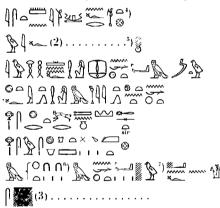
The Length and Season of Thutmose III.'s First Campaign.

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 Brussen¹) 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) Lieblet (Rec. 1, 68-69) has made use of this date, but employed only Bruosch's Recueil (I 43) which gives the year 22! as the year of Thutmose's return. Hence Liebleth 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; Brugsen, Rec. des Mon. i 43; beginning at yw w'h (l. 2) the text is again reproduced by Brugsen. Thes, II 363 with some omissions; but he unfortunately stops near the end of 1.3 and strangely enough does not include the important date (in 1.5) in his further extracts from this inscription. I have collated all three publications and Leggics' squeeze.
- further extracts from this inscription. I have collated all three publications and Lersus' squeeze.

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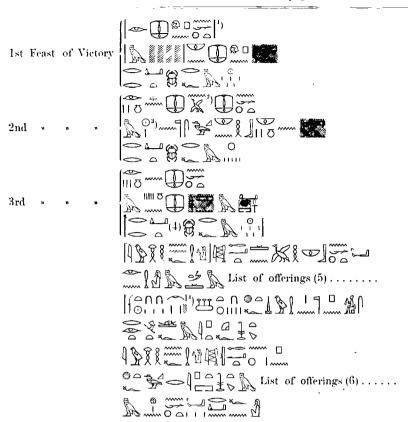
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- 5) Neither Lersu's nor Brussen has any indication of the amount lost at the beginnings of the lines.
- 6) Br. has \(\int\) but in view of the annals, according to which the first campaign was conducted in the year 23, Lepsus is of course correct in giving 23. Squeeze has 23.
 - The w is uncertain on the squeeze.



[*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 victory" 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⁾ hb tpi n nht after hb tpi n Imn, in the following phrase. Br., Thes, is totally confused.

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

³⁾ Br., Rec. ⊗ !!

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

The text shows a dittography of n bb. This genetive n to express apposition is not uncommon, cf. (Ahmose - si - Ehene | 1.5) -the ship (of) The Bullock-.

*The third feast of victory was celebrated, at the 5th feast of Amon, in Hnkt- Suh^{4}) [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 Š'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 O(1) = 2 while 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», vic, the return from Luxor (Southern Opet) to Karnak. This is clear from the words of Piankhi in his great inscription (II. 25-26).

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 (II. 3-4) the text goes on to enumerate lists of offerings to be presented to Amon on these and

¹⁾ The name of the mortnary temple of Thutmose III.: read 1 Inkt-only. See Spieger-

Br., Thes. II 364 and Dëm., Kal. X-XIV.

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

⁴⁾ From a photograph.

⁵⁾ See DE ROUGE, Mel. d'Arch. I 134.

other teasts of this god (II. 4—6). At the feast of Amon in Southern Opet (Luxor) there appear offerings from the first of the king's victories. The date of this feast is given, but unfortunately is not completely preserved. The number of the s't-month cannot be less than two, but it may be three'). This would leave a month's margin of uncertainty. We must therefore turn to the Amon-Calendar for the date of this feast. Unfortunately we possess no complete Amon-Calendar of this period. The Karnak fragments²) of Thutmose III.'s time do not contain this feast. It is luckily preserved however on the Elephantine fragment³) as follows:

It is here given as beginning on the 15th of the second \$'t\$-month (whereas our text has the 14th) and lasting 11 days. Later, in the time of Ramses III. '), it began on the 19th ') of the second \$'t\$-month, continued during the remaining 12 days of that month and 12 more in the next (continuing therefore 10 days after the return to Karnak on the 2nd), a total of 24 days '). It is clear therefore that the month-number in our passage is two '). The arrival of Thutmose III. in Thebes after his first campaign could therefore not have been later than the 14th of the second \$'t\$-month (Paophi) of his 23rd year') and it is possible that he arrived there several weeks earlier than this. The dates for his first campaign from beginning to end are therefore as follows '):

¹⁾ It is remarkable that Brussch (Thes. II 363) has not included this date. He has evidently used it later, for he speaks of sein großes, zu Ehren des Gottes Amon gefeiertes thebanisches Fests taking place on the 14th of Paophi (Aegyptologie 362, also Gesch. 329) which shows that he accepts the month number as stwos.

²) Br., Thes. II 362 and Mar., Kar. pl. 14. ³) Br., Thes. II 363; LD. III, 43c.

⁴⁾ Great calendar of Ramses III. on the south wall at Medinet. Haby, Brucsen. Thes. II 364 and Düm. Kal. XV—XVIII. It is here called simply: "his feast of Opets; it bears the same designation in the fragments of Ramses II.'s calendar (Düm., Die Kalendarischen Opferfestlisten im Tempel von Med. Hab. Taf. 1 Nr. 10. Taf. 2 Nr. 13); but it can hardly be any other than the feast of the Elephantine fragment above. So also Brucsen. Gesch. p. 329, footnote, referring only to Ramses III.

⁵⁾ DÜMICHEN (Taf. XIV) has 18th; his own text (Taf. XV) where the 19th is called the first day of the feast-, shows that this is an error.

⁶⁾ An increase in the length of the feast is what we should expect under Ramses III.

⁷⁾ This may also be demonstrated from the date in the Piankhi passage above, for the voyage in Southern Opets must of course have preceded the return to Karnak on the 4nd of the 3rd s't-month; hence, in order to take place on a 14th day, it must have happened in the preceding, viz. the 2nd s't-month. Hence also, the later name of the 2nd month; *Paōphi* (— Pā-Opet).

⁵⁾ I take it no one will question the restoration syear 23s; for the context places it beyond doubt. Lieurins also restores 23 (Rec. 1, 68—69) but curiously places the date at the beginning of Thutmose's 23rd year for he says; see fut an commencement de l'an 23 que Thotmes III fit l'offrande, dont parle l'inscription, pour la victoire qu'il avait remportée l'an 22s. This confusion renders any conclusion as to the length of the first campaign impossible, for there was no campaign of the year 22, and the second s't-month is 6 months distant from the scommencement of Thutmose's 23rd year (Pachon 1).

⁹⁾ From the texts of the Annals LD, III, 31 b II, 1—67; ib. 32 II, 1—32 = Br., Thes. V pp. 1153—1166, II, 1—79 and 1—21.

Event.	Approximate distance English miles,	Year of reign.	Calendar month.	Day.	
Į Zaru	1 100	22nd	$8 \mathrm{th}$	25th1)	
Gaza; Feast of Coronation	n (160	23rd	9th	4th	
eparture from Gaza	/ c. 80 to 90	10	n	5th	
ı Yeliem	110.000	"	27	16th	
ı Erune	٠	19	»	19th	
eparture from Erune	(c. 4 or 5	*	n	$20 \rm{th}^2)$	
rrival before Megiddo		"	»	$20 ext{th}^2$)	(c. 1·00 p. m.)
attle of Megiddo		»	n	21st	•
eginning of Siege of Megidd	O	n	n	» ,	
pture of Megiddo	at least 75	»	;	?	
arch to Lebanon		n	;		
apture of Yenoam, Neges and	I				148 days
Hurenkeru ³)		»	?	?	
onstruction of Fort in Lebanor	over 9004)	»	'n	?	
cturn to Thebes		n	i not later i	14(h-'	

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 northword 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. Il 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⁾ Brussch, Thes. 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	'n	26th	
Departure from Gaza	»	27 th	
In Yehem	May	8th	
In Erune	n	11th	
Departure from Erune	n	12th	
Arrival before Megiddo	33	12th	
Battle of Megiddo	»	13th	
Beginning of Siege of Megiddo	n	13th	
Capture of Megiddo	?	9	
March to Lebanon	?	?	
Capture of Yenoam, Neges and Hurenkern	?	9	
Construction of Fort in Lebanon	?	?	
Return to Thebes not later than	Oct.	9 th	

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 April").

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. Manner (AZ, 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. Smru, 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) LD, III, 32 II, 20 21,
- 4) Text: Leps. Ausw. XII I. 9 Brugson, 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 Brucsen⁵) 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., Not. desc. II 185—186 (only II. I—10, 1.9 is not omitted as indicated); Maspero, ÄZ. XVII 56—57 (copies Champ.); RHI. 175—176; BOURIANT. 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.

^{*2) *2}nd month of Smc (Pauni) 10th day*; the texts of ne Rouge, Bouriant, Wiedemann and Bregger (translation) all show *month 2* against Champollion's *month 3* usually accepted. Note further that the following date is also in month 2. That Smc, not &t, is to be read here is clear from the determinative and the smc-date preceding and following. Mastero now accepts this, although he formerly read &t (Struggle, p. 211 and 291). The old supposition that Amenhotep wintered in Asia is without basis, although it is still defended (Petrue, History II 155).

Abu Simbel text: Champ., Mon. 27—29, Ros., Mon. stor. 100—102, LD, III, 187d and c;
 Ramesseum text, LD, III, 153. Sharpe, Insc. 2nd part pl. 52.

⁵) Thes. I, p. 115; Marler (ÄZ, 1889, S, 99-100), and ibid. 1891, 99 ff.

⁶⁾ Rec. I, 63, 95 and 141.