AMENHOTEP III: EGYPT’S RADIANT PHARAOH

This book follows the life story of Amenhotep III, one of the most important rulers of ancient Egypt, from his birth and into the afterlife. Amenhotep III ruled for about 38 years, from circa 1391 to 1353 B.C., during the apex of Egypt’s international and artistic power. Arielle P. Kozloff situates Amenhotep III in his time, chronicling the key political and military events that occurred during his lifetime and reign as well as the evolution of religious rituals and the cult of the pharaoh. She further examines the art and culture of the court, including its palaces, villas, furnishings, and fashions as well as his extended family, officials, and international relationships. Through the exploration of abundant evidence from the period, in the form of both textual and material culture, Kozloff richly re-creates all aspects of Egyptian civilization at the height of the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age.

Arielle P. Kozloff, former curator of ancient art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, is a private consultant and lecturer for museums and private collectors in the United States and abroad. She is the coauthor of Egypt’s Dazzling Sun and The Gods Delight. She has contributed chapters to volumes including Egyptology Today, Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign, and Millions of Jubilees as well as articles to numerous journals, including Journal of Egyptian Archaeology and American Journal of Archaeology.
AMENHOTEP III:
EGYPT’S RADIANT
PHARAOH

ARIELLE P. KOZLOFF
To the archaeologists, inspectors, collectors, conservators, and curators who discover, guard, treasure, and care for Egypt's antiquities, to the scholars who study them, and to the amateur Egyptologists who always want to know more.
CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ........................................ page ix

Introduction (Followed by a Note on Spelling Ancient
Egyptian Names) ........................................ 1

Prologue: The Birthplace of Amenhotep III ........... 16

1 An Heir Unapparent (Reign of Amenhotep II, Years 15–25,
c. 1411–1401 B.C.) ........................................ 21

2 The Making of an Heir Apparent (Reign of Thutmose IV,
Years 1–5, c. 1400–1396 B.C.) .......................... 32

3 Thutmose IV and King’s Son Amenhotep in Nubia
(Reign of Thutmose IV, Years 5–8, c. 1396–1393 B.C.) 42

4 Le roi est mort, vive le roi! (Reign of Amenhotep III,
Year 1, c. 1391 B.C.) ........................................ 51

5 Establishing Divine Might and Divine Right (Reign of
Amenhotep III, c. 1391–1388 B.C.) ..................... 61

6 ‘The First Campaign of Victory’: Amenhotep III’s River
War (Reign of Amenhotep III, Year 5, c. 1387 B.C.) 70

7 The Spoils of War (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 6–9,
c. 1386–1383 B.C.) .......................................... 82

8 The King’s First Two Wives (Reign of Amenhotep III,
Years 10 and 11, c. 1382–1381 B.C.) .................... 100

9 The Lost Years (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 12–19,
c. 1380–1373 B.C.) .......................................... 110

10 Bringing Heaven to Earth to See the Living Gods:
Building the King’s Religious Monuments at Thebes
(Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 20–29, c. 1372–1363 B.C.) 120
12 Beneath the Divine Falcon’s Wings a New World Takes Shape (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 26–29, ca. 1366–1363 B.C.) 166
13 The First Jubilee Festival (Heb-Sed) (Reign of Amenhotep III, Year 30, ca. 1362 B.C.) 182
14 Raising Up Old Officials and Buying a New Bride (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 30 and 31, ca. 1362–1361 B.C.) 197
15 International Trade in Princesses and Other Goods (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 32–33, ca. 1360–1359 B.C.) 207
16 A Mixed Forecast: Dazzling Sun and Dark Clouds (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 34–36, ca. 1358–1356 B.C.) 213
17 The Last Hurrah (Reign of Amenhotep III, Years 37–38, ca. 1355–1354/3 B.C.) 225
18 Whose Heaven Is It? The Reign of Akhenaten and Beyond 238
Epilogue: One God Left Standing 255

Notes and References 257
Glossary of Ancient Personal Names 289
Bibliography 301
Index 337
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My mother, Marion Kozloff, introduced me to Egyptian art on visits to the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Elizabeth Finkenstaedt introduced me to Amenhotep III at Mount Holyoke College. John D. Cooney encouraged me first to look more closely at the monuments of Amenhotep III and then to step back and view the oeuvre as a whole. This has been a long journey, and these three, all "true of voice" and "repeating life," are just the first of countless individuals to be thanked, only a few of whom can be mentioned here.

In 1992, Betsy Bryan and I, after twenty years of dreaming and ten years of planning, were joined by Larry Berman and Élisabeth Delange and produced the exhibition *Egypt's Dazzling Sun/ Le Pharaon Soleil*, which was devoted to a better understanding of Amenhotep III's monuments. The book presented here is aimed more at the man himself, his life, and the issues confronting his reign, but I owe these three colleagues a great debt of gratitude.

Edmund S. Meltzer patiently read many drafts of this work and contributed innumerable bits of information and advice. His generous collegiality, wisdom, and erudition are remarkable, and his encouragement was a constant touchstone. Susan Giuffre read an early draft and Richard Wilkinson a later one, the latter sending me to Beatrice Rehl of Cambridge University Press, who was welcoming and patient. Virginia Krumholz read the penultimate draft and suggested areas needing expansion. Lisa Haney checked the bibliography, as did Dr. Meltzer. Ken Karpinski, Eleanor Umali, and James Dunn oversaw production.

Before any writing could occur, years of haunting libraries, museums, and, of course, Egypt, were necessary. On visits to Egypt, Head of the Supreme Council, then Minister of Antiquities, Dr. Zahi Hawass, and his assistant, Janice Kamrin, smoothed my way, gave me tremendous encouragement, and provided photographs or photographic permission. Former Chief Inspector Sayed Hegazy aided my travels in many
practical ways, in addition to offering insights unknown to most foreigners. Egyptian Museum registrar Yasmin El Shazly and Supreme Council assistant Beth Asbury were also extremely helpful.

The staff members of the British Museum's Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan were endlessly hospitable and generous with their time, space, resources, and thoughts, especially W. Vivian Davies, the head of the department; Susanne Woodhouse, librarian; and Richard Parkinson, John Taylor, Derek Welsby, Marcel Marée, and the rest of the curatorial and administrative staff. Over the years, the staffs of the Cleveland Public Library's Special Collections, especially the White Collection, and of the library of the Cleveland Museum of Art have also been extremely helpful and kind.

The American Research Center in Egypt has provided a platform for me to forward almost all the new ideas presented here, and I have benefited tremendously from the discussions generated. Undoubtedly, some colleagues will be disappointed that they did not change my mind, whereas others will be happy that they did.

In addition to those named earlier, I am endlessly grateful to the scholars and scientists who have discussed at length various points with me or have guided me through their excavations or museum collections, for example, Hourig Sourouzian, Peter Lacovara, Salima Ikram, Charles Van Siclen, Rita Freed, Angus Graham, Tom Hardwick, James Harrell, Martina Ullmann, David O'Connor, Helen Jacquet, Dorothea Arnold, Earl Ertman, Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Ray Johnson, Andrew Gordon, May Trad, Renée Dreyfus, Melinda Hartwig, William Peck, Gay Robins, Karola Zibelius-Chen, Regine Schulz, Christine Green, and Richard Fazzini. In addition, Ian Shaw, Maarten Raven, Lawrence Berman, Jiro Kondo, Louise Chu, Luc Limme, and Richard Wilkinson generously contributed photographs. Eric Gubel, Klaus Finneiser, Catharine Roehrig, Guillemette Andreu, Gabriele Pieke, and Claire Derriks also assisted (in addition to those cited in the captions) in obtaining photos and/or permissions.

Many outside of Egyptology answered questions or gave advice, for example, on the subjects of bubonic plague in Egyptian antiquity and ancient diseases in general, Drs. Joe Hinebusch and Kent L. Gage (National Institutes of Health, Rocky Mountain Labs), Dr. Tom Schwan (Centers for Disease Control), and Dr. Eva Panagiotopoulou (University of Sheffield); and on the subjects of horse training and chariotry, Dariush Elghanayan and Rich Petersen. Medievalist Sara Jane Pearman and
classical archaeologists Mary Ellen Soles and Sandra Knudsen gave excellent counsel.

My brother and sister-in-law Philip and Judith and their daughter Alexandra provided warm hospitality in New York and London on my semiannual research trips. They and brother David, along with his wife, Jeri, and their family, Jason and Daniel Brodkey, and theirs, Charlotte and Gordon Moore, and theirs, Brenda and Evan Turner, Barbara S. Robinson, and Betty W. Ratner (true of voice), offered endless encouragement over the years.

In keeping with the spirit of the salutations in the Amarna letters, I thank Daisy, Harry, Night Watch, and Sunny for insights into the intricacies of Kikkuli’s horsemanship text while diverting me from my work. A series of incarnations of Bastet – Jezebel, Salomé, Rumpelteazer, Desi, and Lucy – supervised my work at home.

Most important of all, my husband, Jerald S. Brodkey, did everything to make writing this book possible. He has been an IT master of great patience in the face of my hopeless ineptitude and a tireless photographer both in Egypt and the United States. He has suffered my long absences (left to the devices of the preceding Bastets), found obscure bibliographical references, ordered books, organized photos, and otherwise tolerated my obsession with Amenhotep III with good humor.

Of course, none of these fine friends, colleagues, and family members is responsible for the inevitable flaws of this study, but I hope they will enjoy reading it and, perhaps, find some new and interesting ideas.
Map 2. Nubia.
Map 3. Theban area, including Kola el Hamra’s alignment toward Abydos.
Map 4. West bank of Thebes with inset of Amenhotep III Memorial Temple.
Map 5. East bank of Thebes with Karnak, Mut, and Luxor temples, including insets of Karnak and Luxor temples enlarged.