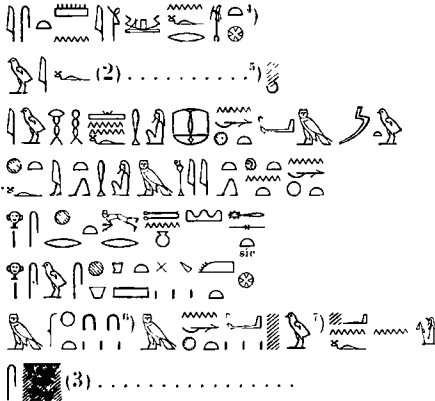


The Length and Season of Thutmose III.'s First Campaign.

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

It is a well known fact that Thutmose III. celebrated three great feasts of victory in Thebes on his return from his first campaign in Syria. Strangely enough however, that of BRUGSCH¹⁾ is the only one of the later histories which mentions these feasts, and none²⁾ has taken note of the fact that the record of these feasts furnishes the data for determining the length of the campaign whose success they celebrate. The passage is as follows³⁾:



¹⁾ Geschichte 328—329.

²⁾ LIEBLEIN (Rec. I. 68—69) has made use of this date, but employed only BRUGSCH's Recueil (I 43) which gives the year 22! as the year of Thutmose's return. Hence LIEBLEIN supposed there was a campaign of the year 22, and another of year 23. A collation of LEPSIUS would have obviated this error.

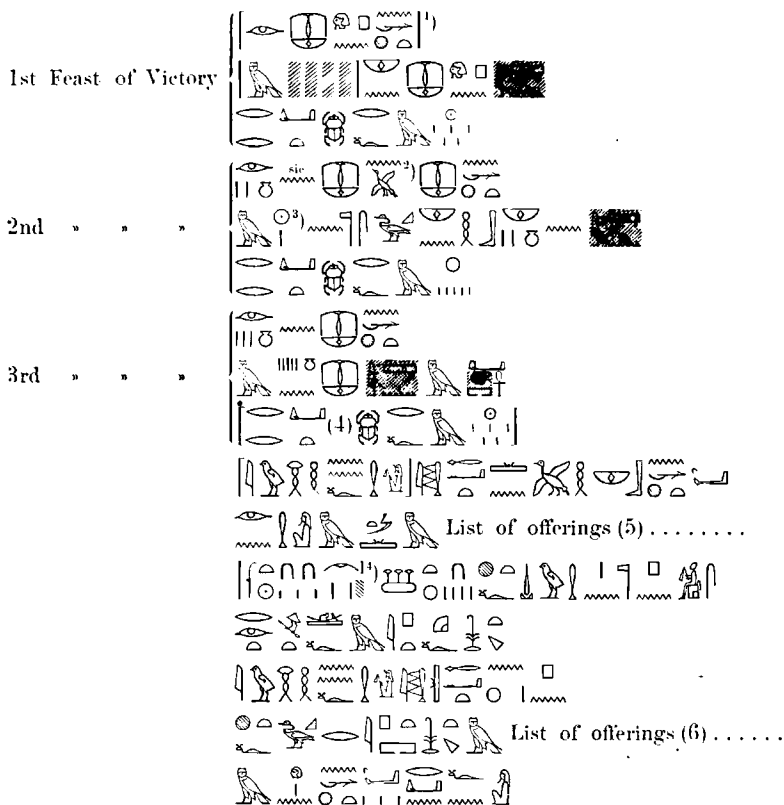
³⁾ LD. III, 30 b ll. 1—6; BRUGSCH, Rec. des Mon. I 43; beginning at *gr w' h* (l. 2) the text is again reproduced by BRUGSCH, Thes. II 363 with some omissions; but he unfortunately stops near the end of l. 3 and strangely enough does not include the important date (in l. 5) in his further extracts from this inscription. I have collated all three publications and LEPSIUS' squeeze.

¹⁾ BR.: ; LEPS.: ; squeeze as above; the reading is certain therefore.

²⁾ Neither LEPSIUS nor BRUGSCH has any indication of the amount lost at the beginnings of the lines.

³⁾ BR. has but in view of the annals, according to which the first campaign was conducted in the year 23, LEPSIUS is of course correct in giving 23. Squeeze has 23.

⁴⁾ The *x* is uncertain on the squeeze.





Behold he landed at Thebes, — (?) (2) My majesty established for him a feast of victory anew, at the return of my majesty from the first victorious campaign, overthrowing wretched Rethenu (and) widening the confines of Egypt. in the year 23 by the victories which he gave to me. (3)*

[*The first feast of victory. was celebrated at the feast: (name of the feast of Amon)], the first feast of Amon, in order to make it of 5 days duration.*

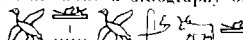
The second feast of victory⁵⁾ was celebrated at the feast: 'Day of Bringing in the God', the second feast of Amon, in order to make it of 5 days duration.

¹⁾ *hh tpā n nht* after *hh tpā n 'Imu*. in the following phrase. Br., Thes. is totally confused.

²⁾  is wanting in Br., both Rec. & Thes. Squeeze has it.

³⁾ Br., Rec.  !!

⁴⁾ Br. gives no trace of the month number.

⁵⁾ The text shows a ditogrophy of *n hh*. This genitive *n* to express apposition is not uncommon, cf.  (Ahmose-si-Ebene 1.5) 'the ship (of) The Bullock'.

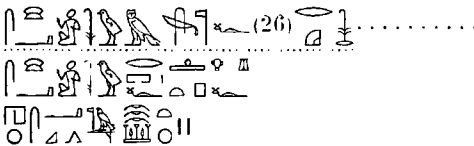
«The third feast of victory was celebrated, at the 5th feast of Amon, in *Hnkt-nh*¹) [in order to make it of 5 days duration].»

«[My majesty established for him] a great offering for this feast of victory, which my majesty made anew, consisting of: (List of offerings).»

«[Year 23. Month] 2 of *S^t*. day 14, when the majesty of this august god proceeded, to make his voyage in his Southern Opet, my majesty established a great offering for this day, at the entrance into Southern Opet, consisting of: (List of offerings), from the first of the victories which he gave to me.»

As the three feasts of victory are distinctly stated to have been established at the return from the first campaign, the date of any one of these feasts would determine approximately the date of the king's return. The first feast of victory coincided in date with the first feast of Amon. Unfortunately the feasts of Amon are not numbered in any of the surviving calendar fragments, but the first feast of Amon can hardly be any other than the Amon-feast occurring first in the year. As the name of the feast has disappeared it is impossible to compare with the calendar of Amon at Medinet Habu²), and it is a question whether the astronomical feasts in Thoth could be called feasts of Amon³). In view of the uncertainty, we can do no more than affirm that the first feast of victory took place early in the calendar year, and that Thutmose III. had therefore returned to Thebes by that time from his first campaign.

The second and third feasts of victory again, cannot be dated by the numbers of the Amon-feasts with which they coincide, but the name of the second feast of Amon, coincident with the second feast of victory, is preserved as «the day of bringing in the god». This name is not found in any of the calendars. It belongs to an incident connected with Amon's «Southern Opet festival», *viz.* the return from Luxor (Southern Opet) to Karnak. This is clear from the words of Piankhi in his great inscription (ll. 25—26)⁴):



Here fortunately the date of this return to Karnak is added: the 2nd of Hathor⁵); hence the second feast of victory was celebrated on this day. But it is clear that Thutmose III. was present in Thebes before this date.

After fixing the calendar of the three feasts of victory (ll. 3—4) the text goes on to enumerate lists of offerings to be presented to Amon on these and

¹) The name of the mortuary temple of Thutmose III.: read *Hnkt-nh*. See SPÄCKER-BERG, Rec. XIX 86—89.

²) BR., Thes. II 364 and DÉM., Kal. X—XIV.

³) Although the feast of the new year is called a feast of Amon on the Elephantine fragment, BR., Thes. II 363.

⁴) From a photograph.

⁵) See DE ROUGE, Mém. d'Arch. I 134.

| Event. | Approximate distance English miles. | Year of reign. | Calendar month. | Day. |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Zaru | / | 22nd | 8th | 25th ¹⁾ |
| Gaza: Feast of Coronation | \ 160 | 23rd | 9th | 4th |
| Departure from Gaza | / | " | " | 5th |
| Yehem | \ c. 80 to 90 | " | " | 16th |
| Erune | / ? | " | " | 19th |
| Departure from Erune | / | " | " | 20th ²⁾ |
| Arrival before Megiddo | \ c. 4 or 5 | " | " | 20th ²⁾ (c. 1.00 p. m.) |
| Battle of Megiddo | | " | " | 21st |
| Beginning of Siege of Megiddo | | " | " | " |
| Capture of Megiddo | / | " | ? | ? |
| March to Lebanon | \ at least 75 | " | ? | ? |
| Capture of Yenoam, Neges and Hurenkeru ³⁾ | | " | ? | ? |
| Construction of Fort in Lebanon | / | " | ? | ? |
| Return to Thebes | \ over 900 ⁴⁾ | " | (not later than 2nd) | 11th |

148 days

In less than 148 days, roughly five months, Thutmose III. fought the battle of Megiddo, completely invested with a wall the powerful fortress of Megiddo itself and captured it: marched northward 75 miles to the Lebanon Region, captured three cities and built a fortress there: completed the return to the Delta coast and the voyage up river to Thebes: and celebrated his first feast of victory there. The entire campaign from the departure from Zaru to the arrival in Thebes lasted a maximum of 175 days: that is, in 5 months and 25 days from the day on which he left Zaru he was celebrating his great feast of Amon at Thebes. Fortunately we are able to locate this period approximately in the astronomical calendar and tell in what month he went and returned. According to a fragment in Elephantine, as is well known, a heliacal rising of Sothis took place during the reign of Thutmose III. on the 28 of Epiphi⁵⁾. Calculated from this datum, the march from Zaru took place about April 17th and the celebration in Thebes after Thutmose's return, about Oct. 9⁶⁾. The entire campaign in terms of our own calendar is as follows:

¹⁾ Lacking in LD. and BRUGSCH but preserved in CHAMP., Not. descr. II 154.

²⁾ Date is not given in the text, but is clear from the context.

³⁾ The three cities may have been captured during the march to Lebanon; see MÜLLER, *Asien* pp. 200 ff.

⁴⁾ Of this distance at least 500 miles would be made on the Nile. It is extremely probable that the northern half was also by water on the Mediterranean. Otherwise we must assume that Thutmose travelled with unusual rapidity. Of course he would return far in advance of his army.

⁵⁾ BRUGSCH, *Theb.* II 363; LD. III, 43e; DE MORGAN, *Cat. des Mon.* I 121.

⁶⁾ I purposely refrain from introducing here any computation for the year B.C., as I desire merely to establish the *season* of the year, not the *year*. Leaving such computations entirely

| Event. | Approximate date. |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------|
| In Zaru | April 17th |
| In Gaza. Feast of Coronation | » 26th |
| Departure from Gaza | » 27th |
| In Yehem | May 8th |
| In Erune | » 11th |
| Departure from Erune | » 12th |
| Arrival before Megiddo | » 12th |
| Battle of Megiddo | » 13th |
| Beginning of Siege of Megiddo | » 13th |
| Capture of Megiddo | ? ? |
| March to Lebanon | ? ? |
| Capture of Yenoam, Neges and Hurenkeru | ? ? |
| Construction of Fort in Lebanon | ? ? |
| Return to Thebes not later than | Oct. 9th |

I have not at hand the data for comparing this itinerary with the marches of later armies, but it is interesting to note that the campaign falls exactly within the limits of the dry season in Palestine. The rains of winter in Palestine have ceased by the middle of April and begin again by the end of October¹). Thutmose moved out of Zaru just as the rainfall ceased, and allowing him five or six weeks for his return journey from Lebanon to Thebes, he would have left Lebanon not long before the return of the rains²).

It is further evident that Thutmose's campaign was in the summer, from the fact that he arrived at Megiddo in time to cut the standing grain as forage for the army. Afterward he harvested the fields of Megiddo and registered the yield³).

The *month* of his other campaigns is omitted, except in the case of the seventh in year 31, first month of *šmw*, day 3*, which would also fall in the latter part of April⁴).

aside, we can establish the date in the yearly calendar within a maximum margin of uncertainty of — 5 or + 7 days, as we do not know the exact date in Thutmose's reign to which the Elephantine calendar belongs. Assuming its date to be the same year as the campaigns, we have the calendar as I have given it with the above uncertainty. Dr. MAHLER (*ÄZ.* 1889, S. 101—102) regards the dates in the Annals as given in terms of the fixed year. This places the departure from Zaru as early as the 9th or 10th of March. That the dates in the annals are *as usual* in terms of the shifting calendar is *a priori* certain; further, a march from Zaru so early as March 10th 5 weeks before the close of the rainy season is exceedingly improbable.

¹ G. A. SMITH. *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* pp. 63—64.

² They are often a month earlier in Lebanon than elsewhere. *ibid.* p. 64, note 1.

³ I.D. III, 32 ff. 20—21.

⁴ Text: *LEPS. AUSW.* XII l. 9 — BRUGSCH, *Thes.* p. 1171.

The Syrian campaign of Amenhotep II. falls also in the dry season¹). On the 26th of Pachons he crossed the Orontes; this was about the middle of May²), just at the time Thutmose III. arrived in Northern Palestine. Fourteen days later³), that is about the first of June Amenhotep arrived in Niy. Ten days later we find him capturing an unknown city in the same region, but unfortunately we are not able to pursue his itinerary further. Ramses II. also employed the summer for his Syrian campaigns. On the 9th of Epiphi he was in Phoenicia⁴) on the march against Kadesh. Admitting with BRUGSCH⁵) that the rising of Sothis took place on the first of Thoth in the 30th year of Ramses II.'s reign, this would date his march through Phoenicia about the 30th or 31st of May. Twenty years ago, without the aid of the above Sothis dates, LIEBLEIN made it very probable that the Pharaohs conducted their Syrian campaigns in the dry season⁶). He adduced in addition to his chronological arguments, the very convincing testimony of Hebrew references to the season of war.

It would be of great interest, as well as very important for our chronology, to establish the season of campaigning in Nubia also. With the new Sothis date discovered by BORCHARDT, this could now be done for the middle as well as the new empire.

¹) The following based on a collation of: CHAMP., *Nol. desc.* II 185—186 (only ll. 1—10, l. 9 is not omitted as indicated); MASPERO, *ÄZ.* XVII 56—57 (copies CHAMP.); RHH. 175—176; BOURRIANT, *Rec.* XIII 160—161; WIEDEMANN, *PSBA.* XI. 422—423; emendations by ERMAN, *ÄZ.* 1889 S. 39—41.

²) Allowing for a few days gained since Thutmose III.'s calendar of Elephantine.

³) 2nd month of *Šmwe* (Pachon) 10th day; the texts of DE ROUGÉ, BOURRIANT, WIEDEMANN and BRUGSCH (translation) all show «month 2» against CHAMPOLLION'S «month 3» usually accepted. Note further that the *following date is also in month 2*. That *šmwe*, not *š't*, is to be read here is clear from the determinative and the *šmw*-date *preceding and following*. MASPERO now accepts this, although he formerly read *š't* (STRUGGLE, p. 211 and 291). The old supposition that Amenhotep wintered in Asia is without basis, although it is still defended (PETRIE, *History* II 155).

⁴) Abu Simbel text: CHAMP., *Mon.* 27—29, ROS., *Mon. stor.* 100—102, LD. III. 187*d* and *c*; Ramesseum text, LD. III. 153. SHARPE, *Insc.* 2nd part pl. 52.

⁵) *Thes.* I, p. 115; MÄHLER (*ÄZ.* 1889, S. 99—100), and *ibid.* 1891, 99 ff.

⁶) *Rec.* I. 63, 95 and 141.