

[SEVENTEENTH CAMPAIGN, YEAR 42] (§§ 528-39)

(Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 30, a, ll. 10-20=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1183-85, ll. 10-20; photograph by Borchardt.)

Campaign against Kadesh; overthrow of Erkatu, Tunip, Kadesh; booty of these; harbor supplies; tribute of unknown country; of Tinay; impost of Kush and Wawat.

I. INTRODUCTION

407. ¹Horus: "Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes; ————.

²King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ³Lord of the the Two Lands:^a Menkheperre; Son of Re: [Thutmose (III)] ————. ^b ³His majesty commanded to cause to be recorded [his victories which his father, Amon, gave to him, upon^c] ⁴a tablet^d in the temple which his majesty made for [his father, Amon, ¹setting forth each^e] ⁵expedition by its name, together with the plunder which [his majesty]^f carried away [therein. It was done according to]^f ⁶all [¹the command¹] which his father, Re, gave to him.

II. FIRST CAMPAIGN (YEAR 23)^g

408. This, the most important of Thutmose III's campaigns in Asia, is fortunately the most fully recorded. The

^aOmitted by Brugsch's text.

^bThe lacking portion of the conventional fivefold titulary may be found *passim*.

^cRestored from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, second horizontal line (§ 455).

^dReally temple wall; more often this word (*wḏ*) means a stela or slab of stone set up by itself.

^eThis line is unfortunately also broken away in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII; the restoration is probable, but conjectured.

^fRestored from Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, XII, second horizontal line.

^gSeventy-nine short and 21 long vertical lines, beginning at the northeast corner of the passage. Text: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 31, b, ll. 167, and *ibid.*, III, 32, ll. 1-32=Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1153-166, ll. 1-79 and 1-21. The short lines being next the base have almost all lost a portion of the lower ends, while a large part of the long lines lacks the upper ends and frequently the lower ends, also.

occasion of the campaign was a general revolt among his father's Syrian conquests from Sharuhén to the Euphrates. Fighting had already developed in Sharuhén, which was, of course, too near the Egyptian frontier to venture to make common cause with the revolted; and hence conflict resulted there. We are taken with the king and clearly shown his operations day by day till he overthrows a coalition of practically all Syria at Megiddo, headed by the king of Kadesh. He then besieges and captures Megiddo, but from the surrender of Megiddo on, the record degenerates, as in all the other campaigns, to little more than a list of spoils. Fortunately, this latter part of the campaign is supplemented and really continued by the introduction to the list of feasts and offerings^a established on the king's return to Thebes from this campaign. The close of the campaign is there narrated, mentioning a fortress established in the Lebanon, whither the king had marched after the fall of Megiddo, capturing there the three cities at the seaward bend of the Litâny River, which we may call the Lebanon Tripolis:^b Yenoam, Nuges, and Herenkeru, commanding the thoroughfare northward between the Lebanons. All this serves merely as an introduction to the splendid feasts of victory celebrated by the king, as is distinctly stated "*on his return from the first victorious campaign.*" The date of these celebrations is preserved, and enables us for the first and only time to determine the length of an Egyptian campaign in Syria.

409. The entire calendar of the campaign, as far as can be determined, is as follows:

^a§§ 541 ff.

^bOnly the spoil of these cities is enumerated in the Annals, the march thither being entirely ignored. The record of feasts and offerings only mentions them later to say that they were given to Amon.

EVENT	APPROXIMATE DISTANCE (English Miles)	EGYPTIAN CALENDAR			MODERN CALENDAR
		Year of Reign	Calen- dar Month	Day	Approximate Date
In Tharu	160	22d	8th	25th	April 19
In Gaza; Feast of Coronation ..		23d	9th	4th	" 28
Departure from Gaza.....		"	"	5th	" 29
In Yehem.....	c. 80 to 90	"	"	16th	May 10
In Aruna		"	"	19th	" 13
Departure from Aruna	c. 4 or 5	"	"	20th	" 14
Arrival before Megiddo.....		"	"	20th	" 14
Battle of Megiddo.....		"	"	21st	" 15
Beginning of siege of Megiddo...	at least 75	"	"	21st	" 15
Capture of Megiddo.....		"	"	?	? ?
March to Lebanon.....		"	?	?	? ?
Capture of Yenoam, Nuges, Herenkeru	over 900	"	?	?	? ?
Construction of fort in Lebanon..		"	?	?	? ?
Return to Thebes, not later than		"	2d	14th	Oct. 11

410. 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 seventy-five 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 Tharu to the arrival in Thebes lasted a maximum of 175 days; that is, in five months and twenty-five days from the day on which he left Tharu 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.^a (See § 409,

^aFor this purpose we have first the Elephantine calendar fragment, which gives the heliacal rising of Sothis in the reign of Thutmose III as the 28th of Epiphi (Young, *Hieroglyphics*, 59 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, II, 363 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 43, e = de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments*, I, 121). Doubt has been cast upon this date, but I have examined the Berlin squeezes, and there is not a shadow of doubt that it belongs to the series of blocks from the reign of Thutmose III. In

last column). It is thus evident that the campaign falls exactly within the limits of the dry season in Palestine.^a

411. Beside the celebration in Thebes, the victory was celebrated and recorded in a poetic inscription by the viceroy of Kush, Nehi (§§ 412, 413), at Wadi Halfa.^b It refers to the first campaign, as follows:

412. ——— who (a god) stationed ¹⁰his majesty at the Horns of the Earth, in order to overthrow the Asiatics (*Mnt'w-Stt*). I am the Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes, Son of Atum, beloved of Montu, ¹¹fighting for his army himself, that the Two Lands may see it; it is no lie. I came forth from the house of my father, the king of gods, Amon, who decrees me victory.

413. ¹²The king himself, he led the way of his army, mighty at its head, like a flame of fire, the king who wrought with his sword. He went forth, none ¹³like him, slaying the barbarians, smiting Retenu (*Rtnw't, sic!*), bringing their princes as living captives, their chariots wrought ¹⁴with gold, bound to their horses. The countries of Tehenu do obeisance because of the fame of his majesty, with their tribute upon

width of column and height of corresponding signs it is identical with a block bearing the name of Thutmose III. Erman, with whom I examined it, was of the same opinion. Unfortunately, the regnal year is not given; but since my attempt to determine the season of the campaign (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 127 f.) on the basis of the Sothis date, the new moon dates have been finally established by Meyer, which modify my series of dates by two days, but corroborate entirely the season as I established it (Meyer, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1904, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, 49 f.).

^aAlso shown by the fact that the army reaped the grain harvest about Megiddo, after having foraged upon it. From the king's Karnak building inscription (§ 608) we see that he was at home in February after the campaign of the year 24; and the Harmhab decree (III, 58) shows that Thutmose III was accustomed to be at home each year at the feast of Opet early in October after the summer's campaigning. The campaign of the year 31 also began in April (§ 469, l. 9); the Syrian campaign of Amenhotep II (§§ 780 ff.) and the Kadesh campaign of Ramses II (III, 298 ff.) also fell in the dry season (see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 129).

^bOn a pillar of the Empire temple. It is dated "year 23." I am indebted for it to a photograph, kindly loaned me by Professor Steindorff, as it is still unpublished. There is in Cairo a fragment of a stela (unpublished, no number) recording the erection of this temple by Thutmose III ("*building for him a temple of white sandstone*"), and its endowment with offerings; but only the extreme ends of eight lines are preserved. I am indebted to Schaefer for a copy of it.

their backs, ¹⁵— as do the dogs, that there might be given to them the breath of life.

414. There is here further reference to the king's personal leading of his army through the mountains and in the Megiddo battle. Furthermore, we see that Libyans came with tribute on the king's return from the campaign. The Annals narrate the campaign as follows:

At the Frontier in Tharu

415. Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), on the twenty-fifth^a day [his majesty was in] 7Tharu (*T²-rw*) on the first victorious expedition to [extend] ⁸the boundaries of Egypt with might

Revolt in Asia

416. ⁹Now, (at) that period^b [the Asiatics had fallen into] ¹⁰dis-agreement,¹ each man [fighting^c] against [This neighbor] ———.
¹¹Now, it happened [that the tribes] — — the people, who were there
¹²in the city of Sharuhen (*Š²-r²-h²-n*); behold, from Yeraza^d (*Y-r²-d²*)
¹³to the marshes of the earth,^d (they) had begun to revolt against his majesty.

Arrival in Gaza, Feast of Coronation

417. Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the fourth day,^e the day of the feast of the king's coronation, (he arrived)
¹⁴at the city, ^fthe possession of the ruler,^f Gaza^g (*G²-d²-tw*).

^aThe day is lacking in Lepsius and Brugsch, but is preserved by Champollion's early copy (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 154).

^bOr: "Now, at the time of these [events, during years]," there are traces of the last two words (*m rnp' wt*) at the end, before the lacuna.

^cRestored from the determinative.

^dThat is, from northwestern Judea to beyond the Euphrates.

^eMaspero (*Recueil*, II, 50, and *Struggle of the Nations*, 255 f.) has third day, but the text of Brugsch has fourth; moreover, the table of feasts on the south wall at Karnak (Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 14, b; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 164) has (l. 7): "The first month of the third season, fourth day, the feast of the coronation of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III)." Pylon VII (§ 594) gives the same date.

^fThis is possibly a proper name, made up of a verb (in relative form) and a noun, meaning: "Which the ruler seized" (*mh' n p² hk² ?*).

^gAbout 125 miles from the starting-point in nine days.

Departure from Gaza

418. [Year 23] ¹⁵first month of the third season (ninth month), on the fifth day; departure from this place in might, — — ¹⁶in power, and in triumph, to overthrow that wretched foe,^a to extend ¹⁷the boundaries of Egypt, according as his father, Amon-Re, ¹⁸had commanded — —] that he seize.

Arrival at Yehem

419. Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the sixteenth day, (he arrived) at the city of Yehem (*Y-hm*).

Council of War

420. [His majesty] ordered ¹⁹a consultation with his valiant troops, saying as follows: "That [wretched] enemy, [the chief] ²⁰of Kadesh (*Kd-sw*), has come and entered into Megiddo (*My-k-ty*); he [is there] ²¹at this moment. He has gathered to himself the chiefs of [all] the countries [which are] ²²on the water of Egypt,^b and as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), consisting of [the countries] of ²³the Kharu (*H²-rw*), the Kode (*Kdw*), their horses, their troops, — — — — — ²⁴thus he speaks, 'I have arisen to [fight against his majesty] ²⁵in Megiddo (*My-k-ty*).'^c Tell ye me — — — — —."^c

Advice of the Officers

421. They spoke in the presence of his majesty, "How is it, that [we] should go upon this road, ²⁷which threatens to be narrow? While they [come] ²⁸and say that the enemy is there waiting, [hold]ing the ²⁹way against a multitude. Will not horse come behind [horse^d and man behind^e] ³⁰man likewise? Shall our [advance-guard] ³¹be fighting while our [rear-guard]^f is yet standing yonder ³²in Aruna (*rw-n*) not having fought? There are yet two (other) roads: ³³one road, behold, it [will] — us, for it comes forth at ³⁴Taanach

^aThe king of Kadesh.

^bAn idiom for "dependent upon" or "subject to."

^cThe king's demand upon his officers is for information concerning the road, as the subsequent developments show.

^dSee § 424, l. 55.

^eThe end is the restoration of Maspero (*Recueil*, II, 52) suggested probably by that of Brugsch (*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 155).

^fMaspero, *Recueil*, II, 52; the determinative of men is still preserved after "rear-guard."

(*T* ²*c* ²*n* ²*k* ²), the other, [behold]d, it will [bring us upon] ³⁵the way north of Zeffi (*Dj-ty*), so that we shall come out to the north of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*). ³⁶Let our victorious lord proceed upon [the road] he desires; (but) cause us not to go by a difficult^a road."

Decision of the King

422. Then —^b ³⁸r³⁸m³⁸essengers¹ concerning [this] design ³⁹which they had uttered, in view of what had been said 'by' the majesty of the Court, L. P. H.: "I [swear], as Re loves me, as my father Amon, favors me, as my [nostrils] are rejuvenated with satisfying life, my majesty will proceed upon this road of ⁴²Aruna (*c* ²*rw-n* ²). Let him who will among you, go upon those ⁴³roads ye have mentioned, and let him who will ⁴⁴among you, come in the following of my majesty. Shall they think among those ⁴⁵enemies whom Re detests: 'Does his majesty proceed upon ⁴⁶another road? He begins to be fearful of us,' so will they think."

Submission of the Officers

423. ⁴⁷They spoke before his majesty: "May thy father Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, 'grant thee life'. ⁴⁸Behold, we are the following of thy majesty in every place, whither [thy majesty] proceedeth; ⁴⁹as the servant is behind [his] master."

Departure from Yehem

424. ⁵⁰[Then his majesty] commanded the entire army [to march] ——— [upon] ⁵¹that road^c which threatened to be [narrow.^d His majesty] ⁵²swore, saying: "None shall go forth [in the way] ⁵³before my majesty, in ———." ⁵⁴He went forth at the head of his army himself, 'showing [the way] ⁵⁵by his (own) footsteps;^e horse behind^f [horse], [This majesty] ⁵⁶being ⁵⁶at the head of his army.

^aThe same word (*st* ²) is applied to the road upon which the great block for the el-Bersheh colossus (I, 696, l. 1) was brought. It means "inaccessible" or "difficult;" it is also used by Thutmose III of the celestial road of the sun (§ 141).

^bVerb lost.

^cText has an Amon wrongly restored here.

^dCf. l. 27, above.

^eLit., "steps of marching."

^fThe army here enters the mountain pass.

^gOr possibly: "[the vanguard,] being of the best of his army."

Arrival at Aruna

425. Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the nineteenth day; the watch in [safety]^a 57 in the royal tent was at the city of Aruna (ꜥꜣ-ꜣꜣ-ꜣꜣ).^b 58 "My majesty proceeded northward under (the protection of my) father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, [who went] 59 before me, while Harakhte [strengthened my arms]^c ——— 60 (my) father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, victorious of the sword ——— 61 over my majesty."

Battle in the Mountains

426. [The enemy] went forth ——— 62 in numerous battle array ———. 63 The southern wing was in Taa[nach] (Tꜣꜣꜣꜣ [-ꜣꜣ-ꜣꜣ]), 64 the northern wing was on the ground south of ———. 65 His majesty cried out to them before ——— 66 they fell; behold, that wretched foe^e ——— 67 ——— 68 ——— of [the city of]^f 69 Aruna (ꜥꜣ-ꜣꜣ-ꜣꜣ).

^aPerhaps we should supply: "life, prosperity, and health," as in Ramses II's march to Kadesh (l. 1); but above, the said phrase is used after "tent," to express the adjective "royal," and would hardly appear twice in the same phrase.

^bThree days after the arrival at Yehem, Aruna, lying in the midst of the mountains, is reached. Here they spent the night of the nineteenth and marched on the twentieth (l. 58).

^cRestored from § 430, l. 3.

^dMaspero (*Recueil*, II, 56) following Brugsch, supplies Megiddo here. This is quite possible, but only on a different supposition from that of Maspero and Brugsch, viz., that the position described here is that of the Asiatic forces, not of the Egyptians, for the latter do not arrive "south of Megiddo" until long after this (§ 428). Furthermore, it is quite impossible for the Egyptians to have had their southern wing at Taanach, while defiling through the Megiddo road. This seems to have been the view in the translation in Petrie's *History* (II, 106), but no mention is made of an encounter with the enemy in the mountains in the summary, p. 101. The passage is important, for it decisively determines (even without supplying Megiddo above) the location of Megiddo against Conder's identification with Mujedda^e. An Asiatic army which, we know, fought before Megiddo, has its southern wing at Taanach, which is known to be Tannuk of today; it must follow that Megiddo is northward from Tannuk. See Breasted, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 22, 96.

^eThere was some encounter with the enemy here in the mountains, and this moves the officers to urge calling in the straggling rear as soon as possible. This encounter has escaped all the historians except Meyer (*Geschichte*, 239); cf. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 257; Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 347; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 101; etc.

^fThere is a loss of five lines here, before l. 69, but it is not indicated in the publications.

Danger of the Rear

427. Now, the rear of the victorious army of his majesty was at the city of ⁷⁰Aruna (^c²-rw-n²), the front was going forth to the valley of —;^a ⁷¹they filled the opening of this valley. Then [they] said in the presence of his majesty, L. P. H.: ⁷²“Behold, his majesty goeth forth with his victorious army, and it has filled ⁷³the hollow of the valley; let our victorious lord hearken to us this time^b and ⁷⁴let our lord protect for us the rear of his army and his people. ⁷⁵Let the rear of this army come forth to us behind; then shall they (also) fight against ⁷⁶these barbarians; then we shall not (need to) take thought for the rear of our ⁷⁷army.” His majesty halted outside and waited ⁷⁸there, protecting the rear of his victorious army.

Exit from the Mountains

428. Behold, when the front had reached the exit upon this road, the shadow had turned,^c and when ^{d1}his majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) on^e the bank of the brook of Kina (*Ky-n²*), the seventh hour^f was turning, (measured) by the sun.

Camp in Plain of Megiddo

429. Then was set up the camp of his majesty, and command was given to the whole army, saying: “Equip yourselves! Prepare your weapons! for we^g shall advance to fight with that wretched foe in the morning.” ¹Therefore¹ the king ²rested in the royal tent, the ^{1a}affairs^{1a} of the chiefs were arranged, and the provisions of the attendants. The watch of the army went about, saying, “Steady of heart! Steady of heart! Watchful! Watchful!^h Watch for life at the tent of the king.” One came to say to his majesty, “The land is well, and the infantry of the South and North likewise.”

^aProper name ending in *n*.

^bPetrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 106.

^cIt was past midday.

^dA new enumeration of twenty-eight longer lines begins here.

^eThe army here emerges in safety upon the plain in the afternoon of the twentieth, and camps unmolested that night, to go forth to battle in the morning of the twenty-first.

^fAbout one o'clock P. M.

^gThe text has the impersonal “one.”

^hSee § 341, l. 17, for the same rare phrase.

ⁱLit., “*Watchful of head*,” meaning “to be vigilant,” e. g., of the king (Amen-hotep III) on the architrave at Luxor: “*the Good God who is very vigilant (lit., watchful of head) over the house of his father, Amon*” (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 73, b; again *ibid.*, e); and often of the vigilance of a faithful official.

Battle of Megiddo

430. Year 23, first (month) of the third season (ninth month), on the twenty-first day, the day of the feast of the new moon, ¹corresponding to¹ the royal coronation, early in the morning, behold, command was given to the entire army to move — —. ³His majesty went forth in a chariot of electrum, arrayed in his weapons of war, like Horus, the Smiter, lord of power; like Montu of Thebes, while his father, Amon, strengthened his arms. The southern wing of this army of his majesty was on a hill south of the [brook of]^a Kina (*Ky-n*),^b the northern wing was at the northwest of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*),^b while his majesty was in their center, with Amon as the protection of his members, ¹—¹ the valor — ⁴of his limbs. Then his majesty prevailed against them at the head of his army, and when they saw his majesty prevailing against them they fled headlong to Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) in fear,^c abandoning their horses and their chariots of gold and silver. The people^d hauled them (up), pulling (them) by their clothing, into this city; the people of this city having closed (it) against them [and ¹lowered¹] ⁵clothing to pull them up into this city. Now, if only the army of his majesty had not given their heart to plundering the things of the enemy, they would have [captured] Megiddo (*My-k-ty*) at this moment, when the wretched foe of (*Kd-š*) Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city^e were hauled up in haste to bring them into this city.^e The fear of his majesty had entered ⁶[their hearts¹], their arms were powerless, his serpent diadem was ¹victorious¹ among them.

The Spoil

431. Then were captured their horses, their chariots of gold and silver were made spoil;^f their champions lay stretched out like fishes

^aRestored from § 428, l. 1.

^bThis shows that Thutmose has gone around Megiddo toward the west and, having his army partially on the north of the city, has intercepted the enemy's northern line of retreat; at the same time probably securing his own line of retreat along the Zefi road (see § 421, l. 35). This position corroborates the position of the Asiatics with their southern wing at Taanach on the day before the battle (see § 426, especially note). This move must have been made by Thutmose in the afternoon or during the night before the battle.

^cLit., "with or in the faces of fear."

^dLit., "one."

^eMegiddo. The two kings of Kadesh and Megiddo are meant.

^fRead *m ys-k > k* (Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 700), and compare the same phrase year 31, l. 10 (§ 470).

on the ground. The victorious army of his majesty went around counting their portions. Behold, there was captured the tent of that wretched foe [in] which was [his] son — — 7 ————. ^a The whole army made jubilee, giving praise to Amon for the victory which he had granted to his son on [this day, ^bgiving praise^b] to his majesty, exalting his victories. They brought up the booty which they had taken, consisting of hands, ^c of living prisoners, of horses, chariots of gold and silver, of — — 8 ————. ^d

The Rebuke

432. [Then spake his majesty 'on hearing' the words of his army, saying: "Had ye captured [this city] afterward, behold, I would have given ———— ^e Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo (*My-k-ty*). Capture ye 'mightily, mightily' — — 9 ————."

Siege of Megiddo

433. [His majesty commanded] the 'officers' of the troops to go — —, [assigning to] each his place. They measured this city, [surrounding it] with an inclosure, walled about with green timber of all their pleasant trees. ^h His majesty himself was upon the fortification east of this city, [inspect]ing ⁱ 10 ————. ⁱ

It was [walled about with a thick wall — — —] ^j with its thick wall. ^k Its name was made: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III)-is-the-Surrounder-

^aAbout a quarter of l. 7 is lacking.

^bOr: "*the — of his majesty were exalting, etc.*"

^cCut off from the slain.

^dAbout one-fourth of l. 8 is lacking.

^eThree or four words are lacking, probably: "[*very many offerings to*] *Re this day,*" or something similar.

^fThe lacuna doubtless contained the exhortation to begin the siege.

^gLl. 9-19 generally lack about one-third their length at the beginning.

^hThutmose III describes the trees in his own garden of Amon, in the same way (§ 567). Possibly fruit trees are meant, as the word rendered "*pleasant*" (*bnr*) literally means "*sweet*."

ⁱAbout one-third line lacking.

^jFive or six words are lacking.

^kThe same thick wall is also referred to in the building inscription of the Pth-temple (§ 616, l. 11) and the fragment on this campaign (§ 596, l. 7).

of-the-Asiatics." People were stationed to watch over the tent of his majesty; to whom it was said: "Steady of heart! Watch ———." ^a His majesty ¹¹[commanded, saying: "Let not ^bone among them [come forth] outside, beyond this wall, except to come out in order to ^cknock at the door of their fortification."

Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe^d and his wretched army, was recorded on (each) day by its (the day's) name, under the title of: "r — — — e" ¹² ———. ^f Then it was recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon this day. ^g

Surrender of Megiddo

434. Behold, the chiefs of this country came to render their portions, to do obeisance^h to the fame of his majesty, to crave breath for their nostrils, because of the greatness of his power, because of the might of the fame of his majesty — — ¹³the countryⁱ ——— came to his fame, bearing their gifts, consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite; bringing clean grain, wine, large cattle, and small cattle — for the army of his majesty. ¹Each of the Kode^j (*Kd-(w)*)^j among them bore the tribute southward. Behold, his majesty appointed the chiefs anew for ¹⁴ ———. ^k

^aCf. § 429, l. 2; but there is not room here to restore as there indicated. So Maspero, *Recueil*, II, 145.

^bThe lacuna is slightly longer than this.

^cProbably meaning to offer themselves as prisoners (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, 108).

^dThe king of Kadesh.

^eThe first word without the following connection seems doubtful; it means "to sail, travel" and possibly refers to the fact that the king sailed each year to Syria in the later campaigns; hence the title may have been: "Voyages, etc." The whole reminds one of the statement concluding the reign of each king in the Book of Kings (e. g., 1 Kings 15:23).

^fAlmost one-third line lacking.

^gThe royal secretary Thaneni was apparently the one who kept this record (see § 392).

^hLit., "to smell the earth."

ⁱAlmost one-third line lacking.

^jCf. l. 23, § 420. The sentence is uncertain in the original, both as to text and meaning. As the Kode are coast-people, it may possibly refer to their shipping the spoil to Egypt for the soldiers.

^kAlmost one-third line lacking.

Spoil of Megiddo

435. ———^a 340 living prisoners; 83 hands; 2,041 mares;^b 191 foals; 6 stallions; — young —; a chariot, wrought with gold, (its) 'pole' of gold, belonging to that foe;^c a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of 's[Megiddo];^d ———^e 892 chariot[s] of his wretched army; total, 924^f (chariots); a beautiful 'suit' of bronze armor, belonging to that foe;^g a beautiful 'suit' of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo (*M-k-ty*); ———^h 200 suits of armor, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of (*mry*) wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold, the army of [his majesty] took ¹⁶———ⁱ 297 —, 1,929 large cattle, 2,000 small cattle,^j 20,500 white small cattle.^k

Plunder of the Lebanon Tripolis, Megiddo, Etc.

436. List of that which was afterward taken by the king, of the household goods of that foe who was in [the city of] Yenoam (*Y-nw-c²-mw*), in Nuges (*Yn-yw-g-s²*), and in Herenkeru (*Hw-r-n-k²-rw*),¹

^aThe determinative sign of a foreign country is the first sign at the end of the lacuna before the list.

^bThis word (*ssmw' t*) I have elsewhere translated "horses" for what seem to me sufficient reasons, but in this context we have a clear distinction between mares and stallions.

^cThe king of Kadesh.

^dRestored from the list of armor following.

^eAbout one-third line lacking.

^fThere must be 30 chariots therefore, mentioned in the lacuna, which would probably be those of the officers or other chiefs.

^gThe king of Kadesh.

^hHere followed the armor of the officers, as in the case of the chariots above.

ⁱAlmost one-third line lacking.

^jSheep?

^kGoats?

¹These three cities lay close together at the southern end of Lebanon. That Thutmose III marched to Lebanon after the fall of Megiddo is shown by the fact that he built a fortress there (§ 548, l. 1) just before returning to Thebes. The three cities formed a political whole under a single ruler ("that foe"), and were given as a whole to Amon by Thutmose III (§ 557). The location of these cities in the plain of Megiddo (Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 14) is plainly due to overlooking the other evidence (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 200-3); though Petrie is undoubtedly right in denying the identity of Nuges and Nukhasse, already opposed by Müller (*ibid.*, 394). If "that foe" refers to the king of Kadesh here, as it does elsewhere throughout this inscription, we have an important indication of the extent southward of the territory of that king.

together with all the goods of those cities which submitted themselves, which were brought to ¹⁷[his majesty: 474] —;^a 38^b lords ([*m-r ʔ-y-n ʔ*]) of theirs, 87 children of that foe and of the chiefs who were with him, 5 lords of theirs, 1,796 male and female slaves with their children, non-combatants who surrendered because of famine with that foe, 103 men; total, 2,503.^c Besides flat dishes of costly stone and gold, various vessels, ¹⁸———,^d a large (two-handled) vase^e (*ʔ-k ʔ-n ʔ*) of the work of Kharu (*H ʔ-rw*), (— *b-*) vases, flat dishes, (*hntw-*) dishes, various drinking-vessels, 3 large kettles (*rd t*), [8]7 knives,^f amounting to 784 deben.^g Gold in rings found in the hands of the artificers, and silver in many rings, 966 deben and 1 kidet.^h A silver statue in beaten work ¹⁹———ⁱ the head of gold, the staff with human faces; 6 chairs^j of that foe, of ivory, ebony and carob wood, wrought with gold; 6 footstools^k belonging to them; 6 large tables of ivory and carob wood, a staff of carob wood, wrought with gold and all costly stones in the fashion of a scepter, belonging to that foe, all of it wrought with gold; ¹²⁰a statue of that foe, of ebony wrought with gold, the head of which [was inlaid] with lapis lazuli ———;^m vessels of bronze, much clothing of that foe.

Harvest of the Plain of Megiddo

437. Behold, the cultivable land was divided into fields, which the inspectors of the royal house, L. P. H., calculated, in order to reap their

^aAbout one-third line lacking.

^bBrugsch, 39.

^cThe prisoners enumerated foot up to 2,029; hence 474 must have been mentioned in the lacuna at the head of l. 17. These must have included "*that foe and the chiefs who were with him*," and probably others whom we cannot identify.

^dAbout one-third line lacking; the numeral belonging to the preceding objects is lost in this lacuna.

^eHebrew, *קַדִּיחַ*.

^fRestored from the 87 in l. 17.

^g191.1 pounds, total of gold in the preceding list of articles.

^h235.46 pounds.

ⁱAbout one-third line lacking.

^jIn Egyptian the word (*kny*) often means a kind of open sedan chair.

^k*Hdmw*, Hebrew, *חֲדָמָה*.

^lFrom this point on, four lines are again nearly complete.

^mAbout one-fifth of the line is lacking.

harvest. Statement of the harvest which was brought to his majesty from the fields of Megiddo (*My-k t*): 208,200(+x)^a fourfold heket of grain, ²¹besides that which was cut as forage by the army of his majesty _____.^b

FRAGMENT ON THE SIEGE OF MEGIDDO^c

438. The inscription to which this fragment belonged contained an account of the first campaign and apparently no more, so that it was doubtless recorded at the close of this campaign before the others took place. It is probably therefore, the oldest of Thutmose III's war records, and introduces an offering-list.

The Insurrection

439. ¹_____ Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, at the overthrow^d of Retenu, the wretched ²_____ anew for my father, Amon _____
³_____ the lands of the Fenkhu, who had begun to invade my boundaries.^e _____ ⁴arrayed, in¹ hatred of my majesty. They fell upon their faces ⁵_____ of Megiddo.

^aThe possible uncertainty is not more than 200 more. This makes about 112,632 imperial bushels (of 2,218.19 cubic inches). It is impossible to say how much an acre would yield at this time, but at twenty bushels to the acre, this harvest covered a territory of nearly nine square miles. (Mr. Petrie's reckoning of 150,000 bushels is based on an error in the original number of fourfold heket; he has 280,500 (*History of Egypt*, II, 112), while the text gives only 208,200, or possibly 208,400.

^bAbout one-fifth line lacking. For the continuation of the campaign, see the record of "Feasts and Offerings," §§ 541 ff.

^cSouth (?) wall in the Eighteenth Dynasty Karnak temple. It has been partially published by Brugsch (*Recueil de monuments*, I, XXVII, and again, *Thesaurus*, V, 1187), and more fully by Dümichen (*Historische Inschriften*, II, 38). I had also a photograph by Borchardt. The inscription is in vertical lines, which have been numbered backward by Dümichen and Brugsch (in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments*; *Thesaurus*, without numbers). An unknown amount is lost at the top, ll. 17-21 are entirely lost, and only a few words are preserved at the bottoms of ll. 13-16 and 22-24.

^dThis dates the offering to Amon as occurring after the defeat of Retenu, and as the following shows, on the first campaign.

^eThis is the insurrection referred to in § 416. The battle of Megiddo is then rapidly passed over, and l. 5 begins the siege of Megiddo.

Siege of Megiddo

440. Then my majesty surrounded it with a wall, made thick
6———— they tasted not the breath of life, surrounded in front of
their 'wall' 7———— the Asiatics of all countries came with bowed
head, doing obeisance to the fame of my majesty. 8————.

Surrender of Megiddo

441. These Asiatics who were in the wretched Megiddo 9————
[‘came forth’] to the fame of Menkheperre (Thutmose III), [‘given life,
saying’]: “Give us a chance,^a that we may present to thy majesty [our]
impost.” 10———— all that my majesty did in this land forever.

The Inhabitants Shown Mercy

442. Then my majesty commanded to give to them the breath of
life 11———— all their goods, bearing 12————.

Further March

443. ————— led me to a goodly way 13———— inclosed in
14———— [‘Tyre’]^b 15———— c 16———— these 17———— d 22————
with every fragrant wood 23———— I did this 24————. I was
25———— victorious in all lands, shining upon the Horus-throne of
the living — like Re, forever.

III. SECOND CAMPAIGN (YEAR 24)^c

444. This campaign seems to have been only a circuitous
march through Palestine and southern Syria (l. 25), to re-
ceive the submission and tribute of the dynasts. Far-off
Assyria also, which had now heard of the great victory of
the preceding year, sent gifts, which the scribe calls “tribute”
(*ynw*) like that of Syria.

^aLit., “Give our occasion.”

^bThe line is broken just above this word; hence, although it spells Tyre
(*D 3-r 3*), it may be the end of a longer word terminating in *d 3-r 3*, like *Sn-d 3-r 3*
(Amenemhab, l. 11, § 584). But see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 185.

^cEnd shows determinative of foreigners.

^dLl. 17-21 are entirely lost.

^eLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 32, ll. 32-39 = Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1166-68, ll.
21-28.