

# Re-evaluating Amenhotep IV's/Akhenaten's Foreign Policy

Dr Laura Peirce, Egyptologist and Master of Secondary Teaching candidate, University of New England, NSW



*Figure 1. A photograph of a block from Karnak dating to the reign of Tutankhamun currently in the Luxor Museum (2016), photograph taken by L. Peirce.*

The allure of the Amarna Period and the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten transcends beyond the Egyptological realm and extends into the New South Wales (NSW) Stage 6 Ancient History Syllabus.<sup>1</sup> Akhenaten, as a topic option under 'Personalities and their Times', is a popular choice for schools due to the rich evidence, notable events, and significant religious, architectural and political changes that occurred in this historical period.<sup>2</sup> However, while the examination of the material for this period is filled with problems, like the chronological ordering of the Amarna letters, other issues abound across this Personality Study that are not explicit in the teaching resources.<sup>3</sup> One key area that requires re-evaluation by teachers and authors of school textbooks on Akhenaten is the syllabus dot point that involves the examination of key features and developments

of 'foreign policy – Syria-Palestine, Nubia'.<sup>4</sup> This article will provide an overview of prior conclusions of the foreign policy of Akhenaten in school resources, namely textbooks, before identifying key problems and providing a solution for educators through an examination of the Karnak *talatat*.

## Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's foreign policy and the Karnak *talatat*

Over the past century, discussions of Akhenaten's foreign policy have evolved from pacifist perspectives to a domineering military approach.<sup>5</sup> While the Amarna Letters and the stelae from Buhen have corrected this perception to some extent, a problematic narrative persists in teaching resources regarding Amenhotep IV's/Akhenaten's military

campaigns in the Levant.<sup>6</sup> The heart of this issue lies in the interpretation of talatat – blocks that are the remains of Amenhotep IV's building projects that measure 'three-hands breadth' across – scattered throughout Egypt and predominantly found in the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak.<sup>7</sup>

These talatat, although famous for the unique puzzle that they have become to scholars, are a source of contention, particularly regarding tableaux labelled as 'battle scenes'.<sup>8</sup> These scenes, originally published by Schulman (1988), represent a battle featuring Levantine or Asiatic soldiers, chariots, and horses.<sup>9</sup> It is from these blocks that Schulman postulated the possibility of an early Hittite war, or so-called 'First Hittite War', during the reign of Amenhotep IV, before Year 5.<sup>10</sup> This theory, in turn, has become deeply entrenched in school textbooks and used to support the claim that they 'reveal a war or battle against Hittite and other Asiatic soldiers'.<sup>11</sup> However, a closer inspection of these blocks, such as that undertaken by Johnson, reveals discrepancies in the battle scenes and the traditional talatat.<sup>12</sup> For instance, the blocks containing the depictions of the battle scenes are in raised relief, larger in size, and do not feature the radical artistic style of the early Amarna Period (Figure 1).<sup>13</sup> As a result, the aforementioned 'battle blocks' are now widely accepted to belong to the reign of Tutankhamun, specifically to his mortuary temple, 'The Temple of Nebkheperure Beloved of Amun Who Puts Thebes in Order'.<sup>14</sup>

Despite decades of scholarly discourse, outdated understandings persist in textbooks covering the NSW Stage 6 Ancient History Syllabus.<sup>15</sup> As educators, we must reassess our approach to foreign policy in Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's reign. While we can provide students with the works of various textbooks, Schulman, and Johnson to develop critical and analytical thinking through the comparison of secondary sources, it is important to recognise that the Karnak talatat, even without the so-called 'battle scenes', constitute a rich source of evidence for other dimensions of foreign interactions in the ancient world, which will be explored in the following section.

## Foreign policy as revealed by the talatat at Karnak

Of the thousands of talatat discovered at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak belonging to Amenhotep IV's building projects at East Karnak, there are dozens of blocks that can be used to examine his foreign policy. These blocks are thematically varied, providing a more nuanced conception of foreign policy in the early years of Amenhotep IV's reign. The following will provide a summary of these themes that can be used in the examination of foreign policy during the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten for the Higher School Certificate.<sup>16</sup>

### 1. Foreigners in poses of adoration or prostration

The manner in which foreigners greeted the Egyptian king, whether through artistic representation or in written correspondence, is directly correlated to their status and

their relationship with Egypt.<sup>17</sup> This can include prostration, in which the foreigner falls 'at the feet' of the Egyptian king, bowing, and poses of arms raised in adoration.<sup>18</sup> These postures, denoting a degree of obligation and respect to the Egyptian king, have been found on Amenhotep IV's talatat at Karnak and are attributed to his sed-festival temple, the *Gempaaten*, though it is possible that other buildings also contained these scenes.<sup>19</sup>

An example of bowing foreigners adhering to this theme, found on a block discovered within the Second Pylon, represents two men, with a southern Levantine (Asiatic associated with Canaan) on the left and a Nubian behind him on the right (Figure 2).<sup>20</sup> The block depicts the man in a deep bow, with a round Amarna-style stomach with prominent navel before thinning to a small chest, with thin, frail arms grasping a spear that rests on his shoulder.<sup>21</sup> The face has an emaciated appearance with prominent nasolabial furrows (lines around the mouth). On the right, the preserved sections of the Nubian likewise indicate a figure bowing with thin arms, adorned with hooped earrings and a skull cap.<sup>22</sup> The face is tilted upwards slightly with two distinctive nasolabial furrows. Overall, these facial characteristics distort the faces into an attitude of submission.



**Figure 2.** A line drawing of a talatat depicting an Asiatic and Nubian bowing. Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project 2* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pl. 9.2.

Redford suggested that this block might be 'a military unit attendant upon the court', in which Egyptian commanders would be present.<sup>23</sup> In this context, the foreigners are troops, who may be the sons of the chiefs of vassals who were hostages in Egypt or even the escorts of foreign dignitaries.<sup>24</sup> This scene, and others of the like, are thus connected to the relationships and diplomatic stratagems used between Egypt and the vassals, though they also appear to have functioned as a recurrent motif through their stereotypical portrayal of foreign peoples, and consequently appear to symbolise the king's dominance over all foreign lands.<sup>25</sup>

### 2. Captive scenes

Captive scenes in ancient Egypt are frequent iconographical elements that encapsulate the complete submission of the enemy, though how their imprisonment is communicated varies.<sup>26</sup> On the Karnak talatat, the captive status of specific foreigners is conveyed through bindings, which appear in diverse contexts such as their procession led by soldiers, inclusion in Window of Appearance scenes (kiosks from

which the king rewarded his officials), and their inclusion into the *sema-tawy* motif.<sup>27</sup> This method of restraint, distinctly dissimilar from scenes depicting submission through adoration, prostration, or bowing, highlights the physical limitations imposed upon these captives and is often seen as the infliction of humiliation upon ‘the other’.<sup>28</sup>



**Figure 3.** A line drawing of a talatat depicting northern Levantine captives. Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project 2* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pl. 10.3.

An example of a talatat depicting captives was discovered in the fill of the Second Pylon and represents five bound northern Levantines (Asiatics associated with modern-day Syria) (Figure 3).<sup>29</sup> These Levantines have shaved heads and full beards, together with galabeyas (loose fitting gowns).<sup>30</sup> On the right is the papyrus plant, ‘Plant of the North’, which is binding the prisoners.<sup>31</sup> Overall, the block is effective in presenting the notion of a large group of bound and anonymous captives submitting to authority. Though it is unclear if it was related to a specific event or was simply a stereotypical representation that may have contained Amenhotep IV, it is transparent that foreigners were deemed, in this context, as commodities and chaotic forces that had been physically contained.<sup>32</sup> Such captive scenes, therefore, serve as integral representations of Amenhotep IV’s broader foreign policy. They illustrate the dynamics of power and control that were experienced at this time, including the ideological and political need to publicly display the submission of foreign peoples across monumental buildings.

### 3. Smiting scenes

Smiting scenes were a ubiquitous motif across the Egyptian landscape from the Naqada II period and by the reign of Amenhotep IV, they had become imbued with apotropaic power (averting evil influences).<sup>33</sup> Traditionally reserved for the Egyptian ruler alone, this depiction encapsulates essential kingly duties.<sup>34</sup> The depiction features the king with one arm raised, the other holding a smaller foreigner or enemy, posed ready to ‘smite’ the foe.<sup>35</sup> Through this symbolic act, the king asserts his dominance, defeats chaos (*isfet*), and preserves order (*maat*) for his people.<sup>36</sup> The recurrence of this motif reinforces the strength and might of the Egyptian king, together with communicating these attributes to the ancient Egyptians in alignment with established traditions.<sup>37</sup>

An example of a smiting scene from Karnak, discovered in the Ninth Pylon and believed to be part of the building

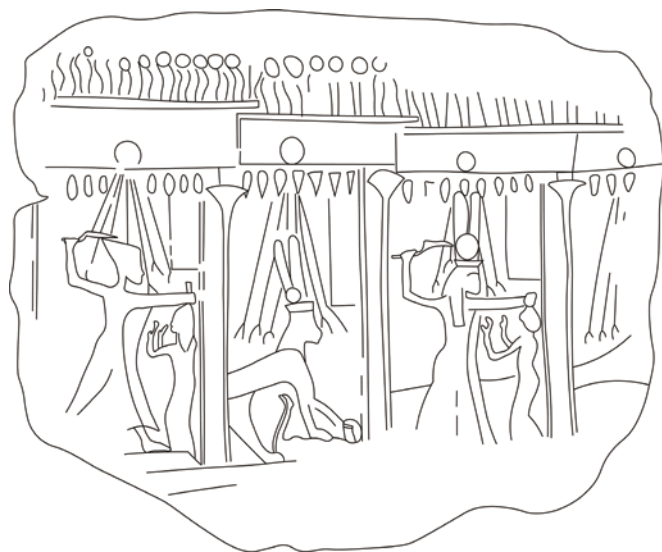
known as *Rwd-mnw*, illustrates the application of this motif during Amenhotep IV’s reign (Figure 4).<sup>38</sup> Identified as A0074a, the scene spans three blocks, depicting Amenhotep IV smiting an enemy. In this small yet powerful image, the king faces left, grasping an enemy by the hair with one hand raised to strike. The victim, lacking ethnic markers, symbolises a generic enemy and is crouched, reaching only to the waist of the king. Above, the Aten (sun-disc) is depicted with its distinctive rays of light.



**Figure 4.** A line drawing of a group of talatat depicting a smiting scene. Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Vernieux, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d’Amenhotep IV à l’aide d’outils informatiques méthodes et résultats* (Genève, Société d’Égyptologie 1999), pl. CIXa.

Moreover, an additional Karnak talatat portrays Nefertiti engaging in a series of smiting scenes within three distinct kiosks, each framed by the Aten behind her (Figure 5).<sup>39</sup> On the left, Nefertiti is depicted smiting a standing enemy; in the middle, she assumes the form of a sphinx and tramples a foreigner adorned with a fillet (headband); and on the right, she is portrayed smiting another standing foreigner with short hair.<sup>40</sup> This compelling scene, later repeated at Amarna and found on a block relocated to Hermopolis (Boston Museum No. 63.260), represents a noteworthy gender reversal of stereotypical roles, emphasising that Egyptian women were also perceived as physically stronger than foreigners.<sup>41</sup> These nuanced depictions suggest that the smiting motif was a prevalent decorative addition across various structures at East Karnak during Amenhotep IV’s reign, serving as an effective tool to assert Egypt’s political and physical dominance over foreign lands.

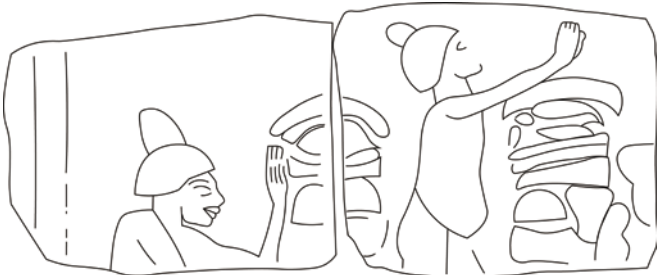
Nefertiti's inclusion in these tableaux further underscores the diverse ways in which ancient Egyptian traditions were transformed during the Amarna Period.



**Figure 5.** A line drawing of a talatat depicting Nefertiti smiting captives. Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Smith and Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project 1* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1976), pl. 23.3.

#### 4. Feasting scenes

Feasting was a distinctive feature of ancient Egyptian society that occurred on a variety of occasions, including religious rituals, funerals, and celebrations.<sup>42</sup> These feasts, as evidenced by tomb scenes and archaeological findings, could be elaborate and large-scale, featuring thousands of beverages and food items.<sup>43</sup> Participations in feasts, however, was dictated by social status, and state-sponsored feasts were often designed to reinforce the power of the pharaoh.<sup>44</sup>



**Figure 6.** A line drawing of a talatat depicting Nubians participating in a feast. Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Smith and Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project 1* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1976), pl. 82.4.

The depictions of feasts at East Karnak can be seen as examples of a court routine that enhanced the status, influence, and power of the Egyptian king.<sup>45</sup> Among these thematic tableaux, one noteworthy example features two pot-bellied Nubians engaged in feasting and wearing cones of fat (Figure 6).<sup>46</sup> Distinguished as Nubians by their pronounced ala (thick cartilage around the nostrils), full lips, and short hairstyles, the figure on the right stands with a large round

stomach and raised thin arms in adoration – a gesture of gratitude for the food.<sup>47</sup> The figure on the left similarly raises his left arm in adoration; however, the scene cuts off before the elbow. In front of each man lies a generous pile of food and drink, including wine, bread and fowl.

According to Redford's interpretation of the scene, these figures may be servants receiving their share of nourishment during a feasting scene.<sup>48</sup> If so, this scene reveals a generous treatment of foreigners, even in servant roles, together with their integration into ancient Egyptian society. On another level, the presence of these 'foreign others', the Nubians, can be seen as an example of the king taming foreign, exotic forces and traditional enemies of ancient Egypt.<sup>49</sup> Thus, while the scene may reflect an actual event, such as the celebration of Amenhotep IV's jubilee, and the integration of foreigners in ancient Egyptian society, it is possible that a stereotypical rendering of Nubians was used to emphasise the strength and power of the Egyptian king over 'the other'.

#### 5. Scenes with foreign musicians

In the religious and cultural realms of ancient Egypt, music was a key feature of religious celebrations, processions, banquets, and even entertainment in the court of Akhenaten and Nefertiti.<sup>50</sup> The significance of music extended beyond their addition to the soundscape of the ancient world; instruments such as clappers, sistra, and cymbals played a crucial religious role in the performance of rites to various gods.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, within the context of the Amarna Period, music gained particular importance as it became integral to the cosmology of the Aten, serving as a medium for interaction with the deity.<sup>52</sup>



**Figure 7.** A line drawing of a talatat depicting foreign musicians. Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag München, 1975), pl. xiv (fig. 23) and Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 91 (fig. 54).

The importance of music in ancient Egypt is illustrated on various talatat from Karnak that depict foreign musicians.<sup>53</sup> For instance, on a block from Hypostyle Hall, six Egyptian females are depicted carrying musical instruments alongside seven blindfolded foreign performers wielding chordophones (Luxor Museum J. 210 – Karakol no. 21; Figure 7).<sup>54</sup> These include a portable lyre on the right and a large harp towards the middle.<sup>55</sup> While the harp was an instrument indigenous to ancient Egypt, the lyre was an import from Asia, adding another dimension to our

understanding of the interconnections that existed in the ancient world.<sup>56</sup> The Egyptian females on the left, attired in traditional transparent sheath-style dresses, face away from the foreigners, and appear noticeably thinner and taller. This suggests that the principle of hierarchical proportion is being applied here. The foreign musicians, on the other hand, are separated from the Egyptians by a papyrus stalk and are portrayed in distinctive voluminous three-tiered skirts and elongated, pointed hats.<sup>57</sup>

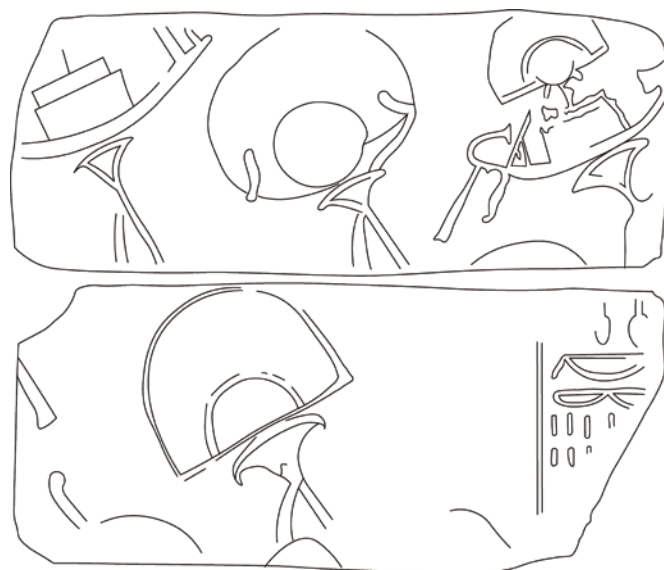
The inclusion of foreign musicians alongside Egyptians in what appears to be a jubilee procession of Amenhotep IV is particularly significant.<sup>58</sup> While artistic techniques have been employed in the depiction to distinguish the social status of foreigners from Egyptians, the overall importance lies in the presence of these musicians. This inclusion suggests that skilled foreign musicians were not only integrated into the royal sphere but were valued contributors to celebrations in the palace and temple.<sup>59</sup> Their presence reflects a positive foreign policy founded on mutual respect. Overall, representations of musicians on the talatat capture the nuanced aspects of Amenhotep IV's foreign policy, extending beyond the political and military spheres into the religious and cultural realms of ancient Egypt.

## 6. Scenes referring to the Nine Bows

The Nine Bows, a metaphor in ancient Egypt, was designed to encapsulate the subjugation of traditional enemies of the Egyptian state by the Egyptian king.<sup>60</sup> The depiction of the Nine Bows varies, though conventionally they are illustrated as a composite bow with ends formed into an arc shape, with the centre wrapped together with bindings.<sup>61</sup> In hieroglyphs, the form of the bow can be repeated nine times or represented adjacent to nine plural strokes, though the Nine Bows can also be portrayed pictorially on wall scenes as bound personages attached to name rings enclosing a toponym (place name).<sup>62</sup> Crucially, the toponyms associated with the Nine Bows varies over time, but by the reign of Amenhotep III, the father of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, the 'canon' is believed to have been established.<sup>63</sup> This list encompasses the Hanebu, Upper Nubia, Upper Egypt, the Oasis West of the Desert, Lower Egypt, Bowmen of the Feather, Libya, Tribesmen, and Bedouins.<sup>64</sup> As a result, the Nine Bows is a stereotypical metaphor with protective qualities, namely order (*maat*) overcoming chaos (*isfet*), together with harnessing the strength of the Egyptian king and highlighting Egypt's large territorial domain.<sup>65</sup>

Considering the apotropaic power imbued in the Nine Bows and its close association with Egyptian kingship, it comes as no surprise that a reference to this metaphor is evident on Amenhotep IV's talatat. An example is found on the remnants of a scene in the Gempaaten (Figure 8).<sup>66</sup> This tableau is oriented towards the right, with remains of boat standards and the heads of four men, who may represent soldiers.<sup>67</sup> On the far right, a fragmentary vertical line of text remains, which can be translated roughly as 'your beauty, the Nine Bows'. Although the larger context for these blocks is missing, the presence of boat standards

indicates a procession, likely part of a festival celebrating Amenhotep IV. This reference to the Nine Bows, serving as a simple device to symbolise the subjugation of the traditional enemies of Egypt, appears to have been employed as a stereotypical method to convey the extensive territory of the king and his supremacy over the known world.



**Figure 8.** A line drawing of a pair of talatat with the remains of the Nine Bows on the right.

Source: L. Peirce, drawn after Gohary, 'Sed-Festival Scenes of Amenhotep IV' (PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1977), pl. 46.

## Conclusion

In summary, although misconceptions of battle scenes at Karnak have become embedded in the textbooks discussing the foreign policy of Akhenaten, the talatat provides a nuanced and multifaceted perspective of Amenhotep IV's relations with foreign lands, particularly revealing their integral role in his jubilee celebrations. Although some of these blocks reinforce stereotypical representations of foreign peoples – indicating subtle manipulations of Egyptian traditions during Amenhotep IV's reign – others contribute significantly to our comprehension of ancient diplomacy and Egypt's interconnections with foreign regions. Incorporating these blocks as additional sources alongside traditional texts like the Amarna Letters enriches the study of Amenhotep IV's foreign policy during the first five years of his reign. ♦

## Acknowledgements

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- <sup>1</sup> New South Wales (NSW) Education Standards Authority (NESA), *Ancient History Stage 6 Syllabus* (Sydney: NSW Education Standards Authority, 2017), 76.
- <sup>2</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>3</sup> Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 188.
- <sup>4</sup> NESA, 76.
- <sup>5</sup> Alan R. Schulman, 'Hittites, Helmets and Amarna: Akhenaten's First Hittite War', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 2: Rwd-Mnw and Inscriptions*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1988), 53; Jacobus van Dijk, 'The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069 BC)', in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 270; Ellen Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism* (Hoboken: John Wiley, 2018), 88.
- <sup>6</sup> For the Buhen Stela see: William J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, ed. Edmund S. Meltzer (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 101-102 (text no. 55); for the Amarna letters see William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). For the mentioned teaching resources, see Toni Hurley, Christine Murray, Philippa Medcalf, and Jan Rolph, *Antiquity 2, Year 12*, Fourth Edition (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2019), 255; See also: Jennifer Lawless, Kate Cameron, and Gary Kenworthy, *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, Third Edition (Melbourne: Nelson Cengage Learning, 2010), 283-284; Jennifer Lawless (ed.), Kate Cameron, Thomas Catalanotto, Dianne Hennessy, Gary Kenworthy, Bill Leadbetter, Alanna Nobbs, and Kathryn Welch, *Personalities from the Past* (Melbourne: Thomson & Nelson, 1997), 71.
- <sup>7</sup> Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 81-281; Ray Winfield Smith, 'Description of the Project', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries*, eds. Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1976), 1-5; Aldred, *Akhenaten*, 81.
- <sup>8</sup> Schulman, 53.
- <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Schulman, 57.
- <sup>11</sup> Hurley et al., 255; Lawless et al., *Studies*, 283-284; Lawless et al., *Personalities*, 71.
- <sup>12</sup> William Raymond Johnson, 'An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes: A Late Amarna Antecedent of the Ramesside Battle Narrative Tradition' (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1992), 104; Dorothea Arnold, 'From Karnak to Amarna: An Artistic Breakthrough and its Consequences', in *In the Light of Amarna: 100 years of the Nefertiti Discovery*, ed. Friederike Seyfried (Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2012), 148; Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York: The Viking Press 1973), 51-52.
- <sup>13</sup> Arnold, 148; Aldred, 51-52.
- <sup>14</sup> Charlotte Booth, *The Boy Behind the Mask: Meeting the Real Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007), 133-137; Elizabeth Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 129-130; Aidan Dodson, *Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian Counter-Reformation* (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2009), 67-68.
- <sup>15</sup> Hurley et al., 255; Lawless et al., *Studies*, 283-284; Lawless et al., *Personalities*, 71.
- <sup>16</sup> The following thematic findings are from unpublished research that was not included in my final PhD thesis, 'Foreigners at Karnak', due to time and word constraints. For this thesis see Laura Peirce, 'Foreigners at Karnak: Utilising the "Other" for the Study of Egyptian Identity from the Second Intermediate Period until the reign of Thutmose III' (c. 1803 – 1425 BCE) (PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 2019).
- <sup>17</sup> Ellen F. Morris, 'Bowing and Scraping in the Ancient Near East: An Investigation into Obsequiousness in the Amarna Letters', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65, no. 3 (2006): 188.
- <sup>18</sup> Some examples of these blocks can be found in Donald B. Redford, 'Foreigners (Especially Asiatics) in the Talatat', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 2: Rwd-Mnw and Inscriptions*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Toronto, University of Toronto Press: 1988), 13-18, pl. 7:4, 7:7, 8, 9.1, 10.1, 33, 36.
- <sup>19</sup> Redford, 'Foreigners', 13.
- <sup>20</sup> Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Volume II: Theban Temples*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 40; Redford, 'Foreigners', 16-17, pl. 9.2; François Daumas, *La Civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris: Arthaud, 1965), pls. 117-118; Henri Chevrier, 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1937-1938)', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 38 (1938): pl. cxi.
- <sup>21</sup> Redford, 'Foreigners', 16.
- <sup>22</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>23</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> Morris, 'Bowing and Scraping', 195; Peirce, 'Foreigners at Karnak', 35; Redford, 'Foreigners', 16.
- <sup>26</sup> Laura Peirce, 'Some Observations on Name Rings: Towards a Typology', *Journal of Egyptian History* 12 (2019): 106; Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1997), 60.
- <sup>27</sup> For example, Donald B. Redford, 'Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and the Princesses', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries*, eds. Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 76, 82, 84 pl. 27.1, 27.3; Donald B. Redford, 'The Palace of Akhenaten in the Karnak Talatat', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries*, eds. Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 128, 132-133, pl. 62.3, 66, 82.2, 82.3; Jocelyn Gohary, 'Jubilee Scenes on Talatat', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries*, eds. Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 64, 66, pl. 66, 86.4; Ray Winfield Smith, 'Interpretation and Discoveries', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries*, eds. Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 47, pl. 62.3; Jocelyn Gohary, 'Sed-Festival Scenes of Amenhotep IV' (PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1977), pl. 26 (55), 44 (105:2); Robert

Vergniew, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenhotep IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques méthodes et résultats* (Genève, Société d'Égyptologie 1999), *texte*, 116, *planches* pl. I and III. For the Window of Appearance scenes, see Susanne Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 2008), 14.

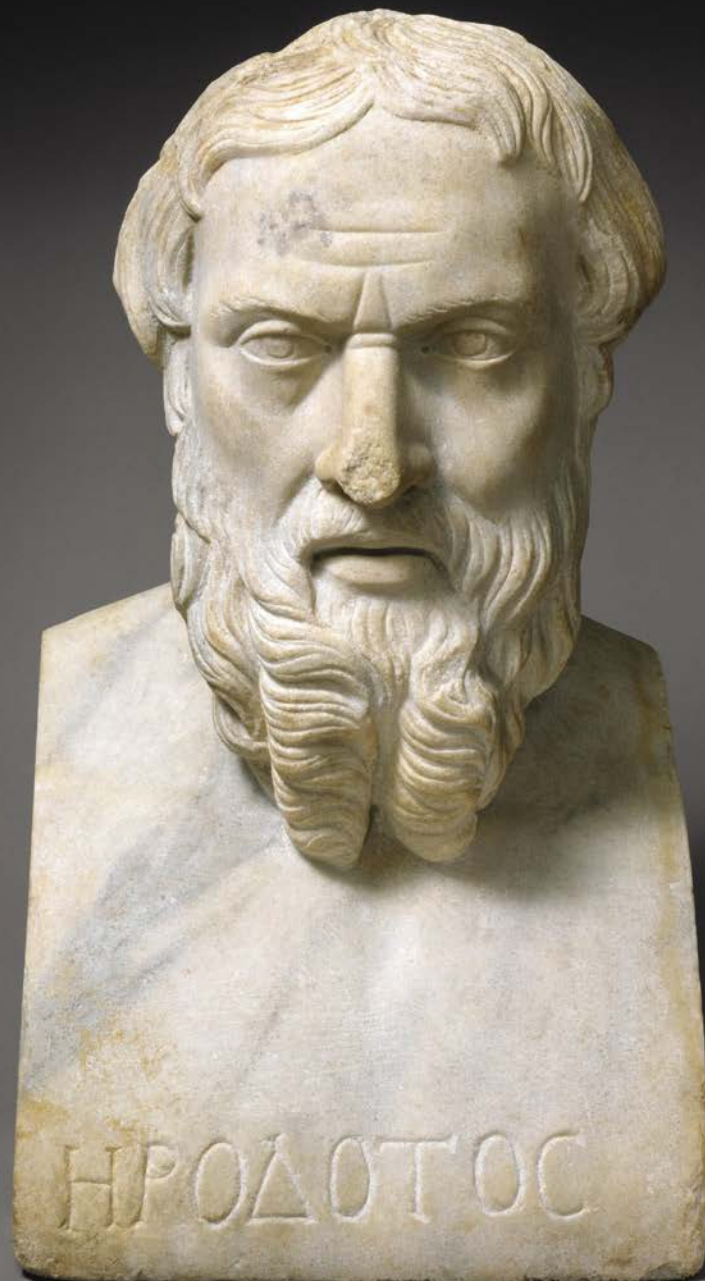
- 28 Shaw and Nicholson, 60.
- 29 Identified as Block 1349-11 0202 06717. Redford, 'Foreigners', 17, pl. 10.3.
- 30 Flora Brooke Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 24.
- 31 Redford, 'Foreigners', 17; Peirce, 'Some Observations', 130.
- 32 Shaw and Nicholson, 60-61.
- 33 Maria Michela Luiselli, 'The Ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies': an attempt to visualize cultural memory?', in *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, ed. M. Bommas (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 13.
- 34 Peirce, 'Foreigners', 116.
- 35 *ibid.*
- 36 Luiselli, 13.
- 37 Peirce, 'Foreigners', 116.
- 38 Vergniew, *Recherches*, 152, *planches*, pl. CIXa.
- 39 Redford, 'Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and the Princesses', 76, 81-82, pl. 23.2; Hermann A. Schlögl, *Nofretete: Die Wahrheit über die schöne Königin* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013), 46 (fig. 13).
- 40 Peirce, 'Foreigners', 38-43.
- 41 John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies: Battle and Conquest During Ancient Egypt's Late Eighteenth Dynasty* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2007), 35; Schlögl, *Nofretete*, 89 (fig. 24).
- 42 Stuart Tyson Smith, 'Pharaohs, Feasts, and Foreigners. Cooking, Foodways, and Agency on Ancient Egypt's Southern Frontier', in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, ed. T. L. Bray (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003), 54.
- 43 For example, thousands of wine jars were discovered at Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata from his jubilee celebration. Smith, 'Pharaohs, Feasts, and Foreigners', 47.
- 44 *ibid.*, 54.
- 45 *ibid.*
- 46 Donald B. Redford, 'The Palace of Akhenaten in the Karnak Talatat', in *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume 1: Initial Discoveries*, eds. Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976), 134, pl. 82.4.
- 47 Peirce, 'Foreigners', 36-37.
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# TEACHING HISTORY

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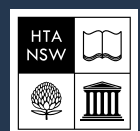
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