Aspects of Providing the Ancient Egyptian Soldiers with Moral Powers in the Wars of the Eighteenth Dynasty
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Abstract
The eighteenth dynasty witnessed the launching of numerous successful military campaigns that led to the establishment of the great Egyptian empire that extended in its peak from the Euphrates River to the fourth cataract in Nubia. The military documents from this period concentrated on glorifying the heroic actions of the kings and their victories over the enemies. This leads to reasonably ask about the feelings of the soldiers when they received the order of getting prepared for war. No doubt negative thoughts might find their ways to penetrate into their minds like being killed in the battlefield by the hands of the ruthless enemies.

Therefore this paper concentrates on indicating the various methods of providing soldiers with moral powers before combating the enemies. For it is clearly known that the spiritual condition of the soldiers represents one of the principal reasons for achieving victory.

The moral powers as shall be clarified in this paper included creating the combating motivation, presenting the ethical justification for the reason of launching the campaign, providing positive ideas like magnifying the virtue of courage to gain glory and obtain better fate in the afterlife, emphasizing the divine intervention, recalling the past historical events represented in the Hyksos occupation and the victories of the great predecessor kings.

Key words: Wars, Moral Powers, Soldiers.

Introduction
The spiritual condition of the soldiers represents one of the principal reasons to achieve victory. Since the moment of releasing the war decision there are certain moral methods required to empower the feelings of the soldiers with the combating motivation defined as the determination that induces soldiers to fight (Rodrigues-Goulart, 2006, p. 94).

In ancient Egypt almost all the military documents concentrated on rhetorically glorifying the victories of the kings over their enemies. This leads to a reasonable question about the feelings of the soldiers when they received the order to prepare themselves for war. No doubt negative thoughts might find their ways to penetrate into their minds like being perished during the long exhausting march and being killed or severely wounded in the battlefield by the hands of the ruthless enemies.

Therefore the aim of this paper is to clarify the various moral methods used before battle to provide the soldiers with enthusiasm and the determination to obtain victory like the positive idea of courage, the ability of defeating the enemies and the ethical justification. This shall depend on the military documents of the Eighteenth Dynasty because it was the era that witnessed launching numerous successful campaigns that led to the establishment of the Egyptian empire from the Euphrates River in the Asia to the fourth cataract in Nubia. These documents include the wall texts of the great temples, the victory stelae and the autobiographies of those who participated in the military campaigns.

Aspects of the Moral Powers
Preventing the Fear from Death
In the mind of any soldier, confronting the enemy in the battlefield might witness his final moment in the world of the living. In addition dying in far strange land represented an extreme fear for the Egyptians because of not receiving proper funerary services from their
families (Ruiz, 2001, p. 99 and Redford, 2006, p. 12). Certainly this negative thought would have bad influence on the moral motivation of the soldier and would hinder his combating abilities.

The Tombos stela of Thutmose I has a unique text that refers to the good consequences of accompanying the king (Sethe, 1906, p. 86. 15-16; Breasted II, 1927, p. 31§73 and Goedicke, 1996, p. 166 and note aa in p. 173).

"ddi tīrw. n šmsw ḏbw. n md. mtn.f"

"give his breath to the followers and his offerings to his obedient ".

The previous sentence is considered remarkable as a moral method used to enable the soldiers overcome the apprehension from death through the encouraging words. For the offerings aAbwt or were originally presented to the deceased king as mentioned in Pyramid Texts (Sethe, 1908, Pyr. 130c and 310b and Carrier I, 2009, 48-49 and 126-17).

"ḏbt.f m-m. nṯrw"

"his offering is among you, Gods ".

"lw ḏbt.f m nww"

"his offering is in Nun ".

According to the previous the expression “ giving his offerings to his obedient ” was a clear promise from the king to the soldiers that even in case of meeting their death he would grantee better fate for them in the afterlife as a reward for their loyalty. This would have positive impact in the minds of the soldiers because what he had said was considered agreeable with the funerary formula  htp-dj-nsrw in which the king interfered to let such deities like Osiris lord of the netherworld provide the deceased with nourishments in the afterlife (Taylor, 2001, p. 96 and 192-193). Believing the promise of king is found in the statue of Imunedjehu for having the htp-dj-nsrw that invoked gods Amun-Re and Osiris to provide him with nourishments and safe life for he accompanied the king and never swerved from him in the battlefield (Galän, 1995, p. 117; Hayes, 1933, p. 7-8 and Redford, 1973, p. 37 and fig. 1 in p. 42).

Emphasizing the positive consequences of accompanying the king in the wars of the XVIIIth Dynasty must have followed the instructions of the royal seal bearer Sehtep-ib-Re who lived during the reigns of kings Snusert III and Amenemhat III in the XIIth Dynasty. Among his written advices in his stela from Abydos he invoked his sons to obey the king because he would give food to the one who walks on his way while his enemy will be deprived from having tomb (Kamal 1940, p. 216 and 219). The idea of honoring the dead soldiers seems to be performed by Thutmose III who according to his dedicated texts in the Semna temple at Nubia presented offerings to gods and funerary provisions to the dead ones of king Snusert III (Breasted II, 1927, p. 70 § 170). For the dead ones probably they were the faithful soldiers who fought with Snusert III. For this king was known as a warrior who launched campaigns towards Nubia (Clayton, 2001, p. 85). The procedure of presenting the offerings to the gods and the dead ones might refer to the intention of Thutmose III to make his soldiers persuaded with the idea of reaching sacred position after their death.

Placing the positive ideas of following the king in war proved its success in the heroic situation of commanders of Thutmose III when he took the risky decision to go through the
dangerous narrow road towards Mageddo. However the commanders were anxious and the king gave them the choice of not going with him but they bravely showed the best example of loyalty and insisted to accompany him because it was their duty to follow him in all places (Sethe, 1907, p. 651. 16-17. Faulkner, 1942, p. 3, p. 28, Redford, 2003, p. 17).

mk n m šmṣw ḫm.k m b(w) nb q3 [ḥm.k] im wnn bšk m s3 nb[f]

“ Behold we are in the fellow of your majesty in all place [your majesty] shall go for it is the duty of the servant to be at the back of his lord ”.

In addition, the military men in their autobiographies were keen to assure their loyalty to the king. For example Ahmose son of Iban mentioned that he accompanied Ahmose while besieging Avaris the capital of the Hyksos; followed Amenhotep I in his Nubian campaign and led the ship of Thutmose I in the bad water of Nubia (Breasted II, 1927, 6 §7-8, 17 §39, 34 §80 and 34-35 §81). Ahmose Ben Nekhbet was extremely proud for following kings Ahmose in Zahi, Amenhotep I in Kush; Thutmose I in Kush and Naharin and Thutmose II against the Shasu Bedouins (Breasted II, 1927, p. 10-11 § 20, 18 §41, p. 35 §84-85 and p. 51 §124). A scribe named Thamen followed Thutmose III and witnessed his victories in all lands (Breasted II, 1927 p. 165 §392). The commander Amenemhab never get separated from Thutmose III in the battlefields during his northern and southern campaigns (Breasted II, 1927 p. 230 §579). The chariot warrior Usersatet mentioned in his stela that he fought for Amenhotep II (Darnell, 2014, p. 251). A guard named Amenhotep recorded in his tomb stela that he accompanied Thutmose IV in Asia and Nubia (Breasted II, 1927, p. 325 §181). Moreover, the commander Amenemhab depicted Amenhotep II beside his autobiography (Breasted II, 1927, p. 228 §574). This might express his desire to obtain the testimony of the king about his loyalty and good actions in the battles. Horemheb as a general in his Saqqara tomb was described as the attendant of the king in the battle to smite the Asians and he was depicted in a scene while leading captives before the boy king Tutankhamun and his consort Ankhesenpaamun (Darnell, 2007, p. 184).

Obtaining Glory

The enthusiastic speeches also concentrated on making the soldiers possessed with courage as remarkably expressed in the autobiography of Ahmose son of Iban (Sethe, 1906, 2. 5-6 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 6§6).

lw rv n qm ir ḫkn ḫm t pn ḥt

“The name of the brave one is in the action he did without being perished from this land forever”.

It seems that the previous sentence became familiar in the XVIIIth Dynasty for it was also mentioned in the annals of Thutmose III (Sethe, 1907, p. 780.14-15 and Gunn, 1918, p. 48-49). According to the previous sentence the soldiers would put in their minds that fighting bravely was the main path to gain glory and their names would be eternally commemorated with honor. This idea was illustrated in the scene of Ahmose son of Iban who was accompanied with his grandson from his daughter named Pahry near his military autobiography (Breasted II, 1927, p. 4§3).
Fig.1: Ahmose son of Iba and his grandson are standing near the autobiography.

After Davies, 2009, fig.4 in p. 163.

This might express the wish of the Ahmose son of Iba to make his memory survive among his descendants who would proudly tell stories about his heroic deeds in the battlefield. The desire of the soldiers to gain eternal honor by perpetuating their names can be considered an imitation to the kings. For example Thutmose I in the Abydos stela invoked the priests to commemorate his name among their children because of his achievements that included obtaining victory for Egypt over the other countries (Breasted II, 1927, p. 40 §97-98). The seventeen successful campaigns of Thutmose III in Asia were registered in the Karnak temple to give him eternal life (Breasted II, 1906, p. 217 §540).

In addition the ancient Egyptians magnified the virtue of courage through associating the reward of gold with moral nomenclature. For example Ahmose son of Iba was given the $\text{ nbw n qnt }$ “gold of bravery” (Sethe, 1906, p.3. 15, 2and5. 1 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 7 §9 and 10, p. 8 §13). Amenemhab was rewarded with the $\text{ nbw n hswn }$ “gold of praising” (Sethe, 1907, p. 893. 10 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 232 §584 and 233 §587). Others golden rewards were given to the soldiers like the lion symbol of bravery and the golden flies’ symbol of perseverance that can be regarded as the world’s oldest medals (Strouhal, 1996, p. 213).

Moreover military hymns that praised bravery and honor might have been recited while marching to fill the hearts of the soldiers with enthusiasm and determination. This can be suggested from the scene of soldiers who were accompanied with a drummer in the Theban tomb of Re (TT 201) from the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III (Porter I/1, 1960, p. 305). In another rock scene at Selselah Mountain the soldiers of Horemheb were accompanied by a man with trumpet (Lepsius III, 1972, pl. 121.b). Probably the enthusiastic poems included what was mentioned in the Bohen stela of Thutmose III whose soldiers were rhetorically described as blast of fire (Sethe, 1907, p. 808. 16-17).

$\text{ m$s$w.f qn r h$t.f mi hh n sdt }$

“His brave soldiers are before him like blast of fire”.

Moreover there are texts which referred to the positive influence of existence of king who possessed charismatic characters as the perfect descendant of gods in empowering the combating motivation of the soldiers and consolidating their confidence as rhetorically expressed. Thutmose I was described in the Tombos stela as $\text{ m$n w n m$s w.f tmw }$ “the Fortress of his entire army” (Sethe, 1906, p. 85, 3; Goedicke, 1996, p. 166). Thutmose III was described in the Barkel stela as $\text{ Hr pw tm$n w mm$n w mm$ } n m$s$f biw n rhywt }$ “This Horus, the Strong of Arm, the Excellent Fortress of his army and the Refugee Shelter of the people” (Reisner, 1933, p. 27-28). In another position from the Barkel stela, Thutmose
III was described as “A Hero, an Excellent Fortress of his army, a Castle of Iron” (Reisner, 1933, p. 30). Amenemhab justified the positive influence of Thutmose III over the soldiers “His power makes stout the heart” (Sethe, 1907, p. 890, 13 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 230 §579). In addition the bow of king Amenhotep II described him as “the Great Wall of Egypt and the Guardian of his army” (Breasted, 1927, footnote d in p. 310 and Daressy, 1902, p. 68-69, pl. XIX).

There is another notable example for the moral role of the king represented in Thutmose II. Although this king did not lead his army towards Nubia but the rock texts referred to the moral role of the priests who assured to the soldiers that the blessings of the king was accompanying and surrounding them (Seth, 1906, p. 140, 6-8 and Steinendorf, 1957, p. 39).

On the other hand it seems from some texts that the soldiers were convinced probably by the priests that gods placed terror in the hearts of the enemies when they saw the king. For example god Amun placed the fear from Thutmose III in all the foreign lands as mentioned in the speech of the king (Reisner, 1933, p. 36, line 36). Also the fear of Thutmose IV entered every body from the enemies (Breasted II, p. 329 § 829). Accordingly it is mentioned that the origin of the word “Khuf”, that means fear, in the Arabic language is developed from the ancient Egyptian word) (Faulkner, 1991, p. 190). Moreover, the word (Faulkner, 1991, p. 195) was also used as an indication to the miserable fate of the enemies while confronting the king and his army.

Recalling Historical Events:
The Memory of the Hyksos
Prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty there was the liberation war against the occupation of the Semitic people known as the Hyksos (Clayton, 2001, p. 93-94). The autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana included a unique phrase concerning the reason of launching the Asian campaign of Thutmose I (Sethe, 1906, p. 9. 8-9; Breasted II, 1927, p. 34 §81 and foot note i in p. 34 and Redford, 1979, p. 274 and note 53 in p. 283).

“go to Retnw to wash his heart among the foreign lands.”.

Obviously the expression “to wash his heart” symbolically bears the meaning of avenging (Breasted II, 1927, foot note i in p. 34). It refers to the kind of speeches recited over the soldiers to remind them with the Hyksos occupation that left a painful memory in the feelings. So it intended provoking the anger feelings of the soldiers to be possessed with the desire of erasing the bitterness which was burning the internal conscious of the Egyptians.

There were sentences recited to inflame detestation in the feelings of the soldiers against the Asians as descendants of the Hyksos in order to increase their combating motivation to confront the enemies and to restore the Egyptian dignity. These can be hypothetically suggested from the reconstructing text of queen Hatshepsut in her temple at Speos Artimes (Sethe, 1906, p. 390. 4-9, Breasted II, 1927, p. 125 §303).
“I made what is neglectful, I restored what was ruined, I raised the ruined for the first time since the Asiatics were in the middle of the northern land in Avaris (and) the foreigners in the middle of them because of overthrowing what was constructed (and) they ruled in ignorance of Re”.

In addition the remains of a text refers to the moral method of Thutmose III in reminding the soldiers during his Asian campaign with the suffering of the Egyptians while serving the Asians who were in Avaris and now they gathered themselves against Egypt (Sethe, 1910, p. 74-75; Gunn, 1918, footnote 2 in p. 54 and Lichtheim II, 1976, p. 30).

"A long period … out of years … plundering and every man (was) [serving] before (their) [prince]."

The texts of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III refers to what was recited over the soldiers through recalling the cruel rule of the Hyksos who misbehaved in Egypt while causing destruction, disrespecting the Egyptian gods and enslaving the people. The negative look towards the Hyksos continued to be recorded in the accounts of the Egyptian historian Manetho as the cruel people who occupied the country by force, burned the city, destroyed the temples and humiliated the people (Steindorff, 1957, p. 24 and Mertz, 2007, p. 126-127).

**Recalling Past Victories**

There are some indications of recalling the victories of the ancestor kings. As a moral method this intended to raise the spiritual condition of the soldiers to be proud, believe in their superiority over the enemies and their motivation would be possessed with desire of repeating victories.

The Abydos stela of Thutmose I mentioned his determination to increase the works of this predecessors (Breasted II, 1927, p. 40 §98). Beside the inscriptions of Sehel referred to his order to clear the old canal of Snusert III to facilitate the sail of his ship in his victorious campaign at Nubia (Breasted II, 1927, p. 32 §75-76). According to these probably Thutmose I in his campaign towards Kush stopped at the boundary stela of king Snusert III from the XII\(^{th}\) dynasty and recalled his victories to protect the Egyptian frontiers from the Nubians (Bradbury, 1992, p. 52).

The Aswan inscription concerning the Nubian campaign of Thutmose II to confront the rebellion in Kush mentioned the name of his father Thutmose I as the one who constructed a fortress against the attacks of the foreigners (Sethe, 1906, p. 138. 15-17 and 139. 1 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 49 §120).

"The fortress your father \(\circ\)-hpr-R\(\circ\) living forever erected in his victorious campaigns to expel the rebellious of the foreign lands.

The previous text might suggest that the moment of giving the order of launching the campaign witnessed the mentioning of the past campaign of Thutmose I to secure the southern territories.
In addition a text from the Tombos stela of Thutmose I referred to the desire of pleasing the souls of Heliopolis (Sethe, 1906, p. 85.1 and Goedicke, 1996, p. 166).

\[ir \ h\ s \ b\ i\w \ T\ w\ n\ w\]

“...to do what the souls of Heliopolis would praise”.

The souls of Heliopolis were thought to represent the ancestor kings who founded the country (Mercer IV, 1952, p. 90-91; Frankfort, 1978, p. 94 and Hart, 2005, p. 152). This refers to the invocations recited over the soldiers to fight for their country in order to gain the blessings of the predecessors who gained sacred look.

Thutmose III performed procedures that prove his awareness of recalling the positive memories. He depicted himself while paying homage to Snusert III, repaired his Semna temple in Nubia, fixed his stela and celebrated his festivals “...expelling the black one” and “...Binding of the Barbarians” (Breasted II, 1927 p. 69-71 §167-171 and Lepsuis III, 1972, pls. 47 a and 56 b). In his eighth Asian campaign Thutmose III erected a victory stela on the Euphrates River near the one of his grandfather Thutmose I (Breasted II, 1927, p. 202 §478; Galân, 1995, p. 119 and Török, 2009, p. 163). What was performed by Thutmose III might lead to imagine him while making enthusiastic recitations over the soldiers to remind them with the glorious victories of Snusert III in Nubia (Clayton, 2001, p. 85) and Thutmose I who established the Egyptian empire from the Euphrates River in Asia to the fourth cataract in Nubia (Goedicke, 1996, p. 161). The speeches might have repeated the wills and advice of Snusert III written in his Sema boundary stela that include invocations to the royal successors to defend the glory of Egypt, show no mercy to the enemies who attacked Egypt for a true descendant of him should preserve the extended boundaries of Egypt (Vogel, 2010, p. 12 and 14-15).

Also Amenhotep II presented offerings to Khnum and the deified Snusert III in the temple of Qema (Lepsuis III, 1972, pl. 64b, 66). According to the royal scribe Minhotep Amenhotep II placed a victory stela in Naharin (Breasted II, 1927, p. 304 §780). The tomb of the commander Amenemhab included a scene of Amenhotep II before Thutmose III in the form of god Osiris (Breasted II, 1927, p. 304 §780 and 318 §807). In addition the stela found in the tomb of Montuyuy mentioned that Re had doubled the victories of Amenhotep II more than his fathers (Galân, Victory and Border, p. 87). This might refer to the tradition of mentioning the military victories of the predecessors. No doubt there were war stories which continued till the Ramesside period like the struggle between Seqenenre and Apophis the Hyksos king and the tale of taking Jobba during the time of Thutmose III (Steindorff, 1957, p. 28).

The Ethical Justifications

The expression \[\text{swsh } l\text{b} S\text{mt } K\text{mt} “to widen the border of Egypt” (Sethe, 1906, p. 7. 2)\] represented the reason of launching the campaigns to increase the Egyptian domination (Galân, 1995, p. 4). This occurred for example in the autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana concerning the Nubian campaign of Amenhotep (Breasted II, 1927, p. 17 §39). Moreover the Tombos stela of Thutmose I presented the idea of universal domination of the king who ruled what is encircled by the sun from the beginning of earth in Nubia to the inverted water in Syria (Breasted II, 1927, p. 31 §73 and Goedicke, 1996, p. 161-162). The Buto stela assured that Thutmose III was created by god Rehorathy to dominate the lands which were encircled by the sun (Redford, 2003, p. 162). Also Amenhotep II came to existence to rule the world (Breasted II, 1927, p. 311 §792).

In spite of the colonial aspect of the campaigns, the Abydos stela of Thutmose I rhetorically presented what can be considered the ethical justification for the necessity of the
campaigns to guarantee the safety of the Egyptians by expelling the external threats (Sethe, 1906, p. 102. 11-15; Breasted II, 1927, p. 40 §98).

ir.n.i tḥsw Ti-mry r ṣmnw ṭn di.i nḥt wnnw ḫr ḫywr dr.i ḫwt ḫr.s di.i wn Kmt ḫr-tp ẖb ṣ mrwt.s

“I made the boundaries of Egypt to the circuit of the sun. I gave victory to those who were in fear and I expelled evil away from her. I caused Egypt to become the master (and) every land as her servants”.

In addition the Egyptians were keen to assure that they did not initiate aggression in their records. A usual text was used in the military literature that someone came to inform the king about the plots in the foreign lands against the Egyptians (Spalinger, 1982, p. 3; Murrane, 1995, p. 101-102 and Darnell, 2007, p. 118). As a normal reaction from the Egyptian kings Thutmose I sent his Nubian campaign against the raids of the hill countries and another one to Naheren because of the plots of its chief as mentioned in the autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibara (Breasted, 1927, p. 33-34 §80-81); according to Aswan inscriptions Thutmose II sent his campaign to Kush against those who attacked the Egyptian inhabitants (Breasted II, 1927, p. 49 §120-121); a fragment from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari mentioned the plot of the enemies in their valleys (Spalinger, 1982, p. 53); Amenhotep II attacked the city of Ikasi because of its plot to cast the Egyptian troops (Breasted II, 1927, p. 308 § 787); as mentioned in the Konosso stela Thutmose IV was in the festival of Amun at Karnak and he decided sending a campaign to Wawat because of the revolt of its chief (Breasted II, 1927, p. 328 §826), Amenhotep III launched his campaign against the chief of Kush because of the rebellion he intended to make in his heart as registered in a stela found in the First Cataract (Breasted II, 1927, p. 336 §844 and Berman, 2001, p. 11) and according to two stelae in Buhen and Amada the viceroy in Kush named Djehutymose prepared a campaign by the command of Akhenaten to suppress the trouble in Nubia (Murrane, 1995, 101-102 and Darnell, 2007, p. 118).

The defending coverage in the previous examples refer to the method used to morally persuade the soldiers that they were not going to invade but they were participating in a sacred mission to serve justice and keep order for the safety of Egypt and its people against the rebellious ones as can be featured in some aspects. The words ẖé mḥr “soldiers” and ḫt k ṣmr “expedition” (Faulkner, 1991, p. 119) have the pictorial sign of semi squatting soldier holding bow and arrow while his head is surmounted by a feather like Maat the goddess of order (Wilkenson, 1992, p. 37 and figures in p. 36). This would make the soldiers consider themselves as representatives of maat and they were carrying the responsibility of protecting it upon their heads. This concept was expressed in calling the troop of Amenhotep III as the “Manifest of Justice” (Healy, 2000, p. 21). So it was the duty of the soldiers to follow their kings who in turn were appointed by gods to rule with justice (Spencer, 2010, p. 260). For example the Armant stela vindicated the successive military campaigns of Thutmose III in Asia in order to restore the condition of Egypt when Re was the ruler upon earth (Spencer, 2010, p. 260 and Redford, 2003, p. 156). Associating the campaigns with the divine order was mentioned in the graffiti of the royal herald named Amunedjeh on the wall of the sun temple of king Userkaf at Abu-Sir in
which Thutmose III was in Syria to fulfill the order of god Amun-Re to fight the Asians (Peden, 2001, p. 58). Horemheb launched his campaign in Kush by the command of Amun (Darnell, 2007, p. 122).

In addition some royal names associated the kings with justice. For example the Horus name of Thutmose I in his commemorating victory stela at Tombos included his epithet $k3-nht mry M$\textsuperscript{3}$t$ “ the victorious Bull, the beloved of Maat ” (Sethe, 1906, p. 82.10; Breasted II, 1927, p. 29 §69 and Goedicke, 1996, p. 161). The birth name of Thutmose III described him as the king who ruled with justice and the beloved of Montu the war god as can be seen in Armant stela (Helck, 1955, p. 1244.13 and Redford, 2003, p. 153).

$S3 \text{R}^{t} n \text{hf.J} \text{hwty-ms hq3-m$t$ mry M$nW nb W$\text{3}$st hr-lb Twnt $\text{nh}$ $\text{dl}$

“The son of Re from his body Thutmose the ruler of justice, the beloved of Montu the lord of Thebes who is in Armant, to live forever.”

Akhenaton in the Buhen stela that commemorated his Nubian campaign was described as $nsw$-\textit{biti $\text{nh}$ m $m\text{3}$ $t$ “ king of Upper and Lower Egypt the one who lived on truth ” (Smith, 1976, p. 125 and pl. XXIX top left and Helck, 1980, p. 123, line 2). The epithet “Ruler of Maat” was added to the throne names of Thutmose IV and Tutankhamun (Leprohon, 2013, p. 102 and 106).

Moreover in the scene of Amenhotep III while holding his mace-head to smite a kneeling enemy, his cartouche housing his name of $Nb-M$n$R$ “Lord of the Justice of Re” was remarkably positioned before the head of the king and above the enemy [fig. 1] (Gundlach, 2009, p. 459, fig. 2). The victorious Horemheb was shown carried over a palanquin by men whose heads were surmounted by feathers of $m\text{aat}$ and before the procession were the Nubian captives [fig. 2] (Lepsius III, 1972, pl. 121 a).

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**Fig. 2:** King smiting enemy

After Gundlach, 2009, p. 459, fig. 2

**Fig. 3:** Horemheb after obtaining victory

After Lepsius III, 1972, pl. 121. a.

In addition among the traditional inscriptions which glorified the domination of Amenhotep II by the will of gods in his great sphinx stela, a remarkable phrase described him as $h$\textsuperscript{3}$st$ nb$t$ $hr$ $m$k$t$ “ every foreign land are under his protection” (Varille, 1942, pl. 1 line 4 and Litchtheim II, 1976, p. 40). This might present a clear indication of persuading the soldiers with the ethical aspect of the campaign and the necessity of serving justice for the sake of humanity even in the foreign lands as if their inhabitants would be placed under the protection of the Egyptian king. Another emotional text was recorded in the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb for it tragically referred to the reason of launching a campaign to save the Syrians whose homes were burnt, their fields were perished and they became starving with no shelter after being usurped by the others and they came to the king seeking his protection (Helck, 1964, p. 83).
Ruling with justice and spreading protection in the foreign lands led to consider those who revolted against the Egyptian domination as traitors who broke the oath of loyalty to the king. For the princes of the foreign lands used to swear that they shall never commit evil against the king (Morschauser, 1988, p. 97). The purpose of this method was to increase the motivation of the soldiers to punish the enemies whose betrayal aspect appeared in the texts of Thutmose I against the rebellious of Kush (Sethe, 1906, p. 138, 14 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 49 §120).

\[
\text{wnw m ndt nt nb T\text{\text{\text{\text{3}}}}wy hmt nk3t}
\]

“ Those who were in the fellow of the lord of the Two Lands are planning conspiracy ”.

Before the battle of Mageddo, Thutmose III in his meeting with his commanders considered the princes who followed the chief of Qadish as betrayals because they were supposed to be \( \text{hr mw n Kmt} \) “loyal to Egypt” (Negm Eddin, 2011, p. 24; Faulkner, 1942 p. 3 and Breasted, 1927, p. 180 §420 and footnote b in p. 180). This expression was also used in the Asian campaign of Amenhotep II who extended the Egyptian boundary against those who did not show loyalty to him (Badawi, 1943, p. 5). From the last description the use of the word \( mw \) originally means “water” (Faulkner, 1991, p. 105) might have intended to express the betrayal nature of the enemies who were allowed to drink from the water of Egypt but did not respect their oath of loyalty. In addition the enemies were given negative epithets as sources of threatening the stability of Egypt. Ahmose son of Ibana described those who revolted against Ahmose as \( \text{wicked of hearts} \) (Sethe, 1906, p. 6. 12 and Breasted II, 1927 p. 9 §16 and footnote g). The Tombos stela of Thutmose I described the Nubians as \( \text{evil of characters} \) (Sethe, 1906, p. 84. 3; Gardiner, 1947, p. 134 and Goedicke, 1996, p. 166). The chief of Naharin who planed destruction against the Egyptians was described as \( \text{the fallen one} \) (Sethe, 1906, p. 9. 11 and Breasted II, 1927, p. 34 §81) as if he was disgraced from the mercy of gods. In the above mentioned reconstruction text of queen Hathpsut in Speos Artimides concerning the Hyksos, the Egyptian word for the foreigners \( \text{SmAw} \) was also associated with \( \text{SmAyw} \) which referred to the evil demon that caused diseases (Erman IV, 1971, p. 471.1-6).

The Divine Support
Grantee Victory

Associating the campaigns with the divine order witnessed an important ritual performed before battles represented in the king’s visit under the auspices of the priests to the cult temple of the principal Theban god Amun. This intended to produce positive influence in the feelings of the soldiers especially when they saw the king appear in a majestic scene to announce the blessing of god Amun and his promise of granting victory (Galän, 1995, p. 52-57) as clearly registered in many texts from the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the Poetical stela of Thutmose III from the Karnak temple, god Amun gave the king signs of victory including protection and terrorizing the enemies (Sethe, 1906, p. 612. 5-8 and Litcheim II, 1976, p. 36).
“I endure you in the interior of my temple and my miracle (is) for you, I give you valor and victory over all foreign countries, I place your powers and your fears in all lands”.

The texts from Buhen temple referred to the speech of Thutmose III to his soldiers (Sethe, 1907, p. 808. 14; Galân, 1995, p. 89 and Redford, 2003, p. 160).

pr.n.i im pr it.i Nsw NTrw wdw n.i nhtw

“I came forth from the house of my father the king of the gods who ordered for me victories”.

The annals of Thutmose III described the grateful feelings of the soldiers to god Amun for the victory he gave to the king in Megeddo (Sethe, 1907, p. 685. 10-11; Breasted, II, 1927, 185 §413 and Faulkner, 1942, p. 4).

pr.n.f xr.f ib.f Aw [wD]w n.f  sH[wy mSaw].f Hr a sbi.n.f sw m on nxt

“he came out, with him (is) his joyful heart, he commanded assembling his troops with (his) arm (for) he (=Amun) sent him (= the king) with bravery and victory”.

Numerous inscriptions and scenes referred to the role of other deities in empowering the king against the foreign lands. Re empowered Thutmose III with strength and victory against the foreign lands (Galân, 1995, p. 54). Montu magnified the victories of Thutmose III as mentioned in the Arman stela (Redford, 2003, p. 154). In a scene Thutmose IV was shown smiting an Asiatic enemy before Montu who presented a sickle to the king (Wilkinson, 2003, fig. in p. 203). The Egyptian gods granted victory for Tutankhamun (Galân, 1995, p. 55). A remarkable scene depicted the sun disk of god Aten with rays end with human hands some are holding mace and scimitar while extend towards Akhenaten who smites an enemy (Darnell, 2007, fig. 2 in p. 27).

In another circumstance, the divine prophecy seems to be presented to the soldiers through the dream. Amenhotep II in his Asian campaign claimed that god Amun-Re appeared in his sleep to give him courage (Badawi, 1943, p. 18).

pr.n.f hr.f ib.f 3w [wd]w n.f sb[wy ms]w f hr 5 sbi.n.f sw m qn nht

“he came out, with him (is) his joyful heart, he commanded assembling his troops with (his) arm (for) he (=Amun) sent him (= the king) with bravery and victory”.

Admitting to the role of the priests who accompanied the kings in wars most probably they invented the dream of Amenhotep II. For the priests were conscious with the deep influence of dream in the beliefs of the Egyptians as a method of unveiling what would happen in the future (Ruiz, 2001, p. 172 and Shaw and Nicholson, 1997, p. 87). Using
dream in the war condition intended to make the soldiers optimistically believe that although they were far from their homeland but god Amun exists to consolidate them through the king and he shall never desert them.

Besides placing tranquility in the feelings of the soldiers, the divine prophecy also intended to make them trust the war decision and its related plans because they came from the god Amun himself as mentioned in some texts. For example Thutmose III associated the campaign with the successful plans of Amun in the Barkal mountain stela (Reisner, 1933, p. 33).

It seems that there might be another moral method represented in associating the weapons with god Amun. From the tomb scene of Menkheperreseneb the weapons factory was located near the temple of Amun (Strouhal, 1996, p. 204). Another scene of making chariots and bows in the temple workshop is found in the tomb of the second prophet of Amun named Puyemre (Guendach, 2009, p. 478, fig. 4). As if it was intended to make the soldier believe in the effectiveness of their weapons for having the divine blessing.

In addition other foreign deities were mentioned in the military texts like Reshep, Astaret, Qadish and Anat (Redford, 1972, p. 43-46). This refers to the method of convincing the soldiers that they were under the appreciation of the foreign deities who in turn were not satisfied with the bad manners of the rebellious of their countries.

The Divine Care

The soldiers were also convinced that they were surrounded by the divine care in their long march to pass over obstacles and difficulties they might confront. The best example of the sentences told to the soldiers appeared in the texts of famous Punt trading expedition which was registered in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir Al-Bahari. According to the prophecy of god Amun the roads to Punt were opened because of his guidance (Sethe, 1906, p. 342. 11-13 and 15; Breasted, 1906 116 §285).

sSm[n] m$h w hr m$m tr

“(He) led the soldiers on water and upon land”.

While marching to the battlefield god Amun guided Thutmose III by his excellent plan as expressed in the Barkal stela (Reisner, 1933, p. 30-31).

it.i Imn-Rh nb lswt T$hwy sSm h$m.tr m$t$t w s$m fn fr m $hrw f m$h$h

“My father Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, guides my Majesty on the good road by means of his excellent plans”.

The last sentence is having sort of resemblance with what was mentioned in the war of the Theban prince Kamose who sailed in the Nile towards the north against the Hyksos by the Amun the true advisor (Gardiner, 1916, p. 105).

When Thutmose III decided to go through the narrow dangerous road he made an oath with the names of gods Re and Amun (Sethe, 1907, p. 651. 3-5; Breasted II, 1927, p. 181 § 422; Faulkner, 1942, p. 3 and Redford, 2003, p. 17).

mrw.i Rh s$h.w.un i [Imn] hwn [frd].i m nh.w3s iw d3 hm.i hr mtn pn thln
“Re loves me, I am the favorite of my father [Amun] (who) rejuvenates my [nose] with life and power, my majesty goes through this road of Aruna”.

Certainly Thutmose III wanted to show his enthusiasm in order to assure his deep belief and confidence in the divine support for he was aware that his positive feeling would be transferred to his commanders and soldiers.

Another moral method was performed by the priests represented in announcing good signs to the soldiers to raise their spiritual condition. A remarkable text from the Barkal stela of Thutmose III presented a natural phenomenon which was witnessed by two watchmen (Reisner, 1933, p. 35).

iw wn wnty sp 2 lyt sb3 m ily n rsy.sn n hpr mytt wd.n.f r.s m ṭq3.f

“There were two watchmen (sitting opposite each other) and a star came from the south of them. The like had never happened. It set over against them, directly opposite to itself”.

From the previous text it is obvious that the star came from the south to its opposite direction towards the north as if it represented a good sign that the road to the north were opened for the march of the king and his troops to achieve victory.

Other deities were involved in guiding the Egyptian troops. There is god Wepwawat “Opener of the Roads” who preceded Thutmose III northward towards Asia (Redford, 2003, p. 22 and Wilkenson, 2003, p. 191). God Onuris whose name means “One Who Brings the Far One” was represented by a priest named Amenhotep who participated in the Asian campaign of Thutmose IV (Breasted II, 1927, 325 § 818 and Wilkenson, 2003, p. 118). His name refers to his role in supporting the soldiers and helping them to survive during their march and in the battlefield in order to return back safely to their homelands.

When Thutmose IV was marching in his Nubian campaign goddess Irerti was leading him, the southern deities were before him and he was accompanied by the vulture goddess Nekhbet (Breasted II, 1927, p. 329 § 828).

The Conclusion

The ancient Egyptians in the wars of the XVIIIth Dynasty effectively practiced the moral methods to empower the combating motivation of the soldiers and were conscious with the fearful and anxious thoughts that might hinder their abilities.

Enthusiastic speeches about courage were recited to make the soldiers seek glory through achieving victory and to believe that good destiny was waiting them in case of meeting death because of their loyalty in following the king. This might lead to think for the existence of the martyrdom idea in the minds of the ancient Egyptian soldiers.

The spiritual role of the king was prominent through his magnificent performance in receiving the promise of victory from gods and providing his soldiers with confidence. King Amenhotep II might be the earliest king who used the influence of the dreams in providing the soldiers with optimism. Using dream of war was witnessed in the XIXth Dynasty when king Merenptah claimed that he saw god Ptah in a vision to give him victory over the Libyans.

The religious role of the priests can be featured in providing the soldiers with tranquility for obtaining the divine blessings and presenting good signs for optimism. Exploiting the religious nature of the Egyptians associating campaigns with the wills of gods and the responsibility of the king to rule with maat represented the main moral ideas of convincing the soldiers with the ethical justification of the campaign. As a result they might have considered themselves as guardians of justice and responsible of prevailing order to grant the safety and stability of their country.
There were evidences of recalling the victories of the predecessor kings to rejuvenate enthusiasm and the Hyksos occupation was exploited the Hyksos to provoke the feelings of the soldiers with anger and desire of seeking revenge in the northern campaigns.

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