as much as Amun does, so that both gods can again be manifested separately or in other combinations.⁶¹

The point is important for *Joppa*. The forms Amun and Amun-Re both appear in the passage, both in the context of 'your father' when addressing Tuthmosis III. Amun appears in more 'personal' cases where the primary meaning is the relationship with the king, where the one occurrence of 'Amun-Re' (line 3,11) is in a reference to the worship of the god and is appended by the phrase *nswt ntrw* 'king of the gods.' As this personal/formal divide occurs in the context of the god's temple we might also see a reference to Tuthmosis III's extensive work at Karnak.

⁵⁹ Although see notes on [1,9] where the king is described as 'son of Sekhmet'.

⁶⁰ Reneb, 2nd Dynasty; Merenre, 6th Dynasty; Nebhepetre, 11th Dynasty, for example.

⁶¹ H. Bonnet, *LÄ* V 239, from Hornung, *Conceptions*, 91

Tuthmosis III has been credited with the construction and/or extension of the major central building of the temple to Amun there, as well as the sacred lake and the monument road (Otto, 1966, 87; *LÄ* I, 240). It is therefore entirely fitting that Djehuty bids the king to fill the temple of Amun-Re with spoils of the Joppa conflict. Even if the temple at Karnak is not specifically in the author's mind the link between Tuthmosis III and Amun-Re has widespread historical precedents.

Sekhmet

The goddess Sekhmet, while being identified with that all-important entity in Egyptian worship the sun, seems to be one of the lesser gods in the pantheon of the 18th Dynasty and often subsumed into other deities (Hoenes, 1976, 70ff.). She is regarded as the sun god's eye, a title also used to describe Hathor, who ravaged the earth at the command of Re in the so-called 'Destruction of Mankind' (Shorter, 1937, 11). She is also represented as a lioness-headed being, often with a sun disc behind her head (Thomas, 1992, 38; Hoenes, 1976, 3ff.).

Sekhmet's appearance in the context of *Joppa* requires some explanation. As noted at [3,8] below, Tuthmosis III is described as the son of Amun, and Amun's consistent links with Theban kingship, especially in the New Kingdom, make his relegation here curious.

Evidence exists for the worship of Sekhmet from earliest times, centred around Memphis (Hoenes, 1976, 109ff.), which developed into a widespread cult (Hoenes, 1976, 100ff.). Her title 'Sekhmet, mistress of Ankhtai' (a Memphite district) and the corresponding title of the god Ptah: 'Lord of Ankhtai', seem to have been the defining factors in causing these gods to be associated as husband and wife (Sandman Holmberg, 1946, 188f.).

Sekhmet's appearance as the mother of the king here is not its only example. The temple at Luxor calls Amenhotep III 'Ptah's son, born of Sekhmet' and, of special interest in this case due to Amun's association with Re, a stele exists referring to Rameses II's lineage as 'Re's son, who issued from Tatenen and was born of the great Sekhmet' (*LÄ* V, 329ff.).

As with many of Egypt's deities, the aspects of Sekhmet were often combined with those of other goddesses. The appearance in a Theban tomb of a passage connecting Sekhmet, the eye of Re and the local deity Mut is important here: 'Mut, the mistress of heaven – Sekhmet, Ptah's beloved – Bastet, Re's eye, with much food' (Sandman Holmberg, 1946, 190; see also Hoenes, 1976, 167ff). There is also evidence from Karnak of Sekhmet's identification with Maat: 'Maat, the great one, united with Amun, Re's daughter, Ptah's beloved' (Sandman Holmberg, 1946, 191).

This sort of common conjunction is the answer to Sekhmet's appearance. The subject of Egypt's domination and military strength is the accent – Djehuty is about to bring the 'club' down on the rebel of Joppa's forehead – and Sekhmet's identification with the destructive eye of Re is the foremost meaning. Thutmosis III has just been referred to as a 'fierce lion', further explaining the presence of this lioness goddess. The fluidity of a god's characters, coupled with the goddess' identification with Amun's consort Mut, means there is no ideological problem in proposing Amun as the king's father and Sekhmet as mother. The passage is meant to evoke Sekhmet's characteristics in association with the soon-to-be-victorious king, and also bring to mind war-like attributes and associations with a goddess who is consistently on the margins.

*Seth*⁶²

Attributing the surrender of Djehuty to the god Seth is curious, especially as its narrative setting is in the words given to the footman of Joppa to say to his 'mistress' in an attempt to smuggle Egyptian forces into the town. The stronghold of the cult of Seth lay on the border of the desert, and where caravan routes began (*LÄ* V, 910). While he is a 'frontier god' his appearance here has deeper nuances, and Seth seems to have even become a god of 'state and court' within the 19th and 20th Dynasties (*LÄ* V, 910).

The spelling  should not surprise. Te Velde lists nine different spellings independent of the possible orthography (Te Velde, 1967, 1), and the inclusion of the Horus bird determines that we are dealing with the name of a god. There is also evidence that scribes avoided the use of the so-called Seth-animal due to the negative characteristics that became synonymous with the god (Te Velde, 1967, 6; *LÄ* V, 910).

⁶² Following Te Velde (1967), the classical Greek rendering 'Seth' is used here.

It is difficult to trace the meaning of the god's name (*LÄ* V, 908). Te Velde includes an explanation by Plutarch, which is widely attributed to means other than the historian's own invention:

And the name 'Seth' by which they call Typhon denotes this: it means 'the overmastering' and 'overpowering' and it means in very many instances 'turning back' and again 'overpassing' (Te Velde, 1967, 3).

Te Velde identifies a pseudo-etymology, identifying the name Seth with the verb 'to cut'. A late example from Denderah, *tštš.n.i i3š* (where *i3š* is a substitute for *štš*, identified by the Seth-animal), is translated as 'I have cut Seth into pieces'. This is compounded by an example from the coffin texts: *t3š.n.i sm3wt Štš* (again with Seth-animal), 'I have cut the gang of Seth into pieces.' Osiris too is often referred to in the 'Seth and Osiris' cycles as *tštš*, 'the dismembered one' (Te Velde, 1967, 4f.). It remains unclear whether the etymology gave rise to the name or vice-versa.

As suggested in Plutarch's double translations, there are alternative roots for the name. *t3š* or *tš* can be translated as 'frontier', lending weight to Seth's characterisation as a god of foreigners that was ingrained by the Hyksos' adoption of him (Te Velde, 1967, 5). *tši* can mean 'to desert' and by extension 'to abandon' or 'turn back', or even "to be missing" when duty, loyalty or some other obligation demands one's presence' (Te Velde, 1967, 5). Where, as discussed above, scribes wished to avoid the use of the Seth-animal  is often used (Gardiner, 1994, 542, Aa21), a determinative inferring the meaning 'to separate' (Te Velde, 1967, 6).

These explanations make it easy to understand the juxtaposition of 'Seth' with the apparently surrendering Djehuty. It is a comment on the Egyptian commander's presentation as a deserter,⁶³ and the subservience before the foreign powers of Joppa brings to mind the connection of the god to frontiers. There may also be a sly reference in the name to Djehuty's real objectives, to 'overpower' and 'overmaster' the forces of Joppa. However, a further possibility for a verb root to the god's name proves even more inviting.

⁶³ This is really a deserter from the Egyptian cause, as he takes his military force with him in the 'desertion'.

M. A. Murray traces the etymology of Seth back to the Egyptian verb *th* – to be drunk. The *s* may then be taken as the causative prefix, allowing a reading of *sth* as ‘to cause to be drunk’.⁶⁴ The theory is reinforced by a papyrus in Leiden detailing a cure for sickness through the befuddlement of the demons responsible by drink:

Seth will be irrestrainable, when he wishes to conquer the heart in this his name of beer. He confuses the heart to conquer the heart of the enemy, the evildoer, the male and the female dead person.⁶⁵

While this may be a spurious etymology, it is indicative of Egyptian understanding of the god. Te Velde notes: ‘To sum up, the Egyptians seem to have attached three meanings to the name of Seth: instigator of confusion, deserter, drunkard’ (Te Velde, 1967, 7).

In the context of our passage a better reading of ‘drunkard’ might be ‘causer of drunkenness’. Djehuty, in implementing his plan to capture Joppa, has coaxed the enemy’s horse-troops into a drunken revelry in order to capture and secure their horses. Then, in an attempt to confuse those with control over the town itself, he presents himself as surrendering to gain access to the stronghold. Here is an elusive Egyptian language game, with the foreigners of Joppa as the ultimate victims. Seth, associated with foreign gods and desertion, is the obvious stereotype to attach to a commander giving himself up to a foreign enemy.

At a deeper level, a level available only to those with a full grasp of the language in which the story is reported, is a reference to Djehuty as the cause of the drunkenness that was the first step to Joppa’s capture. Concerns over whether the message is translated by the messenger for those in Joppa, and the meanings lost, are immaterial. The text presents a subtle and devious word play by the Egyptian troops in which the intentions work both ways, at once underscoring the sly tactics of the commander and the Egyptians’ ability to fool the foreign enemy.

⁶⁴ M. A. Murray, *The Splendour That Was Egypt*, 131, cited in Te Velde (1967) 6

⁶⁵ Pap. Leiden I 348, rt. 13, 4, cited in Te Velde (1967) 7

INTRODUCTION

The question of genre within Egyptian literature is not easily answered in a positive way. It is often more straightforward to determine what a text is not than what it is, and this is especially true of pieces such as the *Taking of Joppa* which do not fall within any of the easily defined categories, such as 'instructions'.

The unusual narrative has led to descriptions of the work as 'probably legendary' (Peet, 1925, 225), 'a legend built around a historical nucleus' (Goedicke, 1968, 219), even as one of a number of Egyptian 'shaggy dog stories' (Redford, 1993, 233). The affinity of the text with the tale 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves' from the *Arabian Nights* cycle also does little to bolster any claim to historicity,¹ and opens questions of an oral history before taking written form. Its categorisation as a 'legend' sheds no light on the piece's nature and does even less to illuminate the question of why it was written, and what it is doing on Papyrus Harris 500.

The wider question of genre within Egyptian literature is itself a difficulty, with even a general definition problematic (Parkinson in Loprieno, 1996, 297).

Recent theory acknowledges that types of literary text 'have a circumscribed existence culturally', in contrast to the system of prescriptive genres of neoclassical theory, which regarded the genres of the corpus of classical texts as universals. Universal genres are not attested across the west-east or the ancient-modern divides; there is no more absolute correspondence between different cultures' genres than between color terminologies which embody another set of differing implicit classifications (Parkinson in Loprieno, 1996, 298f.).

This lack of self-aware classification is compounded by the way the Egyptian corpus of literature has been compiled. Added to by discovery and accident, ideas of genre imposed externally from the modern viewpoint have taken place in an organic way. This has made compilation of a 'canon' virtually impossible, and so judgement about whether texts have been consciously written to formal guidelines, or to deliberately subvert accepted norms, is extremely difficult. It seems that norms did exist, but to

¹ While avoiding a discussion of the 'Arabian Nights' here, I suggest that the narrative framework of story-telling in which many of these collected tales exist makes no pretence to historicity.

what extent our perception of this is an accident of preservation and discovery is very hard to find out.

To overcome this, Parkinson (following Fowler) adopts a relational approach (Parkinson in Loprieno, 1996, 298f.). This acts on two fronts: the relationship between a historical reader and a piece, and the relationship between that piece and other contemporary literary works. The first surrounds expectations brought by the reader, which will themselves be governed by what has been experienced in other texts. The second is brought about by 'indirect constructive inference' (Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, quoted by Parkinson in Loprieno, 1996, 299) and, roughly speaking, is more about what the author is attempting to do with a text than what a reader may take from it. The approach to both relationships within the context of Egyptian literature is necessarily historical in nature, with the result that both unfortunately suffer from the paucity and randomness of comparisons available.

With this in mind the question the chapter aims to answer is, most simply stated, how should *The Taking of Joppa* be read? The approach will be to examine features common to narrative texts like *Joppa*, such as setting, attitude to characters and structure,² in an extension of the linguistic analysis that has preceded. The results will be used to inform the question of which other texts *Joppa* can usefully be said to have a relationship with, and through that to answer questions of conformity to or subversion of common literary types within the Egyptian corpus.

THE TAKING OF JOPPA

The general concerns of the *Taking of Joppa* are not difficult to grasp. Despite a number of unfortunate and lengthy gaps,³ our understanding of it is virtually complete; the commander Djehuty, by means of devious stratagems, captures the fortified town of Joppa. The subject matter is undeniably military in nature: mercenaries, soldiers, chariots and 'the troops of the king' leave no doubt, and the colophon attributes the piece to 'the scribe of the army'. The main character is Djehuty, the commander of the force sent against Joppa.

² Taken from Fowler's list of genre features as listed in Parkinson in Loprieno, 1996, 299

³ See 'Commentary', above.

The tactics employed in this reported victory include the disabling of the horses and militia of the rebel of Joppa, and then a physical attack by Djehuty, on the rebel himself.⁴ Once the town's leader has been incapacitated, soldiers concealed in baskets construed as the prizes of victory gain entry into the town. Inside, the task of the actual capture is achieved by the released soldiers binding the entire populace as prisoners.

The representation of the story is in the form of a narrative. This has several elements: description of circumstances and actions, reported speech between individuals and groups, a letter reporting events to the king in Egypt, all concluded with a scribal colophon stating the piece's accuracy and authenticity. The point of view is third person, with details of motivation described in the course of the narrative rather than by an internal dialogue. Both these factors allow the story to run at a vigorous pace, with the use of *iw tw* driving the narrative forwards in independent clauses. This has the effect of placing the reader in the moment rather than experiencing a second-hand report of history.⁵

The setting can be described as both familiar and exotic. Joppa was part of the annexed Egyptian sector of the Levant for many years,⁶ and its proximity to the northern border lent it an air of rightfully belonging to Egypt. Close as it was, however, it was beyond the border, and was initially accessed by Egypt during military forays that were seen as foreign in objective. The dating of the papyrus places it within the reign of Rameses II when Joppa was an Egyptian-governed and possibly garrisoned town, adding further to the foreign but home-ruled perception.⁷

The characters of the piece revolve around the commander Djehuty. Events occur through their interactions with him, both the Egyptian soldiers (through orders) and the foreign enemy (through duplicity, but also through an order to the character of the footman). Few interactions occur outside of this model. The text is too broken to determine who entertains the *maryannu*, but only the footman's conversation with the 'mistress' (repeating Djehuty's words) and the soldiers interactions with the citizens of the town (capturing them on Djehuty's orders) do not follow this pattern.⁸

⁴ See 'Commentary', above.

⁵ For a discussion of the use of *iw tw* in *Joppa* see Transliteration and Commentary

⁶ See 'The Historical Context of *The Taking of Joppa*', below

⁷ See 'Introduction: Papyrus Harris 500'.

⁸ The character of Djehuty is explored fully in 'The Characters of *Joppa*' above and 'Conclusions: Djehuty' below.

The other principle character is the rebel. He too is defined more by his interaction with Djehuty than through any autonomous means, although he inadvertently brings about the Egyptian victory. The depiction is somewhat of foolishness and weakness, something of a caricature and 'fall guy', certainly fallible as he personally falls for a Djehuty scheme shortly before his town suffers the same fate.⁹ He is attributed the second highest amount of direct speech in the extant text after Djehuty. The other individual characters are the footman, who has one small amount of reported speech, the unspeaking 'mistress', the king of Egypt and, one could argue, the scribe of the piece who refers to himself in the colophon.

The remainder of the characters are homogenous groups: the Egyptian soldiers, the *maryannu* and the townspeople. Their function is wholly narrative, and they serve to act out the words of Djehuty or experience their results. The reference to speech on their part is also only narrative,¹⁰ the closest being 'then one came to report this to Djehuty'.¹¹ Due to the paucity of information, it is hard to judge if details about these groups are pseudo-historical, or fulfil a function of simply being 'Egyptian or foreign'. These characters function as agents of the narrative, their actions moving the piece to its (inevitable) conclusion of Egyptian victory.

The style is highly detailed and highly personal. For detail, particulars are given not only of all tactics employed in the capture, but also of the many conversations that take place between individuals. The viewpoint is not of an individual reporting observed events, but of an 'insider' with an appreciation of motives as well as actions. The reader is party to every act, and the overall effect is of a continuous narrative where nothing is hidden.

The major personal aspect relates to the role of Djehuty within the story. As commander, his fate reflects that of the entire military force under his command (elegantly illustrated within the story in the demise of his opposite number in Joppa leading swiftly to the demise of the town).¹² His capture/defection, the completeness of

⁹ This may well be an example of the Egyptian view of the 'Asiatic', such as in Sinuhe. See Parkinson, 1997.

¹⁰ Treating details of speech to the *maryannu* as too broken to determine who is speaking.

¹¹ Speaking of the *maryannu*'s horses, [1,7]

¹² For an illustration of military organisation in the New Kingdom period see Shaw (1991) 27. See also 'Djehuty's role of command', above.

which is stressed in the mention of 'his wife and children', therefore represents the fate of his men. The plot twists that brings about the final outcome of Egyptian victory rest more on the individual actions of Djehuty than on the actions of the troops under his command. Though the victory is ascribed to 'the valiant arm of the king', the account argues otherwise.

Two genres immediately suggest themselves for direct comparison with *Joppa*: military tomb biographies, with their rich details of both campaigns and the individuals concerned, and narrative military accounts, such as *The Battle of Kadesh* and *The Siege of Megiddo*.

The primacy of Djehuty within the piece, the amount of personal detail and the military subject matter all lead to the first comparison of *Joppa* with biographical literature, most notable in the phenomenon of tomb biographies.¹³ The commander is the passage's main concern, an observation made even more acute by the closing scene in which he writes to the overtly absent king. The role of the king in military campaigns is a factor that will become more obvious as accepted military biographies are brought into comparison.

TOMB BIOGRAPHIES

De tous les genres littéraires, le genre biographique est le plus anciennement attesté en Egypte; c'est aussi celui dont il nous reste le plus grand nombre de spécimens, datant de toutes les époques de l'histoire, depuis la 4e Dyn. jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine.¹⁴

The forms of these biographies, most often preserved as rock inscriptions in tombs, were deeply laudatory of the individuals about whom they were composed. So clichéd did these descriptions become that van der Walle sums up the concerns of this whole body of literature as 'good son, good wife, confidence of the king, best of administrators, fully conforms to principles of justice and order' (Walle in Helck and Otto, 1975-, 815)

¹³ The term 'autobiography' in common use for the described genre is too explicit in its suggestion of authorship. I use 'biography' with the understanding that a biography can be written either by a third party or by the person who forms the subject matter.

¹⁴ Walle, B. van der 'Biographie' in Helck and Otto (1975-) 815, which provides a good general discussion of the biography genre.

It was in the context of the private tomb that writing took its first steps toward literature. The tombs belonged to high officials who had grown wealthy in the service of the king, and who applied a significant part of their wealth – in addition to outright royal gifts – to the construction and equipment of their “house of eternity.” On the walls of the tomb, the written word gave specific identity to the pictorial representations. It named the tomb-owner and his family; it listed his ranks and titles, and the offering he was to receive...The basic aim of the autobiography – the self-portrait in words – was the same as that of the self-portrait in sculpture and relief; to sum up the characteristic features of the individual person in terms of his positive worth and in the face of eternity...With eternity the ever present goal, it followed that neither a person’s shortcomings, nor the ephemera of his life, were suitable material for the autobiography. Hence the blending of the real with the ideal which underlies the autobiography as it does the portrait sculpture (Lichtheim, 1975, 3ff.).

The vast majority of these biographies vary little from the Middle Kingdom example of the *Stela of Sehetep-Ib-Re* from Abydos (Lichtheim, 1975, 125ff.). Its style of a continuous combination of official titles and exemplary behaviour is common across the type.¹⁵

Such stylistic writing inevitably causes difficulties in the appreciation of one individual life over another. However, a number of inscriptions exist that give more of the sorts of detail that could be called ‘biographical’ in the modern understanding of the term. While some of these deal with matters of administration or temple construction, others exist that describe the military history and campaigns of their subjects.

In this section I will examine the most relevant military biographies to assess if any common features exist across them. While a number of other biographies with mentions of military service exist, only those that supply the tactical and geographical information that make a comparison with *Joppa*’s detailed account possible are looked at here. This is followed by a discussion over whether biographies with a military interest can be classed as a distinct genre, and if any observations about these can be applied to *The Taking of Joppa*.

¹⁵ See Lichtheim *AEL I* ‘Inscription of Nefer-seshem-re called Sheshi’ 17, ‘Stela of Intef Son of Sent’ 120ff., ‘Stela of Ikhnofret’ 123ff.; *AEL II* ‘The Prayers of Paheri’ 15ff.; *AEL III* ‘Statue Inscription of Djedkhonsefankh’ 13ff., ‘The Long Biographical Inscription of Petosiris’ 45ff.

The biographical inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period...are characterised by a proud individualism, displayed alike by nobles and commoners. The society remained hierarchic, but the leaders were now local chiefs, the rulers of the country's ancient districts (*nomes*) (Lichtheim, 1975, 8).

Even if the historical impetus behind the democratisation of the tomb biography was civil rather than military, it is the 'proud individualism' that provides us with a number of distinctive and often highly detailed descriptions of the military activities of tomb and stele owners.

One such inscription is that of *The Biography of Weni*, carved during the Sixth Dynasty upon one wall of a single-room tomb in Abydos. Substantially damaged, the text details the career of Weni, military and civil, under the consecutive kings Teti, Merire Pepi I and Merenre. The biography gives a number of important details concerning the campaigns Weni took part in, including geographical and perhaps even tactical information about 'landing in the back of the height of the mountain range'. It is unclear who, or even where, the 'Asiatic Sand-dwellers' were,¹⁶ and little can be determined from the verb 'rebelled', *sbi* (Lichtheim, 1975, 22ff.).

The position of Weni is similar to that of Djehuty, a commander of a force of men. As portrayed in the *Joppa* account, the king transfers all power of command to the individual at the army's head: 'I was the one who commanded them!' No standing army existed in the period described in Weni's biography, and his position as commander places him on the level of 'chieftains and mayors' even if he did not hold one of these positions in civil life. This elevated status attributed to the individual, as well as the claimed feats performed by Weni, is a noted feature of the biographical genre. The military details of places and peoples, in contrast, distinguish this biography and give it something of the insider's touch offered by *Joppa*.

That said, stylistic differences are obvious between this and *Joppa*. The first person perspective, a common feature of the style that probably led to the label of 'autobiography', gives a different emphasis from the account of Djehuty's exploits. As

¹⁶ Lichtheim (1975) 22 for discussion and further references.

with other examples, the individual who forms the subject matter is most often presented as relating the biography in the first person. *Weni* also makes the role of the king explicit: 'When his majesty took action against the Asiatic Sand-dwellers, his majesty made an army of tens of thousands from all of Upper Egypt...', 'His Majesty sent me at the head of this army...', 'His majesty praised me for it beyond anything...', 'His majesty sent me to lead his army five times...' (Lichtheim, 1975, 22ff.)

It is incorrect to say that Pharaonic influence is absent from the *Taking of Joppa*, but the king plays a less central role. *Joppa* does not suggest a lack of royal support, and does not indicate that action by Djehuty was not officially sanctioned, but the individuality of the commander is not played down there as it is in *Weni*. If the achievements of Weni are due to his fine character the controlling influence is still the king's, even if the suggestion is that he is not present in person. Following on, the victory stanza speaks only of 'this army'.

The section where this is less true is at the end, Weni's slaughter of the 'marauders'. The introduction is simply 'told that', a distinct move towards personal initiative, and the reference to the army is distant. It seems that Weni led a sneak attack while half his approaching army distracted enemy forces. The focus on Weni and his actions in this section makes it closest in style and concern to *Joppa*.

Like Weni, the subject of *The Biography of Harkhuf* served under king Merenre and also under Pepi II. The inclusion of the account of his dealings with these foreign lands and rulers¹⁷ is perhaps questionable in a study of military biography, but the detail of foreign policy together with the interest in the individual of Harkhuf has many parallels with the *Joppa* account.

As with *Weni*, the primary impetus for action comes from the king; 'his majesty sent me...' The actual facts of this diplomatic mission¹⁸ are difficult to grasp, as is determining how great an achievement exploring 'the region of the house of the chief of Setju and Irtjet' really was. Geographical references occur throughout, and the piece is presented from the first person viewpoint.

¹⁷ Certainly of Nubian origin, see Lichtheim (1975) 23 and reference to Edel, E. *Ägyptologische Studien* 51-75

What is striking about this biography is that the individual retains as much praise for the actions described as the king. This is best explained by the piece's emphasis on the individual nature of the tasks Harkhuf performs, and is most strongly shown in the information given about Harkhuf's encounter with the ruler of Irtjet, Setju and Wawat. Praise, normally boasted about when coming from the king, is given to Harkhuf by a foreign leader, altering the dynamics of the king/commander situation. That an individual should receive tribute for the show of force by the kingdom he represents goes against the overtly royal accent of the majority of the inscription, most notably the earlier statement that the ruler of Yam 'praised all the gods for the sovereign'.

The *Biography of Ahmose son of Abana* is one of the most widely used sources for the understanding of the time during and after the expulsion of the Hyksos. This report deals with the subjugation of external and internal enemies from Ahmose's position on a troop carrying ship.¹⁹ His naval upbringing does not seem to stop Ahmose joining land battles.

The reports of Ahmose's exploits tread a precise line between the praise of the individual and the recognition of the military place of the king. In official, public inscriptions the king is always at the head of the army,²⁰ and this is where we find him in this account. Such is the extent of royal idolisation here that we even seem to have a piece of kingly legend regarding a (fragmentary) report of a Nubian Bowman uprising.

This is not to say that the deeds of Ahmose go unremarked. The soldier seems to have had a good career, attested as much in his ownership of a tomb as in the contents of the biography itself. The continual victories and 'seizures' are very impressive, and there is less of the institutionalised boasting encountered in other passages. Even the donation of gifts is made mostly through the 'royal herald' rather than directly from the king, and the inclusion of the phrase 'the same was done for the whole crew' would be unthinkable in a piece like *Weni*.

¹⁸ That is to say non-military. No mention of fighting is made.

¹⁹ Perhaps more than the army, there seems to have been little formal organisation of a navy. While sea battles are recorded, one imagines the widespread use of boats as Nile transport made secondment straightforward should any be needed for military purposes. For a more detailed overview see Shaw (1991) ch. 7 'Naval Battles'; Jones (1995)

²⁰ The best example of this being the account of Tuthmosis III's 'Battle of Megiddo', see Lichtheim (1976) 29ff.

The *Biography of Ahmose* gives an account, including geographical and temporal references, of the military career of an individual. It does not give much detail of each achievement beyond the empirical, and so does not follow the same narrative pattern as *Joppa*. Where Ahmose is praised, it is in parallel with an ever present, highly militarily active king. To be cynical, the deeds of the king presented in this biography seem more embellished than the deeds of the subject. This is perhaps the point, and therefore the emphasis lies in an entirely opposite direction from *Joppa*.

A final piece worth comparison with *Joppa* is a section that occurs in *The Biography of Ankhtifi*, rather incongruous in its military nature in a piece far more concerned with the administrative achievements. The passage suggests that, at the request of the 'general of Armant', Ankhtifi set off with a local, possibly private, fighting group to attack enemies internal to Egypt.²¹

The political situation is extremely difficult to judge as nowhere in the biography is the name of a king mentioned. While Ankhtifi (typically) claims to have been a Royal Seal-bearer and Sole Companion, 'Horus' is inserted where we might expect to find a monarch. The absence is highlighted further, and even criticised, when later the biography states 'the whole of Upper Egypt died of hunger...But I refused to see anyone die in this province' (Grimal, 1992, 142). Drawing attention to his claimed accomplishment somewhat implicitly criticises the rulers of Upper Egypt. Whilst there seems to have been no Dynastic influence in the area at this time (See S. Seidlmayer, 'The First Intermediate Period' in Shaw, 2000, 118f.), the rulers or ruling classes are not portrayed positively.

The *Biography of Ankhtifi* introduces an individual who can command military power without the intervention, or even mention, of the ruler. Allowances should be made for the comments on a lack of central power in this period, but the fighting force seems totally at the whim of the commander and therefore at the disposal of whoever can gain the commander's approval. The biography gives full geographical details of the movements of this force, especially as this highlights the fact that no one would meet them in open battle because of their strength.

Do the cited examples have enough common ground to refer to military biography as a genre? The first problem is the lack of examples. A number of other biographies mention army service, though none gives a detailed enough account to allow study of the military particulars in isolation.

There may be reasons for this. Whereas many officials and people attached in some way to the monarchy left biographies, many soldiers died in battle before the possibility of building a tomb or composing a biography occurred. Furthermore, given the generally accepted views of Egyptian mortuary practice, the lack of a body, or one mutilated in a violent death, may have precluded many of those who died in battle from a normal burial.²²

Another reason may be the lack of wealth among soldiers. Ahmose is the only example here of a man who claims to have been nothing but a soldier all his life, and taking the report of his achievements at face value he seems to have been a highly successful one. A possible parallel is the *Stela of the Soldier Qedes from Gebelein*, a diminutive monument to a man whose claim is to have been 'a worthy citizen who acted with his arm, the foremost of his whole troop.'²³

There is a lack of common language and phraseology across these examples, only the military vocabulary is shared. As this defines the 'military' description it cannot reinforce arguments about genre. The 'flavour' of the pieces seems to mark them out, with the details of the military activity defining them more as a 'sub-set' of biographies as a whole rather than a separate phenomenon. The *Biography of Ahmose* is the most forthright passage in this respect, lacking the laudatory introduction associated with biographies in general.

²¹ The reference to local leaders raising troops 'from the villages and towns that they governed' seems to have been the normal way of raising an army before the more structured military arrangements of the later dynasties. See Shaw (1991)

²² A notable exception is the mummy of Seqenenra Ta'a, a king supposedly killed in battle against the Hyksos and wounded by an Asiatic axe-blade.

²³ Lichtheim (1975) 90, for translation and references.

If *The Taking of Joppa* is difficult to fit into a 'genre', can it belong to this biography sub-set? It does share a number of characteristics with most of the quoted military biographies. There is an interest in the individual in all pieces quoted, most strongly in *Ankhtifi*; all give geographical and most give temporal descriptions of the nature of the military conquests. *Joppa* is not as pro-royal as *Ahmose*, but mentions of the king and confiscating booty 'for King Menkheperre' distance it from *Ankhtifi* and passages in *Weni* and *Harkhuf*.

There is some consensus of subject matter across the five passages. *Joppa* stands out in its presentation of military and tactical details, but it also lacks the usual lists of titles. Whether it is the detailed nature of *Joppa* that leads it to be read as giving more praise to Djehuty than the king is difficult to tell in the absence of a sufficiently detailed parallel piece. What is certain is that while officially the king was recognised as commanding Egypt's army from the front, in *Joppa* he is patently (and more believably) not.

What sets *Joppa* furthest apart from the other biographies is its narrative setting in the third person. The departure from the biographical norm is emphasised in the employment of reported speech to communicate action. This factor is the key: in the definition of 'biography' as genre the first person viewpoint is paramount. If it were re-written in the first person style, it is doubtful whether *Joppa* would be excluded from the military biography sub-set on grounds of content, emphasis, or any other of the categories discussed. As it stands it cannot fulfil the criteria of a biographical genre or sub-set

OTHER COMPARABLE TEXTS

Though *Joppa* may appear closer in concerns to the biography type than any other, to exclude it merely eliminates one of the many forms of Egyptian literature. It is quickly and easily ruled out from a number of others also (instruction literature and prayers, for example), but is there one it fits?

For parallels, three major texts from the Egyptian corpus stand out in relation to concern with the individual and historical and military information: the *Tale of Sinuhe*, the account of Tuthmosis III's *Siege of Megiddo* and Rameses II's *Battle of Kadesh*. None present a simple task of categorisation themselves, but the study of each in conjunction with *Joppa* will shed useful light on the latter's function and setting as a text. *Sinuhe*, perhaps the less obvious parallel, will be treated first.

THE TALE OF SINUHE

Sinuhe is the name of the central character of a work widely viewed as one of the masterpieces of Egyptian literature (Parkinson, 1997, 26). The text follows Sinuhe's flight from Egypt on hearing of the death of the king, through his journeys and sojourn in foreign lands until finally being reunited with his homeland and its new monarch.

If this summarises the basic story, the real interest within the piece is the diverse nature of literary styles used to portray Sinuhe's predicament. The tale opens with a list of Sinuhe's titles in accordance with the norms of the biographical form, and finishes with the description of the tomb the text purports to have inhabited. In-between, it varies in narrative form and content including, at one point, a royal decree and at another a fervent prayer to the Egyptian gods as well as a vigorous description of single armed combat.

Though neither *Sinuhe* or *Joppa* share particularly common subject themes, many parallels can be drawn between them. The echo of tomb biographies together with the bearing of the central character (and the non-central character of the king) in *Sinuhe*, as well as the use of third person speech and the 'omniscient' nature of the narrator, means that conclusions drawn from *Sinuhe* may well be of help in an evaluation of *Joppa*.

If that is the case, what type of text is *Sinuhe*? Firstly, it does not seem to be concerned with recording a precise history. The diversity of style does not conform to the biographical type adopted when the concern was historical events. Though a number of tomb biographies display some diversity, it is consistently on a smaller scale than here. The use of reported speech distances *Sinuhe* even more from the biography genre and the ideological discussion of the piece only touches biographical concerns in the, distinctly tomb-set, beginning and ending sections.

Sinuhe seems to have been an extremely popular piece. The chronological spread of its copies spans at least 750 years, with four manuscripts attested from the Middle Kingdom and twenty-eight from later (Parkinson, 1997, 26). Though this does not support any viewpoint over genre, the popularity could only have accompanied a widely known 'public' text.²⁴ It seems unlikely that a text lacking 'private' biographical considerations would have been found in a tomb setting.

This does not suggest that the text bases itself outside the familiar world of human existence. The king Sehetepibra I and his son Senusret I, the two monarchs mentioned in the tale, reigned early in the Twelfth dynasty, and the land of Retjenu to which *Sinuhe* flees has a number of appearances in other Egyptian sources (Faulkner, 1962, 154). The historical placing is further reinforced by the mention of 'Queen Nefru', portrayed in the story as the daughter of Sehetepibra I, who's name appears as part of the cultic enclosure of that king's pyramid. There is further evidence that 'The Walls of the Ruler' made to beat back the Syrians existed as well as indications that the transitional period after Sehetepibra's death was an unstable time (Shaw, 2000, 160). This places *Sinuhe* in a very definite era.

Given *Sinuhe*'s nature, what can be said for *Joppa*? Like *Sinuhe*, it is set in a specific timeframe and in a location known from later Egyptian records. In other words, its frame of reference in a familiar world is akin to *Sinuhe*'s. In more specific detail, the connection of Tuthmosis III and the town of Joppa is known from a public temple inscription of the king's war annals (Cumming, 1982, 43ff.). This external link of king and town in the context of war, paralleled in *Sinuhe* by Sehetepibra's death linked to unrest, further cements *Joppa* into a definite historical setting.

Yet, as argued above, these historical details cannot be taken as evidence for a concern to present 'biographical' material. *Joppa* fits much more closely to the style of *Sinuhe* than it does to the style of the biographical genre. Given the evidence, *Sinuhe* would seem to be a popular work unconcerned with the necessity to present an individual's life

²⁴ Amending Redford's description of 'published' and 'unpublished' texts, I use 'public' and 'private' to denote something of a text's setting within its Egyptian context. Thus a tomb inscription would be private, whereas a royal temple inscription, such as Tuthmosis III's annals, would have been a 'public' text. This is not to suggest that the general public of Egypt would have been able to understand such inscriptions, but is intended to define that some texts had a wider audience *at the time of writing* than others. *Sinuhe*'s style and content seem to expect a wide sphere, shown by its vast popularity.

the way a biography would. Its focus is not intended to be the report of Sinuhe the man's time on earth, but rather the discussion of certain themes of popular interest to Egypt. It would seem that *Joppa* fulfils some similar aims.

THE SIEGE OF MEGIDDO

The details of Tuthmosis III's battle against and eventual capture of the town of Megiddo form a long section of the annals of this monarch, carved into the temple walls of Karnak. The prominent setting of this work suggests it is a 'public' piece,²⁵ and thus an analysis of its main themes may help to shed light on *Joppa* where similarities between the texts occur. It is also the best example of military reporting from the period in which *Joppa* is set.

The section of the annals deals with Tuthmosis III's attack on a council of war, set up in opposition to him, taking place in Megiddo under the 'wretched foe of Kadesh' (Lichtheim, 1976, 30). The extended nature of this part of the annals facilitates a detailed description of tactics and consequences. Tuthmosis III is portrayed as suggesting a daring plan, attacking Megiddo through an undefended but extremely narrow ravine rather than a more standard attack on the armies of Megiddo defending the easier routes to the town. The text at this point uses the idiom of third person speech to dramatically portray the king's suggestion. On outlining his plans, those near the king protest. They are quickly silenced by the king taking the lead through the narrow gorge.

The king 'at the head of his army' gains victory in the ensuing battle against the forces of Megiddo (Lichtheim, 1976, 32). The narrator then notes that the town would have been taken that day, had the troops not turned to plundering the chariots left by the retreating army. A detailed description of the siege-works erected to isolate Megiddo follows, resulting in the enemy princes coming 'on their bellies to kiss the ground to the might of his majesty, and to beg breath for their nostrils' (Lichtheim, 1976, 33) The section ends with a list of booty taken.

²⁵ It might be argued that the 'public' in this case are a select few allowed access to the area in which the text was recorded, but this still meant the *Annals* were more accessible than something with a tomb setting and even works on papyrus with limited copies. The notable exception is *Harkhuf*, which is inscribed on the outer wall of his tomb and visible to any passer-by. See footnote 36.

Megiddo is excluded from the biographical genre by both its style and its physical setting. It appears as part of Tuthmosis III's annals, but does not conform to the more usual character of a date followed by a place name and a report of victory, often with some short salutatory note about the king. It seems probable that *Megiddo* was included in the annals as it was deemed to have the same, though extended, function. The composition may have occurred quite close to the events described,²⁶ as the annals would probably have been completed during the reign of Tuthmosis himself.

None of this suggests a consideration for 'historicity'. The ideology of kingship, one of the earliest and most longstanding characteristics of Egyptian culture, would suggest that in a public text like *Megiddo* the king would be reported as heading the army whether or not this happened in reality. The prominence given to leaders within the piece, most notable where the capture of the foreign princes in Megiddo is described as 'the capture of a thousand towns' (Lichtheim, 1976, 33), would make it unlikely that the supreme leader of Egypt would have undertaken such a treacherous task. The capture/death of the king would have been the demise of his country.

In comparison with *Joppa*, the two pieces represent a number of similar concerns expressed in the same narrative style. *Megiddo* makes an explicit claim to accurate reportage, and *Joppa*'s scribal colophon claims the same. Both are founded in the familiar world of Egyptian influence and seem internally consistent with what we know of Egypt, especially its foreign policy, around that time.

Where *Joppa* and *Megiddo* diverge is in the setting and presuppositions each engender. *Megiddo*'s emphasis, being a public, royally sanctioned, text, is easy to deduce: kingship and the glorious victories of Egypt take prominence. The emphases of *Joppa*, like *Sinuhe*, are far more difficult to infer in the absence of a definite setting. In *Joppa*, a glorious victory on the part of Egypt is described but the lack of prominence of the king places it outside the realm of 'official' texts.²⁷ The similarity in style between *Megiddo* and *Joppa* means the latter cannot be excluded from the concerns exhibited by Tuthmosis' annals, though the content of *Joppa* makes it unlikely that the two inhabit the same literary type.

²⁶ Events in general terms rather than specific, highly propagandistic narrative episodes.

²⁷ 'Official' here denotes a text with its basis in a court setting.

While close in subject matter to the previous text, *Kadesh* occupies something of a middle ground between *Sinuhe* and *Megiddo* in terms of technique. Existing in a two-fold style of poem and prose paralleled by narrative, the piece has become a highly celebrated example of an Egyptian military campaign report. If *Megiddo* is an example of military reporting from the temporal setting of *The Taking of Joppa*, *Kadesh* is the most famous example from the period in which the piece was recorded on Papyrus Harris 500.

The battle described was to have been the crowning moment of Rameses II's build up to breaking the Hittite political hold on Syria, and a reaffirmation of Egypt's claim over the surrounding area (Davies, 1997, 55). In reality, an unexpected ambush by the enemy saw the Egyptian forces almost routed. The report as we have it suggests that the king took matters into his own hands and saved the day for his forces, an unsurprising presentation (Habachi, 1969, 40ff.). As the resulting treaty with the Hittites shows, the battle can have done little more than maintain the *status quo* between the powers. As the aggressors, Egypt was in a position to lose more face over the matter.

The presentation in both sections of the text is of an Egyptian victory in the face of despicable tactics from the enemy.²⁸ As with *Megiddo* and *Joppa*, the military action is developed through both reported speech and narrative description. In the poetic section, this speech is placed in the first-person on the lips of the king. In the report, multiple characters speak, although all do so addressing Rameses II.

Many of the observations about *Megiddo* are relevant. There, Tuthmosis III is depicted as the catalyst for victory. Here, Rameses II is credited even more highly as the sole individual that brings about the victory (or, at least, holds off defeat). A claim to accuracy exists at the end of *Kadesh* as it does in *Megiddo* and *Joppa*, and all have a setting that is consistent with our knowledge of Egyptian history although, as noted, *Megiddo* and *Kadesh* can be placed far more precisely within their eras. Disregarding the sections of poetry, the report utilises many of the same narrative devices as *Joppa*.

²⁸ For a full discussion of this, see 'The Taking of Joppa and the Ideology of Warfare', below.

Differences between *Joppa* and *Kadesh* again stem from the identifiable purposes of each. *Kadesh* has an immediately recognisable political agenda in affirming Rameses II's kingship, heightened in the light of failed military activity. The existence of both the poem and bulletin sections suggests that this was an effort beyond the usual kingly/military doctrine as displayed by *Megiddo*.

Perhaps the most striking feature is the similarity of the *Kadesh* bulletin and *Megiddo*, and therefore the similarity of the relationship both have with *Joppa*. This is mirrored in the similar historical situations and political objectives of the two rulers who form the subject matter, a feature that is discussed later in this thesis with direct relevance to finding *Joppa*'s *Sitz im Leiben*.²⁹

SUMMARY

Having been ruled out of the biography genre with which it shares language and subject matter, three major texts suggest themselves for comparison with *Joppa* on grounds of content and style: *The Tale of Sinuhe*, *The Siege of Megiddo* and *The Battle of Kadesh*. The first of these was highly popular, and while it includes a number of historical references the diversity of its style and themes places it away from the context of reported fact.³⁰ The second and third seem to have the opposite emphasis, yet it is highly probable that certain fallacious elements were included to conform to Egyptian ideology of the time.

The *Taking of Joppa* occupies a middle ground, displaying formal characteristics of *Megiddo* and *Kadesh* while falling closer on a context based appreciation to *Sinuhe*. None of the comparable passages attempt to report factual history in the analytical way it might be attempted today, but *Megiddo* and *Kadesh* fit the Egyptian idea of the presentation and chronicling of historical events. *Joppa* follows their style, but is distanced from them by a lack of similar ideological precepts. A final factor must be the unusual nature of the events described in *Joppa*. The stratagem of an attack by treachery and concealment is unprecedented in Egyptian military accounts contemporary with *Joppa* and does not conform to our knowledge of Egyptian methods

²⁹ For a further discussion of *The Battle of Kadesh*, see 'The Taking of Joppa and the Ideology of War' below.

(Shaw, 1991). In *Kadesh*, similar tactics employed by the 'chief of Hatti' are condemned.

PAPYRUS TURIN 1940-1941

One final possibly comparable text exists on Papyrus Turin 1940 and 1941 (Botti, *JEA* 41, 64-71). This is a highly damaged piece from Deir el-Medina, and seems to describe a battle conducted by Tuthmosis III (McDowell, 1999, 163). An individual Pa-ser is named, and elements of the Egyptian force are described by the aspects of gods, specifically Amun-Re, Seth and Monthu: 'their horses became Seth', for example (Botti, *JEA* 41, 66). Two portions of the text seem to show that it is written in the third person, and that it is credited to 'the temple-scribe' (Botti, *JEA* 41, 66). The text is dated on palaeographical grounds to the Twentieth Dynasty (Botti, *JEA* 41, 66)

Unfortunately the papyrus is too damaged to allow much extrapolation, but both Botti and McDowell see it as a form of 'historical fiction' (McDowell, 1999, 163). McDowell goes on to make explicit reference to *Joppa*. Her overall reading is of Pa-ser making an impassioned speech to Tuthmosis that inspires the king to triumph in a battle that is going against him (McDowell, 1999, 163), whereas Botti sees the admonishing speech on the lips of the king himself (Botti, *JEA* 41, 66).

While the construction of a narrative picture is impossible, these fragments illustrate an interest in the individual alongside the person of the king. Tuthmosis III seems to be present, either speaking or listening, and thus the picture of military action is different from that presented in *Joppa*. There is also no surviving description of tactics or action – all extant material prior to the possible colophon seems to be direct speech. It is hard to tell whether we are dealing with a text that shares concerns with the tomb biography genre or with a piece like *Megiddo*: crudely, is focus on the individual or on the king? In this study, the piece confirms that texts with relatively recent historical subject matter existed in the Twentieth Dynasty but without clues to its own genre it cannot help in a discovery of *Joppa*'s.

³⁰ I realise these are troublesome terms and communicate a distinction that would have been meaningless in an ancient Egyptian context, but I use them here in modern terms to attempt to discriminate between the texts under consideration.

So far, the military and personal aspects that have informed the choice of comparative texts have been specifically internal observations about the nature of *Joppa*, its style and content. In this section, the purpose of the author will be the primary concern, asking if *Joppa* can be categorised as a literary type in terms of its objectives and reception at the time of its composition.

While further removed from the specific content based approach of the previous sections, this study must start from a grounding within the subject matter involved. We have seen that *Joppa* aligns itself with the format of reported history, set in an actual time span and king's reign. It deals with the Egyptian capture of a foreign town, and so belongs also to the political domain. Its presentation of kingship raises questions of ideology, but its physical context on a papyrus with the *Foredoomed Prince* and especially the songs suggests entertainment literature. This section will study *Joppa* within these boundaries of general purpose and perception.

For the Egyptian, the past was a source of authority, in a society that defined its gerontocratic values as knowledge gained through experience; a society that affirmed the value of mortuary rituals, medical prescriptions and magical spells because they were ancient compositions, tried and 'found a million times true' (Eyre in Loprieno, 1996, 415).

This authority is observed through all the types of literature given as examples above, from the self-proclamations of the biographies to the reportage of *Meggido* and the more literary *Sinuhe*. Yet Eyre continues his comments by placing all Egyptian historical literature in a fairy-tale framework, claiming 'history was not a real place' (Eyre in Loprieno, 1996, 415). Baines sees a wider spectrum here:

Most Egyptian texts are bland and ideologically homogenous. However, the use of the past is diverse, between official ideology or mythology and works of literature, between different literary texts, and between literature and private inscriptions. The past legitimates the present order, but an order that needs legitimating is not perfect. Imperfection can be set against the perfection of the past, which may be a model or something more subversive; criticism of the present in terms of the past (Baines in Layton, 1994, 131).

By the time the *Taking of Joppa* was being written the idea of 'history' was very well defined, separated from an indefinite past in the earliest stages of the invention of writing (Baines in Layton, 1994, 133). King lists and annals were established as

records, a form that developed to become more and more detailed as years progressed, and was even shaped to include reigns of gods within 'prehistory' (Baines in Layton, 1994, 133f.). With the development of the ability of writing to record continuous language, a phenomenon that Baines traces to the reign of Djoser c. 2650 BCE (Baines in Layton, 1994, 134), history could be recorded in a narrative form.

Baines sees this as 'mobilising' the past. Events described endure textually or on monuments, and in many ways create a 'secondary past' as they are experienced solely through being read about (Baines in Layton, 1994, 135). This allowed a conjunction with a wider body of literature which gave rise to a number of pieces appealing to or setting themselves in the past to add legitimacy and realism (Baines in Layton, 1994, 137). Examples include the *Instruction for Merikare*, the *Eloquent Peasant* (Lichtheim, 1973, 97-109) and *Sinuhe*. There is even a 'pseudo-apocalyptic' *Prophecy of Neferti*, describing how the reign of Amenemhat I was prophesied long before it occurred (Lichtheim, 1973, 139-45).

As would be expected by its composition in the New Kingdom, *Joppa's* narrative is a subtle use of the Egyptian understanding of history. It is certainly referring to events in the past, set within the reign of a recognisable king known to have been a foreign military campaigner, but does not overtly state its own historicity. Yet it does not play with genre in the same way as *Sinuhe*, or use the sort of poetic language found in the *Eloquent Peasant*. As a piece, it is closer in line to modern concerns about history than many Egyptian texts.

This affinity with the modern outlook should not, however, lead us to think that the author was writing with modern historical concerns. The use of a historical setting, together with the scribal colophon (which is the most obvious explicit statement of verisimilitude), fulfils a wholly political purpose given the military nature of the subject matter. *Joppa* was an Egyptian vassal town after Tuthmosis III's conquests, and *The Taking of Joppa* is central in placing the event of its capture firmly within the 'secondary history' identified by Baines. Ancient (and indeed modern) readers, with no objective way of testing the evidence given in *Joppa*, have no reason to doubt on grounds of style or presentation that they are reading a report of an historical event.

Is this a deliberate ploy by the author of *Joppa*? It could certainly be argued that the text places itself deliberately outside the military tomb biography sub-set in order to avoid allegations of hyperbole and embellishment. It does not have the overtly fantastical setting of *The Foredoomed Prince* with which it shares its papyrus, which would place it beyond a real-world setting.³¹ The closest affinity is with *Megiddo*, a text that also purports to be relating an historical event but which is undoubtedly political and public in nature.

CONCLUSIONS

The Taking of Joppa, through its use of language and narrative themes, is again shown to be a highly-constructed text. Its 'real world' setting opens comparisons with biographical and reportage styles, but its somewhat outlandish subject matter does not lead the reader to immediately assume it is accurately reporting a historical event. As stated at the beginning of the chapter, questions of genre are more likely to produce a 'what it is not' answer than a 'what it is'. In the light of this, the ultimate question to ask of the piece is over its fabrication: is *The Taking of Joppa* fictional?

Loprieno defines 'fictionality' as:

...the textual category whereby an implicit mutual understanding is created between author and reader to the effect that the world presented in the text need not coincide with the real world, and that no sanctions apply in the case of discrepancy (Loprieno, 1996, 43).

Loprieno identifies the hero's name as an important indicator in this. Where the omission of a name can project a piece into the realms of imagination (such as in *The Foredoomed Prince* or *Eloquent Peasant*), supplied names also allude to the literary nature of the tale. In the case of *Joppa*, Djehuty with all its Thoth connotations,³² fits neatly into the latter category. The 'rebel of Joppa' could be seen to fit into the former category, but he is not a 'hero' in Loprieno's understanding (Loprieno, 1996, 44).

A second test for Loprieno is a 'multiplicity of interpretative layers'. *Joppa* displays a number of 'denotive' and 'connotative' styles within its narrative, with linguistic

³¹ Although, as mentioned above, gods are included in the 'prehistory' of a number of king-lists, this is very different from the types of narrative texts discussed here. Also, there is no suggestion in tales such as *The Shipwrecked Sailor* that the author intended to report, or readers felt they were reading, a report of actual events. See Parkinson in Loprieno, 1996.

³² See *The Characters of Joppa – Djehuty* above

trickery being a feature throughout. He also suggests that texts that display this fictionality strive for 'aesthetic elegance...regardless of the nature of the information they convey' (Loprieno, 1996, 42), and that a test of this is how self-referential a work is. His major example here is the scribal colophon 'in which the literary text itself is referred to by the third person pronouns' (Loprieno, 1996, 42) and is thus orientated more to the piece itself than the content of that piece. *Joppa*'s colophon fits nicely into this scheme.

Yet if *Joppa* is used as a test case, it raises some opposition from within Loprieno's own argument.

The two highest models on our hierarchy of literariness...namely instructions and tales, represent two opposite answers to the challenge inherent in the dialectic between the social and the individual spheres: wisdom literature represents the compliance with ideology, narrative literature the rise of the individual hero (Loprieno 1996, 46)

Most literary texts, Loprieno notes, oscillate between these two extremes. Against this, Loprieno himself notes a decline in the 'traditional Egyptian approach to history' which he describes as 'presentational' to a more 'recognitive' style, one in which Egypt's place in the wider world is examined. He identifies this change in the *Urkunden* of the 18th Dynasty, leading to the widely postulated 'advent of history' (Loprieno, 1996, 45).

By this analysis, *Joppa* is a mixed bag. It certainly seems to be a 'literary' work, but one that does not display much of the 'fictionality' we would expect under Loprieno's model. Rather than oscillate between ideology and heroics it holds both in tension in the Djehuty/Tuthmosis III dynamic widely noted. It is perhaps this tension that causes problems of categorisation and evokes the swift conclusion of 'legendary' from many readers. *Joppa* is self-referential through its colophon, and displays a multiplicity of meanings, but does not exist outside of the new styles of historical writing that Loprieno traces to the start of the New Kingdom.

All conclusions of genre, type and purpose are therefore fraught with difficulty. The most fruitful reading of the piece is to look beyond the content and presentation to see it as literary in the sense that it is highly constructed – linguistically and narratively. This construction does not lend itself to judgements of truthfulness or verisimilitude, but rather pushes the reader to ask what the background to the text might be in the wider context of Egyptian history.

The Taking of Joppa places itself squarely within the reign of Tuthmosis III, sixth king¹ of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt.² The application of dates is complicated by a suggested co-regency with Hatshepsut, the 'female Pharaoh', for the early part of his career.³

For an external dating of the text, an attack on *Ypw* is recorded in the annals of Tuthmosis III in year 22 of his reign (Cumming, 1982, 43). There is, therefore, a consistency of claims to Egyptian involvement with Joppa, beginning with the campaigns of this 18th Dynasty king.

Yet the language of the piece suggests a later date than that attested to in the narrative. The major archaeological find indicative of Egyptian activity at Joppa, the 'Rameses gate', dates to the reign of Rameses II some two centuries after Tuthmosis III, and immediately suggests connections with this later period of Egyptian history.

To place the *Taking of Joppa* in its narrative context, an understanding of the reign of Tuthmosis III is necessary. The label of New Kingdom, attached to this time, suggests a change of direction in Egypt's history and, coupled to the ambiguity surrounding the preceding Second Intermediate Period, this whole era has become one of the most vigorously studied in Egyptology. This is not to accept naively the text's own claims but, through a study of the history, sociology and archaeology of this period, continually to ask: could the story of *Joppa* have occurred in the way the text reports? This begs the question of whether the text's purpose is to 'report' in the first place.⁴ A study of context, it is hoped, can shed light on both these issues.

The section will begin with the historical background to the narrative setting of the passage. This will be followed by an examination of the archaeological evidence from ancient Joppa and concluded with a sociological study of the driving factors of war

¹ Counting Hatshepsut's reign/co-reign as a regency.

² No consensus opinion exists as to the dates of this reign, other than it occurred as a 30 year period within the middle two quarters of the 15th Century BCE. See for example Lichtheim (1976) (1468-1438), Grimal (1992) (1479-1425, including co-regency with Hatshepsut), Kuhrt (1995) (1469-1436).

³ For a detailed study and references, see Redford, 'The reign of Hatshepsut', *History and Chronology*, 57-88.

⁴ See comments in the previous chapter, 'What is *The Taking of Joppa*?'



making in the ancient Near East and subsequent effect of militarisation on New Kingdom. Informed by all these factors, I will then go on to propose the historical context in which the piece should be understood.

THE NARRATIVE SETTING

THE LEVANTINE CAMPAIGNS OF TUTHMOSIS III

Two closely related events – the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and the rise of the Egyptian New Kingdom Empire in Western Asia – historically mark the end of the Middle Bronze Age and beginning of the Late Bronze Age in Palestine. As a result of a series of military campaigns by the Egyptian kings of the 16th and 15th centuries B.C., the political and military power of the MB city-states of Palestine was broken, and their rulers came under an Egyptian hegemony (Weinstein, *BASOR* 241, 1)

The breadth of Tuthmosis III's campaigning in the Levant is its defining feature: 17 major campaigns are recorded in the 32 years of his reign (Kuhrt, 1995, 193 quoting Karnak inscriptions; B. M. Bryan, 'The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period (c.1550-1352)' in Shaw, 2000, 243). The contemporary depiction of the king is, like many, in the template of 'military master', single-handedly crushing the enemies of Egypt (Kuhrt, 1995, 211ff.). The full picture, however, suggests a strategy of conquest that included at least four 'campaigns' where conflict was avoided in favour of displays of Egyptian authority (Manley, 1996, 70). It is these co-ordinated tactics, rather than simple raiding or destruction, that merit the study of Tuthmosis III's campaigns as a coordinated foreign military policy.

'Tuthmosis III used his thirty-two years of sole rule to make his name prominent throughout Egypt and Nubia' (Bryan in Shaw, 2000, 243). This view is perhaps over-cynical, the link between country and king making the victories of one and the other the same. The suggestion of the single-mindedness of the operation is, however, fully justified. It seems that Tuthmosis III wasted no time after the co-regency with Hatshepsut ended to make his military mark on the Levant. This may be, as Bryan suggests, due to Hatshepsut's trade missions and military forays into Nubia making a move south less inviting in terms of prestige (Bryan in Shaw, 2000, 243). An equally valid view is of a reaction to the changing international political order of the time.

The received date for the beginning of Tuthmosis III's campaigns is the 22nd year of his reign, Hatshepsut having died in the 20th (Redford, 1993, 156). It is during this first military effort that the battle of Megiddo is set, and with it the mention of *Ypw* as a captured town. There is no sense of internal chronology here, whether Joppa was taken before Megiddo, but the relative locations of the towns place them on the direct land route the Egyptians would have taken north (Manley, 1996, 71). There is the suggestion that Tuthmosis III used local 'squabbles' in Sharuhem as the excuse to move an army north (Bryan in Shaw, 2000, 245), but this could equally be propaganda in portraying unfriendly neighbouring leaders as rebels against the correct rule of Egypt.

These military campaigns were certainly successful. A number of states previously unmentioned in Egyptian texts appear in the later years of Tuthmosis III's reign, suggesting discoveries beyond Egypt's borders or perhaps a weakening of enemies previously thought too dominant to be listed on Egyptian victory monuments.⁵ A further measure of success was the economic benefit of booty. *Joppa* mentions the dispatch of prisoners of war to Egypt as slaves,⁶ and it seems reasonable that the temples at Karnak celebrating numerous Tuthmosis III triumphs would have been financed in part from the successful war effort.

This economic advantage extended beyond the life of the campaign, and the redistribution of booty sent back to Egypt from conquered states became one of the main features of Tuthmosis III's foreign policy. Many Egyptologists have discussed the actual economic advantage and the changes in attitude towards the nature of imperialism (B.J.Kemp, 'Imperialism in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575 – 1087 B.C.)' in Garnsey and Whittaker, 1978); Säve-Söderbergh, 1989; Trigger, 1976; Redford, 1993). The character of Egypt's attitude to nearby neighbours certainly evolved through time, though the aim remained constant: 'At the most basic level, imperialism is about power, the domination of one society over others (whether cultural, economic, political or a mixture of the three)' (Smith, 1995, 8).

Domination can inevitably take many different forms, though Smith suggests two fundamental models – colonialism and imperialism (Smith, 1995, 9). In its lowest form,

⁵ This is a view favoured by Bryan, Shaw (2000) 246, but given previous observations about Egyptian propaganda, the question has to be asked whether the Egyptians could consider any state too strong to be represented as something other than a vassal or a rebel!

⁶ Commentary [3,1]ff.

colonialism involves the settlement of dominated foreign areas where imperialism is the forceful application of Egyptian rule through a small or one-off military presence. Both forms are evident in the history of the country, often at the same time.⁷

Tuthmosis III's campaigns into the Levant had a classic imperialist agenda, taking place often and in force even if direct conflict was sometimes avoided. The economic aspect of this policy is undeniable, with a large amount of *Megiddo* taken up with the list of booty collected from the site (Lichtheim, 1976, 33f.). 'The Egyptian army mounted a tour of inspection for three successive years (during which it collected tribute among other things) and reaffirmed the royal claim to the new territory' (Redford, 1993, 158). Even though *Megiddo* notes that 'his majesty appointed rulers anew for every town' (Lichtheim, 1976, 33), there is no suggestion in the texts that an Egyptian expatriate community was set up to reinforce control – something that seems to be the case in the later Amarna letters.

Despite claims of previous wide ranging expeditions, most notably the alleged crossing of the Euphrates by Tuthmosis I, it is the military activity between years 29 and 33 of Tuthmosis III's reign that truly established Egypt as a major military power in the Levant. During this time, Egyptian troops marched first on Tunip, Ullaza and Ardata on the north Levantine coast in a move possibly timed to coincide with the harvest and therefore yield a great amount of spoil (Redford, 1993, 158). This was followed a year later by a direct attack on Kadesh, south of the earlier targets, and a reinforcement of the victory at Ardata. Ullaza was refortified by Tunip but was taken again the next year. It is at this point that Egypt's tactics changed, and a garrison was placed at Ullaza (Redford, 1993, 158).

This had the effect of stabilising the coast, perhaps with a garrison set up at Gaza (Wienstein, 1981, 7), and Tuthmosis III's 33rd year saw the most ambitious Egyptian move yet, directly attacking the Mitanni whereas previous campaigns had only indirectly targeted this northerly enemy (Bryan in Shaw, 2000, 245). The successful campaign was viewed internally by Egypt, and perhaps by Tuthmosis III himself, as a

⁷ The examples quoted concern Nubia, an area held under imperialist lines (when it was held) for much of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but aggressively settled and assimilated into Egypt's cultural and religious systems during periods of the New Kingdom. See B.J. Kemp, 'Imperialism' and P.J. Frandsen, 'Egyptian Imperialism' in M.T. Larsen, *Power and Propaganda*, (Copenhagen: 1979), from S.T. Smith (1995) 10. Both systems were in place, one for Nubia and one for dominated northern territories, during the heights of the New Kingdom empire.

crowning moment in history and was related and reported in numerous speeches, stelae and private tombs (Redford, 1993, 159). It began with revisiting the previous conquests of Kadesh and Tunip, though with no confrontation reported, and is portrayed as advancing as far north as Carchemish to place a commemorative stela at the site of Tuthmosis I's (Manley, 1996, 70f. and Redford, 1993, 159). The report of the elephant hunt on the return home cements the episode's legendary status. The military policy of reasserting influence was followed on two successive northern campaigns of lesser extent (Redford, 1993, 160), and a secure Egyptian presence, or at least area of influence, had been established well beyond its borders.

These victories brought Egypt onto the regional stage, with many anti-Mitanni states sending gifts to the Egyptian ruler and evidence that diplomatic marriage occurred (Bryan in Shaw, 2000, 248 and Redford, 1993, 160f.). This had a secondary effect of opening trade in luxury foreign items, presumably influenced by the war booty, and these remained a status symbol long after the military aspects of the conquests had faded.⁸ But were the economic factors the main motive of the campaigns?

Kemp...argues that although militarism and the pursuit of glory and booty might have provided an initial impetus for expansion, the expansion of the state, both secular and religious, fits a scribal, bureaucratic value system. It is this sub-system, well integrated throughout the Egyptian state system as a whole, which drove Egyptian imperial policy in the New Kingdom. Kemp particularly argues against an economic return as a prime motive in imperialism (Smith, 1995, 6).

Smith does not find this argument entirely convincing, citing a development of imperialism towards colonisation rather than fort building and garrisoning as a 'cost-cutting' measure highlighting the economic aspects (Smith, 1995, 6f.). More important to this study is the route the Egyptian army took and the nature of the conflicts chosen. The path from Egypt on all major campaigns took in the coastal road, the main trade route for the area as well as the link between the harbours responsible for Cypriot imports. Megiddo and Joppa would have been on or near this route, and the consolidatory moves to hold the majority of the east Mediterranean coast have been noted as a major strategy.⁹

⁸ Bryan in Shaw (2000) 247f. The inscribed bowl of Djehuty (see 'The Characters of *Joppa*' above) follows the pattern of 'flat bottomed' Syrian imports.

⁹ For a good map and description of the coastal campaigns see Manley (1996) 70f.

A second point is Tuthmosis III's use of economic factors as weapons of war. *Megiddo* commemorates the capture of war booty mainly as a representation of how glorious the victory was, but the existence of such a large and detailed section of the piece concerned only with spoil shows that it was a main factor in campaigning. *Joppa* shares this feature – although less detailed it reports that the entire population of the town was deported.¹⁰ Rarely in Tuthmosis III's annals is wholesale destruction of conquered towns noted, the big exception being on the campaign deep into Mitanni territory in the 33rd year. This makes a compelling argument for an economic strategy – enemy areas that could be subdued and held were left relatively unscathed, therefore keeping open the possibility of returning to collect further tribute/booty. Areas beyond the reach of easy return were, in contrast, destroyed and looted in a calculated policy of weakening them, being too far away to efficiently return, reimpose authority, and collect spoils.

The nature of imposing authority upon conquered neighbours seems to have changed as the campaigns and Tuthmosis III's reign progressed. Beginning with skirmishes and guerrilla-like attacks, repeated at short intervals to reassert dominance, the policy developed into limited fort building and establishing garrisons (Redford, 1993, 158). This change started directly before the attack on the Mitanni territory and, coupled with a more formal taxation system, Redford may be correct in seeing long term tactics in Tuthmosis III's military objectives (Redford, 1993, 159).

Egypt appears to have controlled Palestine through a limited number of garrisons and administrative centres, as well as an occasional show of overwhelming military force; only starting in the 13th century B.C. was a large permanent occupation of the country deemed necessary (Weinstein, 1981, 14).

A second explanation might be that Egypt was in a position to move into a phase of conquest with an imperial objective, rather than merely continuing to maintain a sphere of influence. After so many victories, even disregarding Egyptian exaggeration, the move towards imperialism would have been prudent in economic and ideological as well as military terms. Economically, ongoing taxation could replace more costly tribute expeditions and ideologically the 'vile foe' was under continuous Egyptian supervision and subjugation. Different terminology for the gains of this system is also evident, *ḥ3ḳ* – 'booty' being complimented with *b3ḳ* – 'production' and *inw* – 'supply'

¹⁰ Commentary [3,10]f.

(Liverani, 1990, 255). There is also the suggestion that royal marriages occurred as a stabilising force, though it is unclear whether this was a link with compliant rulers of conquered lands or with Egypt's allies from further afield.¹¹ Children of subjugated rulers were sent to Egypt for an Egyptian education (Bryan in Shaw, 2000, 245f.), to make them more disposed to Egyptian rule and also, one imagines, as hostages to the new regime in their homelands.

The success of Tuthmosis III's campaigns can be seen more for its impact on subsequent dynasties than in the king's own lifetime. Joppa went on to become an Egyptian centre, seen in the physical remains of the gate of Rameses II¹² and also recorded in the Amarna letters.

Of the letters, EA365 takes the form of a complaint from one Biridiya that although he is cultivating, presumably produce that will form part of tribute to Egypt, his neighbour in Joppa is not (Moran, 1992, 363). A century after Tuthmosis III, Joppa seems to have been an annexed town expected to have an economic/industrial output to benefit Egypt. EA294 also concerns grain produce, this time Adda-danu complaining that 'Peaya, the son of Gulatu' has taken men he sent to guard the stores in Joppa (Moran, 1992, 337). Once again, Joppa is portrayed as an Egyptian centre but this time with suggestions of investment in its infrastructure purely for the economic good of Egypt and the empire. EA296 offers less insight into Joppa, mentioning it in the context of a site that Yahtiru asks if he should guard (Moran, 1992, 338f.). A fourth mention seems to be referring to a different town (EA138, Moran, 1992, 221ff.).

Joppa, then, continued under Egyptian subjugation throughout the period of the New Kingdom empire. Given its location this is unsurprising – it is one of the closest Levantine towns to Egypt's northern border and is situated directly on the coastal trade route (Manley, 1996, 71). The deportation of the town's population described in *Joppa* would leave it struggling to be an economic centre, but the exaggerated nature of campaign reports has already been noted. Certainly, the archaeology¹³ and textual record of the site would argue for a major Egyptian investment in Joppa. It existed as an Egyptian centre throughout the period of empire.

¹¹ The three wives of Tuthmosis III buried in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Quird, for example. See Bryan in Shaw (2000) 248

¹² See 'The Archaeology of Joppa', below.

¹³ For a full discussion, see below.

SUMMARY

Tuthmosis III's foreign military policy was complex and wide-ranging, the foundation for the establishment and longevity of the Egyptian empire rather than a precursor to it. It should not be seen as a reaction to the preceding joint reign with Hatshepsut – the internal restructuring programme of the female Pharaoh allowed Tuthmosis III to take his expansionist perspective.

The Egyptian tactics in the Levant began with the assertion of power, reinforced through a number of campaigns in the same area over sequential years. The overall policy was the collection of booty and tribute and the imposition of Egyptian dominance, campaigns only becoming destructive in areas where frequent return or annexing was impractical. The impetus behind the expansionism is hard to determine but certainly took in ideological and military goals. These may well have been influenced by the preceding history of the 18th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.

Joppa was a minor but key town throughout the campaigns and the empire that grew from them, due to its strategic position and proximity to the Egyptian border. There is textual evidence that it remained under Egyptian control long after the campaigns.

Overall, 'foreign policy' is a better way to describe Tuthmosis III's actions than simply 'war' or 'campaigning'. Each stage of conquest built on the previous and laid the foundations for the next, a pattern that became more evident as garrisons were placed in conquered territories. The effectiveness of this policy is not in doubt – the Egyptian empire of the New Kingdom remained in place for centuries beyond these conquests. It is the calculated nature of the individual campaigns, contrasted with the sorties of previous kings (most notably Tuthmosis I) that mark this period as fundamental in the development of New Kingdom Egypt.

This type of discussion of Egyptian history inevitably favours the textual evidence, and a full picture can only be gained through combining this study with that of material culture.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JOPPA

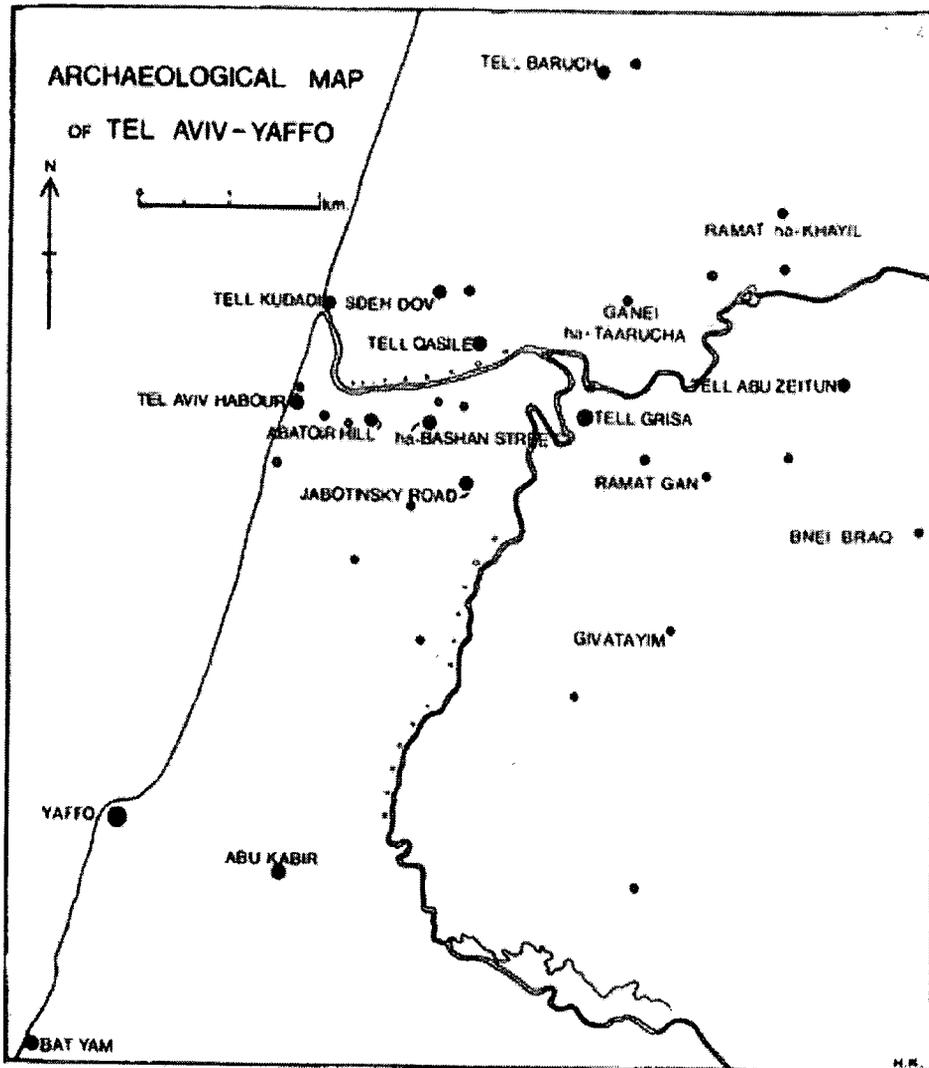
The ancient seaport of Joppa, situated along the southern edge of modern Tel Aviv-Jaffa, has been a site of repeated excavation from 1945 onwards (E.M. Meyers, 1997, 206). P. Guy first excavated for the University of Israel, followed by Bowman and Isserlin for the University of Leeds in 1952 (Bowman, 1954, 231-250) and, most extensively, Jacob Kaplan between 1955 and 1974 for the Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (J. Kaplan, 1972, 66-95). As a result, eight strata have been discerned dating from the Middle Bronze Age II (approximately 1800 BCE) to the Roman Period (approximately 250 CE).

As Kaplan's survey is by far the most comprehensive, it will be taken as the primary source for this review. After a discussion of the motivation and method of the excavations, the results will be examined in an attempt to gain a picture of the settlement of Joppa in the time of Tuthmosis III from its material culture remains.

METHODOLOGY

Kaplan's motivation for excavating at the site of ancient Joppa appears to have been more political than scientific. The then mayor of Tel Aviv, having read an archaeological survey conducted by Kaplan, decided to establish a museum of antiquities at the Joppa site to chronicle the earliest history of the city he presided over (Kaplan, 1972, 66). The clearance of a number of crumbling buildings on the area of the Jaffa Tell allowed access to several sites, and Kaplan also hints at the 'on-marching development of the city', and the threat to these areas, as a compelling factor behind the mayor's decision (Kaplan, 1972, 66).

'Almost with the first site dug, the author became aware that many of the finds belonged to periods still inadequately known or to focal-interest periods in Palestinian archaeology' (Kaplan, 1972, 66). To gain a context for his finds, Kaplan chose to dig at many other sites highlighted by his earlier survey:



Map 1. Source: Kaplan (1993)

While not all cover the Late Bronze Age time span, further sites not represented on this map are Wadi Rabbah, Lydda, Teluliyot Batashi, el-Jarba, Hamadia, Kfar Gil'adi, Yavneh Yam and Ashdod Yam (Kaplan, 1972, 67). 'The Museum of the Antiquities of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa' was opened to the public in January 1961, to the seaward side of the ancient mound of Joppa itself.

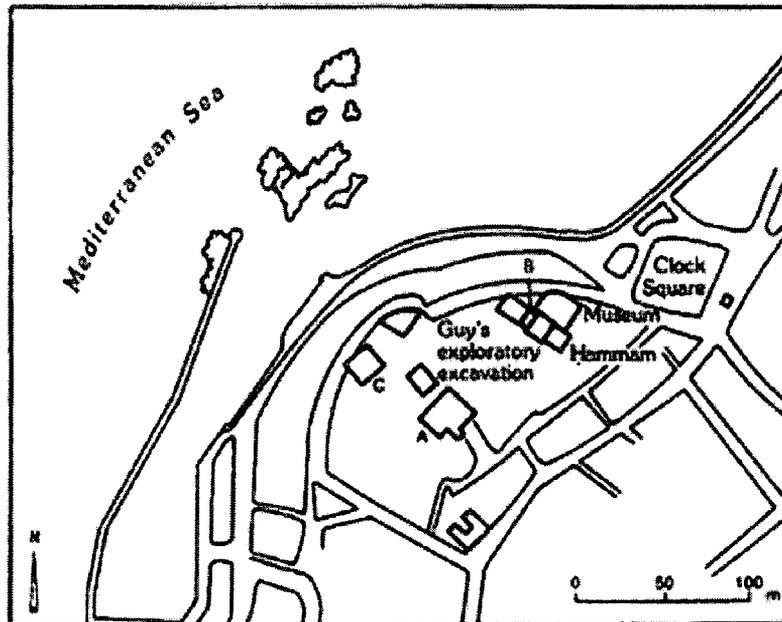
Kaplan's dating, building on the conventions of his contemporary archaeologists, illustrate the essentially text-centred outlook taken, the major dates relying on biblical orthodoxy (Kaplan, 1972, 66-95).¹⁴ A number of others are informed solely by

¹⁴ Kaplan's dating conventions are as follows:

The Neolithic Period	pre - 4000 BCE	
The Chalcolithic Period	4000	- 3150 BCE
Early Bronze Age	3150	- 2200 BCE
Middle Bronze Age	2200	- 1550 BCE

Kaplan's own work, and few take references from sites outside the geographical area of the above map.¹⁵

Three main areas were sited by Kaplan within ancient Joppa, labelled A, B and C in chronological order of excavation (Kaplan, 1993, 655-659):



Map 2. Source: Kaplan (1972)

The sites were somewhat dictated by the layout of the current settlement, although 'limited soundings' were taken in some built-up areas (Kaplan, 1993, 656). Area A was excavated during the 1950s, and again during the 70s. Both B and C were excavated between 1955 and 1964.

The focus of Kaplan's study was building remains, in particular the building he terms the 'citadel' (Kaplan, 1993, 656). The ruins of this building sit within area A, and it is the materials relating to this interpretation, rather than a raw count of all data, that are noted by Kaplan (Kaplan, 1993, 656). Once again, the motivation for this seems more text-centred than anything else: Kaplan notes the many texts that refer to the capture of

Late Bronze Age	1550	-	1200 BCE
Israelite Period	1200	-	586 BCE
Persian Period	539	-	333 BCE
Hellenistic/Hasmonean Periods	332	-	37 BCE
The Herodian Period	37 BCE	-	70 CE
Roman-Byzantine Period	70	-	640 CE

Joppa during different time periods.¹⁶ Archaeological conclusions aside, Joppa was a well-known and perhaps even significant settlement for a long period of time.

RESULTS

Kaplan's area A displays continuous occupation from the Middle Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period (Kaplan, 1993, 655). There is little evolution of structures across this time, but rather marked change as, Kaplan suggests, different foreign influences come into play in settlement patterning.¹⁷ Levels IV and V contain remains from around the time *The Taking of Joppa* is set, 1500-1400 BCE.

Level V consists of many of the mud-brick buildings on stone foundations found also in Level VI (Late Bronze Age I) (Kaplan, 1993, 657). There is a structure Kaplan terms a 'silo built of rough stones', containing 'quantities of potsherds from the fourteenth century BCE' (Kaplan, 1993, 657), but apart from this Kaplan found nothing to note.

Level IV provides much more worthy of comment for Kaplan. The site reveals what is ostensibly an entrance way of some kind, a passageway of stones and pebbles running in an east-west direction (Kaplan, 1993, 656). The level was subdivided into IVA and IVB, the upper level revealing walls and a gate destroyed by fire, an event dated to 'late in the thirteenth century BCE' (Kaplan, 1993, 656). A bronze object resembling a hinge was discovered near the entrance's left doorjamb (Kaplan, 1993, 656).

IVB contains the so-called Rameses gate, a dressed sandstone structure inscribed with the titles and names of Rameses II (Kaplan, 1993, 656). The gate has been dug deeply into the ruins of the town, specifically Kaplan's 'citadel' (Kaplan, 1993, 656). Entrance walls of mud brick were erected against these dug ruins either side. This level, like

¹⁵ This could, of course, be reckoned as something of a strength.

¹⁶ *The Taking of Joppa* and Tuthmosis III's war annals aside, the Assyrian ruler Sennacherib mentions the capture of the town in 701 BCE in a prism stela. Further textual evidence reports the king of Persia presenting Jaffa and Dor to Eshmunazar of Sidon, probably in the fifth century BCE, and the town was reportedly colonised by the Greeks and then captured by the Selucids before being destroyed by both Cestius Gallus and then by Vespasian. See Kaplan (1993) 655

¹⁷ Especially from Level V, which Kaplan designates as Late Bronze Age IIB, to Level 1, the Hellenistic period. See Kaplan (1993) 656

IVA, had also been burned, apparently in the third quarter of the thirteenth century BCE (Kaplan, 1993, 656).

The 1970s excavation of area A was only completed to three comparatively late strata, and so offers no data for the period of *Joppa*.

Area B reveals in its lower layers a beaten earth structure Kaplan denotes as a rampart (Kaplan, 1993, 658). This construction is trapezoidal in section, running north to south. Kaplan dates it to the eighteenth century BCE, and places it at the beginning of the Hyksos period in Egypt (Kaplan, 1993, 658). His model is of a square area, enclosed by this earth-mound defence (Kaplan, 1993, 658). Such a complex is not unique to Jaffa within the area of the archaeological survey.¹⁸ Several other formations, including mounds with mud brick interiors and stone facings, lead Kaplan to postulate a systematic strengthening of defences by the settlements' rulers in anticipation of Egyptian attack (Kaplan, 1972, 78).

The excavation of area C provided evidence of six occupation layers (Kaplan, 1993, 658). The earliest of these dates to the first century CE, and the site as a whole provides a number of Hellenistic and Roman artefacts (Kaplan, 1993, 658).

A final site of 'preliminary soundings' in the area of the Clock Square¹⁹ was termed area Y (Kaplan, 1993, 659). 'The area was not inhabited prior to the Persian period' (Kaplan, 1993, 659), but a number of tombs dating from the Late Bronze Age were found in the underlying soil (Kaplan, 1993, 659). Artefacts discovered within the tombs included two Egyptian scarab seals, one of which J. Leibowitz went on to decipher as the first name of Hatshepsut (Kaplan, 1972, 78) although Kaplan himself had earlier described it as 'un scarabée gravé au nom du roi Kames' (Kaplan, 1974, 554). Further remains dating from the Late Bronze Age included ash and animal bones, which Kaplan took as evidence for cultic activity in the region of the burial grounds (Kaplan, 1993, 659). Furnaces had been later constructed above these tombs (Kaplan, 1993, 659).

¹⁸ See Map 1, above.

¹⁹ See Map 2, above.

A small number of material remains are of note.²⁰ The first is an upper segment of figurine Kaplan describes as 'Hathor', discovered during the 1973 season of his excavations (Kaplan, 1972, 81, and see also J. Kaplan *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1974, 135-138). This was found within a rebuilt mud brick wall with construction dating to the middle of the thirteenth century BCE, seemingly constructed after destruction of an earlier wall by fire (Kaplan, 1972, 80f.). Two stones used in this rebuild had Egyptian hieroglyphs inscribed on them, yet these were placed randomly within the structure (Kaplan, 1972, 82). Kaplan takes this as evidence of non-Egyptian occupation (Kaplan, 1972, 82), although evidence exists of similar material reuse within Egypt.²¹

CONCLUSIONS

Kaplan's reading of the evidence is coloured by his understanding of the written evidence contemporary with his material. His conclusions about occupations and destructions should therefore be treated, at least in part, in the same way that the texts that inform them are. The Taking of Joppa is no exception to this, and is referred to by Kaplan a number of times (Kaplan, 1972; Kaplan, 1993, 655). It seems fully compatible in Kaplan's eyes with his finds of material culture.

A more detailed look at the text is needed to determine if these archaeological results can add anything to the discussion. This endeavour is dogged by a paucity of evidence from the time of Tuthmosis III, so the most fruitful course is to see if the material remains deny any of the claims made in *The Taking of Joppa*.

The most straightforward conclusion is that the settlement of Joppa existed at the time of Tuthmosis III. This is confirmed by its mention in Tuthmosis' annals, and also by the deeper strata discovered and labelled by Kaplan pre-dating the Late Bronze Age (See Kaplan, 1993, 656f.). The picture of a fortified town under siege that the narrative presents can be linked to the earthworks of area B, and the continued rebuilding of a gate-entrance to the town at the same spot suggests an established defence structure although the model of a 'Hyksos citadel' is questionable (Kaplan, 1972, 76ff.).

²⁰ Only a handful of the material culture finds from any of these excavations have been published, with only preliminary reports completed before Kaplan's death. The majority remain stored at the Museum of Antiquities in Tel Aviv. See Higginbotham, 2000, 107 for a cursory description.

²¹ See the 19th Dynasty pylons at Karnak, for example.

More tentative conclusions must be drawn when dealing with Leibowitz's scarab seal of Hatshepsut (Kaplan, 1972, 78). If this is indeed the name of the female Pharaoh, could Joppa have been under Egyptian control earlier than *The Taking of Joppa* suggests? It is impossible to say, and the variety of reasons for such a scarab appearing in a mortuary context hamper any attempt to reach precise judgements. The discovery of an object dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty certainly encourages the interpretation that Joppa was brought under Egyptian control around the middle of the Late Bronze Age.

The 'Hathor' figurine and inscribed stones are also problematic, with Kaplan changing his description of the figurine to simply 'pottery plaque figurine of a goddess' in more recent articles (Kaplan, 1993, 656). With no context for dating, these simply show further evidence of Egyptian cultural presence.

The most important find is undoubtedly the gate inscriptions of Rameses II. Though a comparatively modest structure, its appearance shows Joppa's presentation was that of an 'Egyptian-owned' town two centuries after the time of Tuthmosis III.

If the above discussions represent the historical background to *The Taking of Joppa*, their importance to Tuthmosis III's foreign military policy can be studied in their influence on both Egypt and its military force. The following sections will detail first the sociological effects of the world in which the 18th Dynasty operated, then the wider implications to the ideologies of war prevalent at the time. Both these issues can be aided by, but also further inform, the study of the text.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE MILITARY

The study of armed forces and society is a relatively new area, and so tends to focus on current military structures and countries (M. Janowitz from van Doorn, 1968, 15ff.). There is, however, much to be gained from the general study of the effect of a structured military machine upon the society of which it is part, especially in the context of Tuthmosis III's expansionist foreign policy.

In this section I will outline the social consequences of the arrangement of the armed forces that began in the Eighteenth Dynasty and continued throughout the period of the Egyptian empire. I will also look at the sociological factors that lead a country to the type of military endeavour described by the textual record of Tuthmosis III's reign, and in doing so test the validity of *Joppa's* claimed social and historical context.

THE CREATION OF AN ARMY

The phenomenon of an army can be seen as a result of the tension between military professionalism on the one hand and social, political, ideological and technical developments on the other (J. van Doorn from van Doorn, 1968, 41). A classic example of this is the use of tools in the development of agriculture, allowing a larger food supply from smaller land area, less work for a farm to produce the same amount of food, and therefore the freeing of human time and energies that can be directed towards activities other than survival. Such an illustration leads Toynbee to conclude that war 'may actually have been a child of Civilization' (A.J. Toynbee from Eckhardt, 1992, 29).

Why did civilized peoples fight more than primitive peoples? A preliminary answer might be that the former had more material things over which to fight, had metal weapons with which to fight, and, above all, had wealth to finance the endeavour. Wars take time away from more productive pursuits (Eckhardt, 1992, 28).

Egypt had moved beyond subsistence living well before the Eighteenth Dynasty, as shown in the construction projects and infrastructure that would have taken manpower away from agriculture. Nor was conflict a new event under the Tuthmosides, with most

rulers of Egypt engaging in, or being forced to engage in, some sort of military action from the beginning of written history.²²

Does the Eighteenth Dynasty afford any special circumstances under which the factors of society, politics, ideology and technology specifically raise the level of military professionalism? The complexity of the factors allows few concrete proposals, but it is worth re-evaluating the general history of the time specifically for these influences.

One of the most wide-ranging influences on these factors is the rise of nationalism:

Nationalism functions as a motive for a concern with war and war preparations. One element of nationalism, that the nation is sacred, provides a rationale for a national defence system – it establishes, in other words, the object which is threatened or may become threatened (B. Abrahamsson from van Doorn, 1968, 71ff.).

Egypt never lacked a sense of identity as a nation! (Kemp, 1989, Part 1, and Wilkinson, 1999, Parts I and II).

A further aspect of nationalism can be seen in loyalty to the head of state. Van Doorn's description of an evolution in military allegiance from monarch to head of state to the state as an institution, though based on historical observation of the last three centuries, seems applicable here (van Doorn, 1968, 42f.). That Egypt never moved beyond the first stage of allegiance is a testimony to the intimate nature of the monarch/country link.²³ The ideological place of kingship has already been noted,²⁴ with the monarch portrayed as taking an important role in battle throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁵

The greatest military technological development within this part of Egypt's history is the discovery of the chariot.²⁶ Abrahamsson sees this sort of development as the major practical influence on warfare:

²² For an good geographical overview of this see Manley (1996) or any of the major histories e.g. Grimal (1992)

²³ See stories of Alexander the Great's ritual acceptance into the Egyptian monarchical culture, and the effect of the loss of Cleopatra VII on Egypt as an armed force and a nation. Grimal (1992) 2f. et al.

²⁴ See Commentary.

²⁵ See the variety of tomb inscriptions from this period, alongside Tuthmosis III's annals and, later but following the same trend, the account of Rameses II's battle of Kadesh and related iconography. See Lichtheim (1976) 11ff.

²⁶ A device taken, in all probability, from the Hyksos. For a full discussion see [1,5]

Technological evolution causes deep-reaching changes in the military sector. Ideology, however, is influenced only to a small extent by this evolution. Developments in weapons technology...do not alter the character of the military ethic (B. Abrahamsson from van Doorn, 1968, 72).

That is, while the military-industrial complex can alter the form of warfare, the development of a more effective weapon does not necessitate hostile activities. Motivation must come from outside this field.

SUMMARY

Can these sociological factors be tied to specific events around the context of Tuthmosis III's reign? If the question is widened to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the most obvious influence is that of the Hyksos. The ascendance of the Theban dynasty over the foreign rulers led to a revolt and eventually a perceived re-establishment of Egyptian order that Manley describes as a 'renaissance' (Manley, 1996, 58). A reconstruction of this type would fuel the noted social, political and ideological elements of the formation of a military under the broad label of nationalism, but Redford proposes a more gradual and wider scale process at work in the establishment of Egypt's foreign policy:

As the exhausted Ahmose, on the morrow of the victory at Avaris [over the Hyksos], gazed northwards over the sands of the Sinai, he contemplated pretty much the same political map of Palestine and Syria as his predecessor Dudumose had pored over 110 years before...But Ahmose could not help but sense that winds were beginning to blow from new quarters...(Redford, 1993, 130)

These 'new quarters' included Cyprus, the Kassites filling a power vacuum left by a withdrawn Babylon and, most importantly, the appearance of the Hittites and the Hurrians (Redford, 1993, 130ff.). It is the struggle of these powers, Redford argues, that leaves the distinct destruction layers throughout the Levant at this time so often credited to Egyptians chasing the Hyksos far from their land (Redford, 1993, 138). The major military activity, fighting battles, unfortunately leaves little direct archaeological evidence for study (M.G. Hasel, 1998, 6).

Despite this lack, the general atmosphere in which 'liberated' Egypt found itself was one of rising political powers and tensions. This alone may have supplied the impetus to wage war to the large extent of Ahmose, Tuthmosis I and later Tuthmosis III, but the

added factor of the expulsion of a ruling faction that had come to be viewed as 'foreign' must have added to an Egyptian appreciation of the world beyond its borders as hostile.

We have, then, an example of the classic model of conflict: conquest, domination, exploitation and revolt (Eckhardt, 1992, 31). This is true both of the Hyksos and the Egyptian rulers that were to follow, and is a cycle that, in this orbit, finds its conclusion many centuries after Tuthmosis III's activities.²⁷

Using van Doorn's model, the Eighteenth Dynasty is well placed to spawn the sorts of military activity reported in Tuthmosis III's reign through his annals, military tomb inscriptions, and indeed *The Taking of Joppa*. Egypt's ideological impetus for its own nationalism is constant, a factor made more powerful by the close bonding of monarch, religion and state. The true nature of the Hyksos aside, their presence and expulsion allowed this bond to be reinforced. Political pressures were brought about by events outside Egypt, namely the appearance of new powers on the world stage. Technologically, Egypt seems to have inherited the chariot from the Hyksos and by extension a greater chance of success in battles.

The rise of military professionalism in the Eighteenth and following dynasties is hard to dispute. Schulman dedicates an entire study to the array of troop types, units and military titles that appear around this time (Schulman, 1964), and the textual evidence for organised campaigns is overwhelming.²⁸ The sociological factors evident in the run up to conflict are all well attested in this period, and whilst it may be too much to say these are the motives for the rise of conflict in the early New Kingdom they illustrate the influences that led the country into a large expansionist war effort.

THE EFFECTS OF A MILITARY STRUCTURE ON EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

So far the accent has been on the outward nature of Egypt's military activity, but the process also acted inwardly on the country.²⁹ The New Kingdom brought with it a

²⁷ Increased Libyan activity and the eventual invasion of the 'sea peoples' might be proposed as the date of the fall of the empire around 1180BCE, although the start of the Third Intermediate Period is usually thought to be marked by the death of Rameses XI. See J. Taylor, 'The Third Intermediate Period' in Shaw (2000) 330 – 368

²⁸ For the range of types of evidence, see Redford (1993) 140ff.

²⁹ For an overview of this phenomenon, albeit tailored to specific modern situations, see the section 'Military and Societal Change', van Doorn (1968) 171-258

heightened sense of militarisation and the creation of a new role for the people of Egypt, that of soldier, inevitably brought social consequences. In this section I will look at the effect of, and response to, this new social category within 18th Dynasty Egypt.

[In early societies] all that can be observed is a concentration of military capacities and responsibilities at the top of the social hierarchy, in an elite who play a determining role on the field of battle corresponding to its role in political and economic affairs... Power, military glory and wealth all fell to the same minority (Garlan, 1974, 83).

If any illustration of this is needed, the place of the king throughout Egyptian history is the ultimate example. Stretching back to Predynastic times, 'the motif of the ruler smiting his enemies is of great antiquity' (Wilkinson, 1999, 197). Whilst only one facet of a society centred on kingship, depictions in both texts and iconography displaying the ruler as the only representative of Egypt in victorious combat continued through and beyond the 18th Dynasty.³⁰

This is not to suggest that an army did not exist until late in Egypt's development, or even that a social system was only ushered in through the development of the military (Wilkinson, 1999, 28). Rather, it is that all military status was conferred on the king for ideological reasons, rendering, in early times, the sociological position of a soldier comparatively low.

The formation of the Egyptian state at the end of the fourth millennium BC crystallised social distinctions in a particularly marked way, placing the king at the apex of the pyramid, almost removed from the human sphere. Beneath him the ruling elite, minor officials and peasant farmers occupied progressively lower and larger tiers (Wilkinson, 1999, 28).

Tomb inscriptions throughout the history of the country nicely illustrate this. Tombs, always a sign of social standing (Lichtheim, 1975, 3), contained in earlier periods references to rank within the administrative, government institutions of Egypt: '... Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Chief Scribe of boat crews, Judge ...' (Lichtheim, 1975, 18). This is a factor of both the material wealth accumulated through public office, therefore the ability to actually purchase and furnish a tomb, and also favour with the monarch, many such inscriptions praising the king for giving space (and permission?) to build the tomb as a gift.

³⁰ See inscriptions and iconography of the temple at Karnak for example specific to Tuthmosis III.

It is during the Sixth Dynasty that some military flavour begins to appear in tomb biographies, most notably in the inscription of Weni.³¹ Yet even in this description of the conquering of the 'sand dwellers', Weni gauges his rank in strictly administrative terms.

It is only after the Second Intermediate Period that the military tomb biography truly comes into being. As mentioned above, the best example is that of Ahmose son of Abana where the author of the inscription immediately identifies himself as 'Crew Commander' (Lichtheim, 1976, 12). The subsequent list of campaigns and rewards leave little doubt about Ahmose's occupation.

So, by the time of the setting of *Joppa*, those that served in military roles had been granted a status in line with high-ranking officials of earlier times. Yet this does not suggest any change in the social make up of the country: is it the case that the soldier was granted a similar social status to the official or is this a democratisation of practices with little emphasis on social change?

Two comments of Garlan's are apt for study here:

The good soldier was the landed proprietor.

The complexity of military operations and political crisis tended in fact, if not in law, to increase the citizen soldier's autonomy of action (Garlan, 1974, 89ff.).

The assumption behind the first comment is straightforward: if a soldier is defending what he owns, he will be a better, or at least more ardent, fighter. Neither is war to be thought of as the main activity of a military elite (Garlan, 1974, 85). This is interesting, given the notion of a 'standing army' that grows from the picture of a militarised society. It is worth noting, however, that Ahmose's biography mentions both establishing 'a household' and being given 'five arurae' of land in his town as a reward.³² While only circumstantial facts, they point to an existence beyond a two dimensional depiction as a soldier.

³¹ See chapter 'What is *The Taking of Joppa*?' for the full text, above.

³² See 'What is *The Taking of Joppa*?' for a full text, above.

The second statement is more complex, suggesting a change in social outlook that would affect both the individual and the nature of a society that contained more people in military roles. This is reflected in the appearance of military tombs, the tomb being the ultimate expression of selfdom in both this life and the afterlife. The attempt to describe a society of 'more autonomous individuals' seems something of a nonsense. It is best to see the emergence of the soldier class firstly as an extension of the existing class system. As military action became more important, this status evolved into its own social strata with all associated benefits.

THE TAKING OF JOPPA AND THE IDEOLOGY OF WAR

The waging of a battle during the Egyptian New Kingdom was viewed as an activity constrained by rules and a sense of 'rightness', certainly in the way it is reported if not in actuality (M. Liverani, 1990, 160ff.). A meeting between two opposing armies had a designated pattern of activity, and a standard role for each force:

Like any other social activity, war has to follow accepted rules in order to be a constitutive and not a disruptive feature in the overall socio-political order. The destructive effect unavoidably linked to war is destructive of single elements of the system, but not of the system itself. If the rules are followed, the compactness of the civilized world is not prejudiced; and people who do not follow the rules (in order to get a material advantage) are disqualified and considered barbarians (Liverani, 1990, 160).

This may seem a naïve view, especially as the 'material advantage' gained from ignoring the rules can often be translated into victory. The point, however, is the representation of victory in terms of an organised system of engagement. To study this, following Liverani I will look at the textual accounts of the conflicts at Megiddo and Kadesh and their presentation of 'correct' battle in comparison to the account in *Joppa*.

Megiddo gives a very structured account of the 'correct' meeting of two armies at a pre-arranged field. It is noted in the text that the 'wretched foe' has chosen the city as the battleground, and the narrative reports the communiqué sent to the Egyptian king; 'I shall wait and fight his majesty here in Megiddo' (Lichtheim, 1976, 30). The report of Tuthmosis III's council of war includes the observation that 'the enemy are waiting' (Lichtheim, 1976, 30). This is not to suggest the playful element to war that Liverani emphasises (Liverani, 1990, 160), in the sense that the Egyptians walk into a battle that is prearranged like a visiting sports team, but that the strategic positions of both sides

force a confrontation that must be handled in the correct way. The 'princes of all foreign lands' are gathered into Megiddo for a political purpose and the Egyptian army marches on the Levant for an equally political one. The result here is a military confrontation.

This fits well in Liverani's proposed views of conflict at the time. The enemy in Megiddo has explicitly identified itself as the defender, and the Egyptians, naturally in their state as an army outside of its home borders, must act as attacker.³³ Any factors of motivation that brought the sides to this state, any intelligence gathered or even the sizes of the opposing armies do not make it into the text. The move upon Megiddo by Egypt is introduced as happenstance: 'His majesty ordered a consultation with his valiant army, saying: "The wretched foe of Kadesh has come and entered into Megiddo and is there at the moment..."' (Lichtheim, 1976, 30). It is speculative, though perhaps likely, that Tuthmosis III's campaign had Megiddo as an objective from the outset.

The actual fighting of the battle may raise questions in terms of tactics, but the propriety of war, at least by Liverani's definition, is maintained. By moving through the Aruna pass to attack (regardless of who actually led the troops!), the Egyptians find the opposing army stretched out: 'Their southern wing was at Tanaach and their northern wing on the north side of the Qina valley' (Lichtheim, 1976, 31). The attack constitutes a frontal assault, at the weakest point in the enemy army's ranks, and the result is a retreat by the defenders inside the walls of Megiddo.³⁴

The Kadesh Battle Inscription of Rameses II tells a different story. Though more than two centuries later, the situation is very similar: an Egyptian king on a foray beyond the borders of Egypt engages a Hittite threat.³⁵ Again a coalition is forming, 'Look, the vile Chief of Khatti has come together with the many countries who are with him...' (Lichtheim, 1976, 61), and it is wholly reasonable to see this as the political motivation for Rameses' attack.

The details of the confrontation are very different from Megiddo. It begins with misinformation provided by the enemy: two scouts report falsely to the king the whereabouts of the enemy, claiming he has fled before the might of Egypt. Instead of

³³ See Liverani (1990) 172ff. for a discussion of how he defines these roles.

³⁴ This sort of retreat to a defensible area is a further definition of the 'defender'. Liverani (1990) 172ff.

the structured and agreed confrontation of *Megiddo*, this is a deliberate ploy to prevent the army from preparing and is described in the piece as such. It is only later, when an Egyptian scout discovers the enemy position, that the truth becomes known: 'They are equipped with their infantry and their chariotry, and with their weapons of war... they stand equipped and ready to fight behind Kadesh...' (Lichtheim, 1976, 61)

In Liverani's model this constitutes a mixing of the roles of attacker and defender unacceptable in the presented, structured view of warfare. The claim that the Egyptians were taken in by the false information from the enemy scouts, or that they were unaware of an army massing behind Kadesh, seems spurious and is perhaps 'sour grapes' about a confrontation that did not bring a decisive Egyptian victory (Liverani, 1990, 178). The real problem is the next act of the Hittites – they attack while the Egyptians are unprepared for battle.

Now while his majesty sat speaking with the chiefs, the vile Foe from Khatti came with his infantry and chariotry and the many countries that were with him. Crossing the ford to the south of Kadesh they charged into his majesty's army as it marched unaware. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty weakened before them on their way northward to where his majesty was (Lichtheim, 1976, 61).

The ensuing battle is reported as a great individual victory for the king, who is depicted as engaging the enemy forces on his own having seen the Egyptian army weaken. Liverani portrays this as a polemic against the army in the face of Egyptian defeat (Liverani, 1990, 177), but the motif of the single, triumphant king is such a strong one throughout Egyptian culture that this is not necessarily true.

Nor is Liverani's discussion of a polemic against the enemy quite correct either. There is no comment within the text on the enemy's tactic of engaging the Egyptians while they are unprepared. It is portrayed as the reason that the army is ineffectual but the vocabulary of 'vile foes' is common throughout *Megiddo*, *Joppa*, *Kadesh* and the majority of texts dealing with Egypt's enemies.

That said, *Megiddo* and *Kadesh* illustrate two different approaches to similar military situations that the Egyptians would have expected to be met in similar ways. Liverani

³⁵ For a full translation see Gardiner (1960), or for excerpts see Lichtheim (1976) 60ff.

quotes some corresponding Near Eastern texts in further support,³⁶ but it is these examples from around the time of *Joppa* that demonstrate the contemporary Egyptian view. While not fully supporting the strict 'code' of warfare that Liverani suggests, they do demonstrate that certain preconceptions existed in battle situations. It would seem that these are more informed by circumstance and practicality on the battlefield rather than an abstract philosophy of war.

What, then, are the military preconceptions that surround the Egyptian force at *Joppa*? The situation described is one step on from that in *Megiddo* or *Kadesh* – the enemy is besieged inside its town walls, presumably after a retreat in the face of the Egyptian force³⁷ – and this acutely reinforces the roles of attacker and defender. Liverani views the siege as a different application of the same principle, the main distinction being 'a more evident defensive obstacle' (Liverani, 1990, 174)

Therefore the attacker has two possibilities, either to 'heroically' take the town by a frontal assault...or just to wait for the surrender by starvation (Liverani, 1990, 174).

The ensuing tactics of Djehuty are therefore far more questionable in terms of the expected responses. To begin with, another quote from Liverani is worth comment:

The rules of war are rules of action, but also (and apparently above all) rules of speech (Liverani, 1990, 160).

The role of speech within *Joppa* has been noted at length for the important part it plays, but its use is almost entirely as an 'offensive weapon' to gain an upper hand over the enemy. The *maryannu* are encouraged to stable their animals with the Egyptians only to have them made immobile, the rebel of *Joppa* falls victim to a deliberate misunderstanding about the club, and an enemy herald's false message to the ruler of *Joppa*'s 'mistress' opens the gates.

The Egyptian actions that follow the speech are in accordance with those expected of a defeated opponent. The spoils of war, in this case the Egyptian forces' equipment and possessions, are given up to the victor. But once again it is Djehuty's action against the preconceptions that causes the Egyptian victory – what might politely be called his

³⁶ The *Annals of Tudhaliya* and the *Annals of Hattushili III*, see Liverani (1990) for references.

³⁷ It is impossible to say from the extant text whether such a retreat would have happened before or after a *Megiddo* like confrontation.

‘stratagem’ of hiding soldiers in baskets, but impolitely ‘underhand methods’. The ruse is successful and as a direct consequence the Egyptians break the siege.

What we have in *Joppa* is a perversion of the expectations of conflict well beyond those depicted in *Kadesh*, and a set of tactics completely unlike those attributed to Tuthmosis III in *Megiddo*. The Egyptians at Joppa explicitly surrender to the enemy when in fact the entirely opposite is true. Nothing is what it seems in either speech or action, and this represents a complete break from the norms of combat. Indeed, it is the radical nature of this departure that ensures the Egyptian victory.

As noted in the commentary, the inhabitants of Joppa are depicted as foolish to fall for such tactics. This fulfils a different aim from *Megiddo*, where the emphasis is on a king’s superior tactics within a defined, ‘normal’ conflict situation, and *Kadesh*, where a king’s singular combat skill against an unscrupulous enemy (with a possibly lacklustre Egyptian army) is highlighted. Here the enemy is to blame for its own stupidity just as the Egyptian’s, and especially Djehuty, are worthy of praise for their innovation.

It is difficult to determine whether *Joppa* is depicted against an Egyptian ideology of the correct way to wage war.³⁸ It certainly shows how war conventions can be subverted to secure a victory, but these conventions seem more organic than calculated – defeated enemies are expected to give up their spoil because that is what has always happened before. The other main ingredient is the Egyptian propaganda machine. One expects that if a scribe of Joppa were reporting a failed attempt at subversion, the Egyptians would have been the vile, untrustworthy foes.

A final observation is pertinent. The lack of direct royal interaction has been noted continuously as a feature of *Joppa*, and it could be argued that this distance is to keep kingly association away from something out of line with officially depicted Egyptian war practice. This is unfounded: the Egyptians are without doubt the heroes of the piece, and, as noted, the king is credited with the victory even in his absence.

In *Joppa* the accepted norms of war are depicted as a weakness of a foolish enemy, as much as their subversion is a strength of Djehuty’s military expertise. This is

unsurprising given the Egyptian's role as victors in the piece, but is still another unique facet to *Joppa* within the wider genre of battle depictions.

CONCLUSION

The effects of Tuthmosis III's military efforts had a profound effect on Egypt at the time they were taking place, and left a legacy of dominance in the Levant that was defended and expanded in the centuries after his reign. The development of a military elite reinforced the democratisation of aristocratic norms, as rewards were made for performance in combat performed by a cross-section of the population.

The Taking of Joppa stands within the bounds of its self-attested historical setting. Its narrative world would have been entirely familiar to readers around the time its events are set, and it fails to raise problems in today's context of advanced historical study. The actual conflict described may have raised eyebrows if accepted norms of armed conflict were the issue, but this could well be a factor in the story's preservation.

PROPOSING AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

As noted, a number of factors point to a dating of *The Taking of Joppa* later than the reign of Tuthmosis III where the narrative is set. Grammatical forms, together with the papyrus itself, imply a composition some centuries later.

While this is a general dating, several aspects suggest further investigation of a particular time of the New Kingdom, the reign of Rameses II. Like Tuthmosis, Rameses was a young ruler who engaged in extensive military campaigns, albeit against a different historical and political backdrop. Combined with similarities between *Joppa* and the aforementioned *Battle of Kadesh*, and the existence of the Rameses Gate, could *The Taking of Joppa* be a product of this later reign?

In this section I will look at the historical and political features of the reign of Rameses II, and through these the circumstances of Palestine and Joppa within this reign and that of Tuthmosis III.

³⁸ No argument is put forward as to whether an ideology that existed in texts survived when it came to the battlefield. All three texts quoted are written within the same system of publication of war reports, and it

Assuming the date 1490 for the accession of Tuthmosis III...then the more probable date for the accession of Rameses II is 1290 (Schmidt, 1973, 13)

The two hundred years that separated the kings were marked by a shifting political order within the ancient Near East, the most significant development being the rise of the Hittites. To a greater or lesser extent, all intervening Egyptian rulers had taken an interest in the affairs beyond Egyptian borders (Redford, 1992, 160ff.). Yet it was not until the reign of Seti I, Rameses II's direct predecessor and father, that old methods were resumed.

Translated into military action, the renewal entailed the resumption of an aggressive foreign policy reminiscent of Tuthmosis III...Sety was, consciously or unconsciously, following [his] overall strategy (Redford, 1992, 180f.).

This took the form of an organised northward campaign, including an assault on Kadesh which had become a fulcrum in the struggle with the Hittites. Egyptian sources allude to a state of anarchy that Seti was obliged to address (Kitchen, 1969, 9), but there is evidence that these attacks were in contravention of a earlier treaty that Egypt had taken out with the Hittites (Redford, 1992, 181).

Rameses II continued and built upon these exchanges, engaging in wide-ranging excursions into foreign territory early in his reign (Grimal, 1992, 253). The culmination of military activity through Canaan, Tyre, Byblos, Amurru and Phoenicia was a return of an Egyptian army to Kadesh, in a battle long commemorated by both Rameses and other contemporary Near Eastern cultures (Grimal, 1992, 253; Lichtheim, 1976, 63ff.). The actual outcome of this conflict was little more than a 'draw', but the effect was the creation of an 'anti-Egyptian buffer zone' (Grimal, 1992, 256) of Hittite supported princes in Syria.

The result of Rameses' prolonged military effort was the eventual drawing-up of an Egypto-Hittite treaty in the eighteenth year of his reign. 'The first state-to-state treaty in history' (Grimal, 1992, 257) was successful as a basis of peace between the two parties for the rest of Rameses' reign, and paved the way for increased interaction between the powers, including intermarriage (Grimal, 1992, 257).

is from these reports that ideas of convention are constructed rather than 'historical reality'.

The most telling facet of this treaty for the study of *Joppa*, however, is the different tones that the extant Egyptian and Hittite versions take. The Akkadian text of the Hittite version is very matter-of-fact:

The treaty, which Reamasesa Mai-Amana, the great king, the king of the land of Egypt, drew up on a silver tablet with Hattusili, the great king, king of the land of Hatti, his brother, for the land of Egypt and the land of Hatti, in order to create great peace and great brotherhood between them forever (Kuhrt, 1995, 214f.).

The Egyptian presentation is somewhat different:

On this day, while his majesty was in the town of Per-Ramses Meri-Amun, doing the pleasure of his father, Amun-Re...there came the royal envoy ...with a silver tablet, which the great prince of Kheta, Hattusili, had brought to Pharaoh – life, prosperity, health! – in order to beg for peace from the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt...(Kuhrt, 1995, 214)

The use of royal titles (most of which are omitted above), together with the presentation of the enemy ‘begging’ before Egypt again demonstrates the ease with which the Egyptian presentation of events favoured their ideology of both kingship and of the correct state of political affairs – Egyptian domination. If *The Taking of Joppa* is a composition of this time, it is unlikely if not impossible that it would have escaped this broad characteristic of Egyptian literature. *Joppa* does not overtly display any narrative themes that place it outside of Tuthmosis III’s reign, but can its presentation be said to be consistent with the world of Rameses II?

EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE UNDER RAMESES II

Just as the centuries between Tuthmosis III and Rameses II marked a shift in the regional politics of the Levant, they also saw differences and developments in the attitude of Egypt to its neighbours. Tuthmosis’ foreign policy had been one of active campaigning and a continual reassertion of military power, and was certainly the foundation for the ‘empire’ that following Egyptian kings consolidated. Two-hundred years on, a more complex system of political control of the lands beyond Egypt’s borders had emerged.

Traditional views of the 19th Dynasty have often split the foreign holdings of Egypt into three provinces (Helck, 1976, 240ff.), areas which, as under Tuthmosis III, needed constant personal attention from a monarch and his army to keep them in check (Kitchen, 1982, 67). The result of this policy is the annexing of Egyptian interests, accompanied by military occupation in the form of garrison towns and forts to protect the Egyptian sphere of influence and keep captured peoples subdued (Weinstein, 1981, 17). The picture is therefore of an organic progression from the military-led policy of Tuthmosis III to the military-held strategy of Rameses II.

More modern studies, most notably those of Carolyn Higginbotham, have proposed a different model. In this, a pattern of 'elite emulation' is proposed, a more indirect method of rule than that of military intervention and annexing.

The evidence for this emulation is manifest in both textual and archaeological remains. On the textual side, Higginbotham reconstructs a dual system of administration from the available papyri and inscriptions from Rameses II's reign.³⁹ She proposes a small number of military imperial centres existing alongside city-states ruled by 'Egyptianized' vassal princes (Higginbotham, 2000, 71). 'Circuit officials' then oversaw the day-to-day functioning of the regions with occasional input from 'royal envoys', individuals dispatched from Egypt with purposes that ranged from couriering to being royal ambassadors (Higginbotham, 2000, 37ff.).

This less direct approach is confirmed in the material culture finds. The vast majority of Egyptian material remains outside of Egypt are found within funerary and ritual contexts, and these represent a minute subsection of the material culture of the 19th Dynasty (Higginbotham, 2000, 121ff.). Coupled with evidence of artefacts combining both local and Egyptian elements (Higginbotham, 2000, 121ff.), Higginbotham suggests a predominantly 'local' society that existed under Egyptian political and cultural influence. This is reinforced by the uneven distribution of Egyptian-style artefacts, with clusters around or near major roadways (Higginbotham, 2000, 126).

These suggestions are persuasive but, as Higginbotham notes, neither textual nor archaeological evidence provides a perfect correlation with the 'elite emulation' model

³⁹ These include the *Battle of Kadesh* inscriptions, the cuneiform Aphek letter and a relief from the temple complex at Luxor. See Higginbotham, 2000, 34ff. for full references.

or the more traditional view of 'direct rule', the natural inheritance of Tuthmosis III's foreign policy (Higginbotham, 2000, 129). It is therefore useful to look at the town of Joppa in isolation, to see if any of the evidence surrounding it points towards one model or the other.

The most significant find is, undoubtedly, the stone jambs of the 'Rameses gate'. These provide direct evidence of Egyptian architectural practices in Palestine, with evidence of the nomen and prenomen of Rameses II and the *nsw-bit* bee (Higginbotham, 2000, 44). No other installations are as large or significant anywhere in Palestine during this period, and Higginbotham proposes that they may form the entrance of a granary mentioned in Amarna letter EA 294 and still in existence at the time of Rameses II (Higginbotham, 2000, 44).

If this suggests direct Egyptian involvement (Higginbotham, 2000, 131), further material remains hint more at the indirect, emulation model. Most of the pottery from Joppa is, apparently, of a local domestic nature (Higginbotham, 2000, 107), and the few published material finds are of high value, decorative goods including the two scarab seals found within the funerary context and the 'Hathor' figurine.

Joppa therefore, like much of the region, argues for a mixture of direct and indirect control (Higginbotham, 2000, 129ff.). The erecting of monuments with the name of the ruler on has a good precedent in Tutumosis I and III's alleged Euphrates stela, and therefore of direct rule, but the lack of everyday Egyptian goods and implements in a town close to the Egyptian border (and on a major highway) does not suggest military annexing. The combined evidence across the whole region points to a more complex model of government than Tuthmosis III's.

The text of *The Taking of Joppa* does not particularly concern itself with the political setup of the region, but does hint at a certain model. The ruler of Joppa is a 'rebel', which is too common an epithet to draw much from but does have echoes of both *Megiddo* and *Kadesh*. The *maryannu* of the piece seem to be a powerful military force connected with the town, a detail that seems inconsistent with both the direct and emulation models. The king remains in Egypt rather than rampaging around the region, suggesting again an indirect form of subjugation.

All this considered, Joppa may have felt the results of a change in Egyptian strategy less than other towns. This is because, due to its proximity to the ruling power, Egyptian influence must have been a more common phenomenon than in the more outlying areas. It lay on the major coastal trade route, and the many armies passing north to 'frontier' areas would have reinforced Egyptian culture without any need for other officials. Nearness to Egypt also made it an unlikely target for attack. As such, it is difficult to imagine how much would have changed for Joppa in any of the centuries after the initial expansionist campaigns of Tuthmosis III.

SUMMARY

A number of factors independent of the narrative setting of *Joppa*, such as language and orthography, suggest a date of composition sometime after the reign of Tuthmosis III in which it is set. External factors to the text, such as archaeology, point to the prominence of the town of Joppa during the 19th Dynasty and, through Kaplan's discovery of the door jambs, specifically to the time of Rameses II.

The reigns of these monarchs had similar contexts and goals, but in the two centuries between saw a shift in political control by Egypt in the Levant. These changes embraced internal factors, including the development of the enforcement of Egyptian rule, and external ones, the most notable being the rise of the Hittite power. It may be suggested that while the two kings enjoyed similar day-to-day military activities, the context in which their campaigns took place had shifted dramatically.

It seems unlikely, however, that Joppa felt much of this shift on its own soil. Its proximity to Egypt, and the existence of distinctly Egyptian architectural forms, suggest a fairly steady and reasonably direct rule from that country throughout these Dynasties. *The Taking of Joppa* does not contradict either Tuthmosis III's or Rameses II's context, although the idea of Joppa having its own rebel leader and *maryannu* could be seen as a presentation of earlier times from the viewpoint of the 13th Century BCE. With the evidence of advanced Egyptian control throughout the region, and the Rameses inscription at Joppa, they could scarcely have been in existence during the later reign.

THE MAJOR THEMES OF *JOPPA*

Djehuty

Djehuty is the star of *The Taking of Joppa*. While the piece does not fulfil the same personal focus for Djehuty as *Sinuhe* does for its hero, there is no doubt anywhere within the passage who is running the show. The main concern of *Joppa* is the narrative description of events that lead up to the town being taken, but the main character in these events is the commander.

Being so central to the piece, a discussion of Djehuty, and conclusions about his character, are essential in an appreciation of *Joppa* as a whole. What we find on reviewing the evidence is a complex web of inference and meaning that may or may not lead to an historical person.

The name is the first strand in this. Providing more than echoes or connotations, it is directly associated with two major Egyptian characters: Thoth and Tuthmosis III. In a general interpretation, this brings to mind ideas of wisdom and intelligence, together with royal undertones and loyalty to the monarch. It does not represent a pseudonym for the king, who is openly situated in Egypt by the text, but does create an obvious link between him and the commander of his force.

Independent of the text, there are a number of objects dating from the period of Tuthmosis III relating to a person or persons named Djehuty. In addition, many of these are military or military-associated in nature, especially the bowls. All seem to fit together to form a nice picture of a military commander who operated in the Levant, recognised and honoured by his monarch, Tuthmosis III.

In reality, there is nothing that links these objects but the name of the commander which, as we have seen, would have been a 'loyal' and popular name throughout the 18th Dynasty. The bowls, disregarding questions of authenticity, were not found within the tomb context, and *The Taking of Joppa* has no literary link to any of the items.

On balance, the evidence points to the existence of a commander named Djehuty who operated at the time of *Joppa*'s setting and within its sphere of description. It is more

likely that the owner of the bowls was 'a Djehuty' rather than 'the Djehuty' of the text, but there is nothing to refute the idea that a well known Commander Djehuty (perhaps the owner the items) could have had this story attributed to him at the later point of the piece's composition.

Djehuty, then, operates as an everyman. He may well have been an historical figure, one that some readers of the text may know something of, but it is equally a common enough name for no one to question its existence within the period *Joppa* is set. This comes back to the first point made: *Joppa* does not deal directly with the character of Djehuty. His presence in the text is therefore to add credibility, even celebrity interest, to a story that claims authenticity. Historical or not, his presence does just that.

Egypt at War

The subject matter of the text is undeniable: an Egyptian military force is attempting to overcome an enemy town. As one would expect from a text written from the victor's point of view, the Egyptians are displayed as justified aggressors, perhaps even the indisputable winners-elect, from the very beginning of the piece. This is achieved through the use of vocabulary - the ruler of Joppa is a rebel - and also in the reader being given a prior knowledge of planned events. Both narrative devices are evident in other Egyptian texts, most notably *Megiddo* and *Kadesh*.

Unlike *Megiddo* the structure of the conflict at Joppa is muddied by the commander's stratagem. The ideological norm of attacker and defender is reversed by the false surrender of the force's commander. Unlike *Kadesh*, there is no judgement passed on the issue of deception - where misinformation is condemned there it is portrayed as being rewarded here, a factor of the different positions of Egyptian forces in each account. This is not to suggest that ideology is disregarded when the supported nation is the victor, but more that there is a reason for Egypt adopting underhand tactics. In this case they are facing a 'rebel' and an inept foreign force that gets drunk and doesn't understand the language, neither therefore fit to hold Egyptian property. When victory comes, it is comprehensive.

Confusion and double-entendres

The clumsy nature of the enemy is stressed throughout *Joppa*, especially in word play. The main narrative theme of the passage is concealment, and this expresses itself throughout. In narrative terms, there is both confusion over and concealment of the 'club' that is the downfall of the rebel;¹ the *m^cyrn3* are lulled into drunkenness, so much so that they agree to their horses being *hwi*, 'secured';² the town is captured by concealed soldiers.³ Linguistically, there is the use of the god Seth, with its many related meanings, in the speech to the rebel's footman;⁴ in the same speech Djehuty's words contain the veiled details of his plan, a fact explicitly outlined to the reader;⁵ there are cases to be made for wordplay surrounding both the 'great club' and the *ḥpwy*;⁶ Djehuty is itself a name rich with connotations from the god Thoth.⁷ There is even the suggestion that the theme of hidden meanings is carried on into the orthography of the piece, *b3kw.sn*, 'enslaved', using a hieroglyphic basket phonogram.⁸

This does not push the scribe's use of his own language too far, nor does it jar with any of the narrative concerns of *Joppa*. The Egyptian image of the foreign enemy as inferior is common throughout the history of Egypt, as shown in the passages cited in this study, as is a regard for eloquence and proper speech. If correct speech is something to be admired, so the misunderstanding of the language is something to be looked down upon. In this case it is punished by rightful defeat.

Kingship

The theme of kingship is notable by its absence in the early part of the piece, but also by its strong resurgence at the end. The theme of king as foremost warrior is pervasive through most of the tomb biographies cited, and is also the case in *Megiddo* and *Kadesh*.

In *Joppa*, Djehuty is the foremost of the soldiers. This is true in practical terms: he is the sole commander of the force, and the king is specifically located in Egypt.⁹ It also

¹ [1,9]ff.

² [1,6]

³ [3,1]

⁴ [2,11]

⁵ [2,12] echoed in [3,4]f.

⁶ [1,9]ff. and [1,5]

⁷ [1,2]

⁸ [2,12]

⁹ [3,6]f.

seems to be true in ideological terms, especially when compared with *Megiddo* and *Kadesh*. This remains the case until close to the end, when it is stated that ‘The strong hand of Pharaoh l.p.h. captured the town.’¹⁰ Djehuty, in the letter that follows the victory, attests the entire act to contemporary Egyptian norms: the god Amun and his ‘son’ the king.

This switch has been the cause of many of the problems surrounding the genre of the piece. Aside from the inclusion of reported speech and the third person viewpoint, the composition of *Joppa* shows that it does not belong to the military tomb biography category. Instead of the integration of personal and kingly adoration one would expect from the biographical genre, there is a distinct splintering of subject matter. However, the fact that the king appears, with the victory attributed to him, moves *Joppa* away from tales such as *The Foredoomed Prince* with which it shares Papyrus Harris 500. As such, it is very difficult to classify *Joppa* within currently accepted Egyptian genres beyond a ‘literary’ nature.

A ‘Real World’ Setting

Does the lack of integration with ideology, most notably the lack of a king at the head of his forces, mean that *Joppa* portrays something closer to the reality of Egyptian conflict than comparable texts? It certainly seems that nothing within the piece contradicts our understanding of the history of the time of Tuthmosis III. The action takes place during a period of Egyptian expansion, in a location that would have inevitably seen the movement of troops close by. Joppa was a town worth capturing, and Tuthmosis III’s foreign military policy would have demanded its inclusion within the seedling Egyptian empire.

The text is not extravagant in its claims of realism, the central narrative of the baskets being more quirky than fantastical, and the scribal colophon is in line with other military texts of the period. Djehuty is a believable commander of an adequately sized Egyptian force. The sociological development of a military elite meant that many ‘Djehuties’ would have existed in Egypt at the time, and the prevalence of military tombs and artefacts like Djehuty’s golden bowl attest to both this and the frequency of the name contemporary with Tuthmosis III. The only point that asks for a possible suspension of belief is the universality with which Egyptian is spoken, but even this is

¹⁰ [3,4]f.

not too far fetched given Joppa's location and the rise of Egypt's international diplomacy as a result of 18th Dynasty foreign activity.

Joppa takes place in a world familiar to readers around the time period in which it is set, one still familiar today in terms of military organisation and geographical setting.

WHAT IS *THE TAKING OF JOPPA*?

Joppa is set in the time of Tuthmosis III, but found the form by which it has been passed down to us in the time of Rameses II. This is a relatively short gap between setting and recording, much shorter than extant copies of *Sinuhe* for example, yet the attitudes to military culture and specifically the empire Egypt was building in the Levant had changed.

No longer were Egyptian interests satisfied merely by exploiting Palestine economically and politically at the smallest cost militarily. On the contrary, with the Hittites now pushing down from the north, Palestinian princes rising up against Egyptian rule in several areas of the country, and various nonurban groups...growing increasingly restless, Egyptian military and administrative personnel moved into the region in large numbers (Weinstein, 1981, 17).

The biggest influence was from beyond Egypt's borders: the Hittites. Rameses II had barely held off defeat against them at Kadesh, and through a treaty had entered Egypt into an unprecedented power-sharing model of regional politics. This occurred early on in the king's reign (Ignatov, 1998, 87), and relations with this foreign power coloured much of Ramesses' subsequent political and military dealings (Redford, 1992, 177ff.)

It is in this climate that *Joppa* found its preserved form, and its use of language and narrative indicates a high degree of complexity and, therefore, of construction. Sharing its papyrus with *The Foredoomed Prince*, it has often been treated as a poor second best to this longer piece. In reality, *Joppa* appears on the first columns of the *recto*: it was recorded prior to *Prince*, and therefore perhaps had a higher status in the mind of the scribe.

This status may well have stemmed from its relevance to the time of its recording. Egypt was on the back foot militarily, more so than at any time since Tuthmosis III, yet

still had an empire that, as Weinstein suggests, was more important than ever. Confidence needed shoring up, with ideology perhaps more diminished than territory.

The battle inscription of *Kadesh* is the foremost example of this. This 'exceptionally important document on the history and the domestic policy of Ramesses II and on Egyptian ideology at the beginning of Dynasty XIX' (Ignatov, 1999, 87) places the king at the forefront of an Egyptian victory. No matter how dubious this 'victory' was in reality, the official angle was (as ever) of Egyptian, and specifically royal, domination.

Joppa's concerns are different. Although Egypt's military prowess is to the fore, the emphasis is on the act and the narrative. Djehuty is the most important individual, but he cannot be pinned down to a single historical figure (in contrast to Ramesses II as the king). The focuses are the stupidity of the foreigners and the completeness of the victory for Egypt.

The town of Joppa seems to have enjoyed a revival around this time also. While its history of Egyptian influence spans several centuries, due mostly to its proximity to the border, the material culture is especially intense during this period. The pinnacle of this is the 'Ramesses Gate', a large structure inscribed with the name of the king. Egyptian intervention was seemingly especially active during this reign.

We are therefore presented with an Egyptian military machine in shock after Kadesh, a situation that led to a reassessment of Egyptian interest in the Levant as shown in the Hittite treaty. This is coupled with a highly ideological military and kingly inscription of *The Battle of Kadesh*, and in the Egyptian presentation of the treaty itself. The material culture of Joppa shows the town's resurgence in Egyptian estimation, and a wish on Egypt's part to assert control. Finally there is *The Taking of Joppa*, a piece that purports to be an historical account of the capture of the town by Egypt, and an ongoing reminder, through the ineptness of the local rulers, why it should stay as such.

Through this reading, a number of *Joppa's* characteristics are explained. Tuthmosis III is not the king whom this piece serves, and is therefore best placed back in Egypt away from the action and comparisons with the contemporary monarch. Djehuty is a common but also historical name, one with all the accompanying connotations of wisdom. The extraordinary details of the capture would add to popularity, and the

scribal colophon attests to the piece's accuracy, whether from a military/history or literary point of view.

It is difficult to see whether *Joppa* would have been read as such at the time of its writing. Leaving aside considerations of literacy (Baines & Eyre, *GM* 61, 65-96), *Kadesh* and *Megiddo* both show that ideological texts to reinforce ideas of kingship and dominance existed throughout the period in question. There is, indeed, nothing to overtly discount the argument that *Joppa* is based around an historical core (Goedicke, 1968, 219). If it enjoyed an oral history prior to, or even alongside, the papyrus version, this would have served royal needs equally. The written nature of some of the piece's 'jokes' suggest that *Joppa* may be a version of the tale for the literary elite, a fact that is not diminished if this same version was distributed orally by 'literate administrators' throughout the country (Baines & Eyre, *GM* 61, 69).

HOW TO READ *THE TAKING OF JOPPA*

The above suggestions should not lead to a cynical reading of *Joppa*, or a degradation of its literary and historical worth by labelling it a 'folktale' or similar. If it did act as a tool of empire for Rameses II, it still exists as a passage tantalisingly outside Egyptian norms. It can therefore act as a window onto the time in which it was written, and can be read in a way other texts restricted by genre and setting cannot.

The first factor is the realism of the piece. It is doubtful that the monarch led his troops at all times, especially within the framework of the foreign affairs that Tuthmosis III conducted. The process of locally based commanders sending reports back to the king is far more believable than *Megiddo*, *Kadesh* and narratives of their type. It is also closer to the picture drawn by the administrative Amarna letters. Secondly, it acts as a tonic to the military tomb biography genre. Djehuty is the piece's hero, but is also loyal and conforming when it comes to ascribing victory to the king. Though the tale of valour here has a stranger content than the average biography, its lack of titles and self-congratulation, coupled with a believable stand on kingship, makes it a more credible report of individual conduct than many others.

If the story crystallised and grew popular during the reign of Rameses II and the ascendance of Joppa, it did so at the right time. Here the narrative could exist without

the overbearing need to stamp Pharaonic kingship on it at every stage. The highly complex wordplay suggests skill in composition, even if based around a factual core. Furthermore, if the Djehuty in the story is intended to be a famous commander rather than an 'everyman', who better to pick than one who gained gold and silver bowls to commemorate his conduct?

The Taking of Joppa should be read as a story, because it is written as a story. It has a good plot, sympathetic characters and a level of literary ingenuity that engages the reader. As a story, it is a powerful and realistic reflection of military campaigning at the time of the New Kingdom's expansionist foreign campaigns. It is also powerful as a propaganda tool, cementing the town of Joppa in a position at the heart of the Egyptian empire. As all these combined it is a deeply remarkable text, one that should be regarded as a fine example of an Egyptian piece from a crucial moment in the country's military and political history.

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