

Gold of Valor was given to me, and my spoil was given to me to be slaves.

Now after his majesty had killed the Asiatics, then he sailed southward to Khenti-hen-nefer, to destroy the Nubian nomads¹³

After this (Thut-mose I) went forth to Retenu,¹⁴ to assuage his heart throughout the foreign countries. His majesty reached Naharin,¹⁵ (37) and his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—found that enemy" while he was marshaling the battle array. Then his majesty made a great slaughter among them. There was no number to the living prisoners whom his majesty carried off by his victory. Now I was in the van of our army,¹⁷ and his majesty saw how valiant I was. I carried off a chariot, its horse, and him who was in it as a living prisoner. They were presented to his majesty. Then I was awarded gold another time.¹⁸ ...

The Asiatic Campaigns of Thut-mose III

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN: THE BATTLE OF MEGIDDO

Thut-mose III (about 1490-1436 B.C.) was the conquering pharaoh who set the Egyptian Empire on a foundation firm for almost a century. For twenty years he led campaigns into Asia almost every year. Some of these campaigns involved serious fighting, others were parades of strength. We have detailed information on his first campaign (perhaps 1468 B.C.), which attacked the focus of Asiatic resistance in the Canaanite city of Megiddo. The campaigns of subsequent years may have been just as fully recorded, but that detail has been condensed in the texts deriving from those years.¹

A. THE ARMANT STELA

A red granite stela, broken and reused in later constructions, was found at Armant in Upper Egypt and published in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Temples of Armant. A Preliminary Survey* (London, 1940), Pis. xi, No. 5; LXXXVIII, NO. 8; and

¹³ This translation omits the account of campaigns in Nubia under Ah-mose I, Amen-hotep I, and Thut-mose I, and resumes with the record of an Asiatic campaign under Thut-mose I, when Ah-mose must have been a relatively old man.

¹⁴ Syria-Palestine in general.

¹⁵ "The Two Rivers," the area of the Euphrates bend.

¹⁶ "That fallen one," a frequent designation of a major enemy.

¹⁷ It has been pointed out that only in the stretch of patriotic enthusiasm of the first century of the 18th dynasty did the Egyptians speak of "our army," instead of ascribing the troops to the pharaoh.

¹⁸ Two more documents may be cited on Ah-mose I's campaigning in Asia. In the tomb of a certain Ah-mose called Pen-Nekhbet at el-Kab (Sethe, *opxit.*, 35; Breasted, *op.cit.*, §20), a notation runs: "I followed the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neb-pehti-Re, the triumphant. I took booty for him in Djahi: 1 person and 1 hand." In a text of Ah-mose I's 22nd year in the quarries of Maasara, south of Cairo (Sethe, *op.cit.*, 25; Breasted, *opxit.*, §27), there is a record of the reopening of the quarries for stone to be used in certain temples. Part of the inscription runs: "The stone was dragged by the cattle which his [victories] throughout the lands of the Fen'khu had carried off." The accompanying scene shows Asiatics driving the cattle. Djahi and Fenkhu apply to the Phoenician coast running down into Palestine and including the hinterland—further north than southern Palestine.

¹ On the detail for the first campaign, cf. n.39 below. On the abbreviation in the carved record of subsequent campaigns see the text of the seventh campaign (p. 239 below).

cm; Text Volume, 182-84, with a translation and commentary by M. S. Drower. Like the Barkal Stela, treated below, this stela does not deal with events in chronological order. Those elements which belong to other campaigns will be noted in relation to those campaigns. Here only the material of the first campaign is translated.

Live the Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes; the Two Goddesses: Enduring of Kingship, like Re in Heaven; the Horus of Gold: Majestic of Appearances, Mighty of Strength; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Making Offerings: Men-kheper-Re; the Son of Re, of his Body: Thut-mose Heqa-Maat, beloved of Montu, Lord of Thebes, Residing in Hermonthis,² living forever.

Year 22, 2nd month of the second season, day 10.³ Summary of the deeds of valor and victory which this good god performed, being every effective deed of heroism, beginning from the first generation; that which the Lord of the Gods, the Lord of Hermonthis, did for him: the magnification of his victories, to cause that his deeds of valor be related for millions of years to come, apart from the deeds of heroism which his majesty did at all times. If (they) were to be related all together by their names, they would be (too) numerous to put them into writing

His majesty made no delay in proceeding to the land of (10) Djahi,⁴ to kill the treacherous ones who were in it and to give things to those who were loyal to him; witness, indeed, [their] names, each [country] according to its time. His majesty returned on each occasion, when his attack had been effected in valor and victory, so that he caused Egypt to be in its condition as (it was) when Re was in it as king. [Year 22, 4th month of the second season, day . . . Proceeding] from Memphis,⁵ to slay the countries of the wretched Retenu, on the first occasion of victory. It was his majesty who opened its roads and forced its every way for his army, after it had made [rebellion, gathered in Megid]do. His majesty entered upon that road which becomes very narrow,⁶ as the first of his entire army, while every country had gathered, standing prepared at its mouth. . . . The enemy quailed, fleeing headlong to their town, together with the prince who was in . . . (15) . . . to them, beseeching [breath], their goods upon their backs. His majesty returned in gladness of heart, with this entire land as vassal . . . [Asia]tics, coming at one time, bearing [their] tribute . . .

B. THE ANNALS IN KARNAK

The "Annals" of Thut-mose III's military campaigns are carved on the walls of the Temple of Karnak, in recognition of

² Hermonthis is modern Armant.

³ For the first twenty-two years of his reign, Thut-mose III had been overshadowed by the queen Hat-shepsut. Then he seized power with some show of violence and indulged his desire for military activity almost immediately. The present date is two and a half months earlier than Thut-mose's departure from the Egyptian frontier (n.9 below). Drower, *op.cit.*, 183, n. b, suggests that the present date may be the beginning of his sole reign.

⁴ Centrally Phoenicia, but here Syria-Palestine.

⁵ The formal departure from Memphis must have preceded the passing of the Egyptian frontier (n.9 below).

⁶ The pass through the Carmel range leading to Megiddo; cf. n.20 below.

the fact that the god Amon-Re had given victory. The text appears in C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849-59), III, 31b-32, and in K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (U r i v)*, in, 647-77. Translations and commentary will be found in Breasted, *AR*, n, §§391-443; H. H. Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1913), with topographical study; and R. Faulkner, in *JEA*, xxviii (1942), 2-15.

The Horus: Mighty Bull, Appearing in Thebes; . . . (Thut-mose III).⁷

His majesty commanded that [the victories which his father Amon had given to him] should be established [upon] a monument in the temple which his majesty had made for [his father Amon, in order to set down] (5) each individual campaign,⁸ together with the booty which [his majesty] carried [off from it, and the dues off] every [foreign country] which his father Re had given to him.

Year 22, 4th month of the second season, day 25.⁹ [His majesty passed the fortress of] Sile,¹⁰ on the first campaign of victory [which his majesty made to extend] the frontiers of Egypt, in valor, [in victory, in power, and in justification]. Now this was a [long] time in years . . . (10) plunder, while every man was [tributary] before . . . B u t it happened in later times¹² that the garrison which was there was in the town of Sharuhen,¹⁸ while from Iursa to the outer ends of the earth" had become rebellious against his majesty.¹⁵

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 4, the day of the feast of the king's coronation—as far as the town of "That-Which-the-Ruler-Seized," [of which the Syrian name is] Gaza.¹⁶

[Year 23,] (15) 1st month of the third season, day 5—departure from this place, in valor, [in victory,] in

⁷ The royal titulary, much as translated above for the Armant Stela.

⁸ "An expedition by its name." cf. n.39 below.

⁹ Tentatively, April 16, 1468 B.C., accepting, for this translation, the date for the battle of Megiddo (n.35 below), as given by L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte (Quellen und Forschungen zur ägyptischen Geschichte*, n, Cairo, 1935), 120. The precise date will depend upon an establishment of what the ancient Egyptians meant by a "new moon."

¹⁰ Or Tjaru, the Egyptian frontier post, at or near modern Kantarah.

¹¹ Sethe (see his justification in *ZAeS*, XLVII [1910], 74-84) restores a context referring to the Hyksos rule in Egypt, as a forerunner of the present "revolt" in Palestine: "Now it was a [long] time in years [that they had ruled this land, which had been] plundered, while every man was [tributary] before [their princes, who were in Avaris]." This is too specific for a restoration. See n.15 below.

¹² "In the times of other (persons)."

¹³ In southwestern Canaan; see p. 233b, n.12, above.

¹⁴ From southern Palestine to northern Syria.

¹⁵ Sethe's restoration (n.n above) assumes three steps: (a) the Hyksos ruled Egypt from Avaris; (b) they were driven by Ah-mose I to Sharuhen in Palestine; (c) now, a century later, Asia is in revolt against Thut-mose III—that is, the enemies are these same Hyksos. B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, in *JEA*, v (1918), 54, n.2, reject Sethe's restoration as assuming too much. They translate the last sentence: "But it happened in other times that the garrison which was there (i.e. in Palestine) was in Sharuhen, when from Yrd to the ends of the earth had fallen into rebellion against His Majesty." This would take the Hyksos out of the context and would assume that an Asiatic rebellion had pushed back an Egyptian garrison from a northern town (like Megiddo) to Sharuhen at the extreme south of Palestine.

¹⁶ Instead of the above translation, one may render: "as far as a town of the holding of the Ruler, [of which the name was] Gaza . . ." On Borchardt's reckoning, the Egyptians reached Gaza on April 25, 1468, having traveled at the respectable rate of 150 miles in 9 or 10 days. As this date was the anniversary of Thut-mose III's coronation, the year number changed from 22 to 23.

power, and in justification, in order to overthrow that wretched enemy,¹⁷ and to extend the frontiers of Egypt, according to the command of his father Amon-Re, the [valiant] and victorious, that he should capture.

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 16¹⁸—as far as the town of Yehem. [His majesty] ordered a conference with his victorious army, speaking as follows: "That [wretched] enemy (20) of Kadesh has come and has entered into Megiddo. He is [there] at this moment. He has gathered to him the princes of [every] foreign country [which had been] loyal to Egypt, as well as (those) as far as Naharin and M[itanni], them of Hurru, them of Kode, their horses, their armies, [and their people], for he says—so it is reported—I shall wait [here] (25) in Megiddo [to fight against his majesty]. Will ye tell me [what is in your hearts]?"

They said in the presence of his majesty: "What is it like to go [on] this [road] which becomes (so) narrow? It is [reported] that the foe is there, waiting on [the outside, while they are] becoming (more) numerous. Will not horse (have to) go after [horse, and the army] (30) and the people similarly? Will the vanguard of us be fighting while the [rear guard] is waiting here in Aruna, unable to fight?²⁰ Now two (other) roads are here. One of the roads—behold, it is [to the east of] us, so that it comes out at Taanach. The other—behold, it is to the (35) north side of Djefti, and we will come out to the north of Megiddo.²¹ Let our victorious lord proceed on the one of [them] which is [satisfactory to] his heart, (but) do not make us go on that difficult road!"

Then messages [were brought in about that wretched enemy, and discussion was continued] of [that] problem on which they had previously spoken. That which was said in the majesty of the Court—life, prosperity, health!²²—"I [swear], (40) as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me, as my [nostrils] are rejuvenated with life and satisfaction, my majesty shall proceed upon this Aruna road! Let him of you who wishes go upon these roads of which you speak, and let him of you who wishes come in the following of my majesty! 'Behold,' they will say, these (45) enemies whom Re abominates, 'has

¹⁷ Not yet specified by name or title. The Prince of Kadesh—probably Kadesh on the Orontes—was the leader of the coalition against Egypt. See n.19 below.

¹⁸ May 7, 1468 (Borchardt). After leaving the Egyptian-held city of Gaza, the army's rate was notably slower through territory which was actually or potentially rebellious. Perhaps 80 miles were covered in 11 or 12 days. Yehem (possibly Jahmai or similar) is tentatively located by Nelson at Yemma on the south side of the Carmel ridge.

¹⁹ It is probable from the nature of this coalition and from Thut-mose's subsequent campaigns that this Kadesh was the city on the Orontes. The Barkal Stela (p. 238) gives the coalition as 330 princes, i.e. rulers of city states. Naharin and Mitanni (restoration not certain) were at the bend of the Euphrates. Hurru (or Kharu) was generally Syria-Palestine, and Kode the coast of north Syria and of Cilicia.

²⁰ Nelson's topographic reconstruction gives the situation confronting the Egyptians. If they went straight ahead on the narrow track debouching just south of Megiddo, they had to go in single file and would be particularly vulnerable. Aruna, perhaps modern Tell 'Ara in the pass, was not "here" at Yehem, since it was a few miles further north. It was "here" on the southern side of the mountain range.

²¹ Two safer mountain tracks were offered as alternatives, one debouching at Taanach, 4 or 5 miles southeast of Megiddo, and one debouching at an unknown point north(west) of Megiddo.

²² That is, the voice from the throne. The Court moved with the pharaoh.

his majesty set out on another road because he has become afraid of us?'—so they will speak."

They said in the presence of his majesty: "May thy father Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding over Karnak, act [according to thy desire]! Behold, we are following thy majesty everywhere that [thy majesty] goes, for a servant will be after [his] lord."

[Then his majesty laid a charge] (50) upon the entire army: "[Ye] shall [hold fast to the stride of your victorious lord on] that road which becomes (so) narrow. Behold, his majesty has taken] an oath, saying: 'I will not let [my victorious army] go forth ahead of my majesty in [this place!'" Now his majesty had laid it in his heart] that he himself should go forth at the head of his army. [Every man] was made aware (55) of his order of march, horse following horse, while [his majesty] was at the head of his army.

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 19"—the awakening in [life] in the tent of life, prosperity, and health, at the town of Aruna.²⁴ Proceeding northward by my majesty, carrying my father Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, [that he might open the ways] before me,²⁵ while Har-akhti established [the heart of my victorious army] (60) and my father Amon strengthened the arm [of my majesty]

Then [his] majesty issued forth²⁶ [at the head of] his [army], which was [prepared] in many ranks. [He had not met] a single [enemy. Their] southern wing²⁷ was in Taanach, [while their] northern wing was on the south side [of the Qina Valley.²⁶ Then] (65) his majesty rallied them saying: "... ! They are fallen!²⁹ While that [wretched] enemy . . . [May] ye [give praise] to (70) [him; may ye extol the might of] his majesty, because his arm is greater than (that of) [any \ing. It has indeed protected the rear of] his majesty's army in Aruna!"

Now while the rear of his majesty's victorious army was (still) at [the town] of Aruna, the vanguard had come out into the [Qi]na Valley, and they filled the mouth of this valley.

Then they said to his majesty—life, prosperity, health!—(75) "Behold, his majesty has come forth with his victorious army, and they have filled the valley. Let our victorious lord listen to us this time, and let our lord await for us the rear of his army and his people. When the rear of the army comes forth for us into the open, then we shall fight against these foreigners, then we

shall not trouble our hearts [about] the rear of (80) our army."

A halt was made by his majesty outside, [seated] there and awaiting the rear of his victorious army. Now the [leaders] had just finished coming forth on this road when the shadow turned.³⁰ His majesty reached the south of Megiddo on the bank of the Qina brook, when the seventh hour was in (its) course in the day.³¹

Then a camp was pitched there for his majesty, and a charge was laid upon the entire army, [saying]: "Prepare ye! Make your weapons ready, since one³² will engage in combat with that wretched enemy in the morning, because one is . . . !"

Resting in the enclosure of life, prosperity, and health.³³ Providing for the officials. Issuing rations to the retinue. Posting the sentries of the army. Saying to them: "Be steadfast, be steadfast! Be vigilant, be vigilant!" Awakening in life in the tent of life, prosperity, and health. They came to tell his majesty: "The desert is well,³⁴ and the garrisons of the south and north also!"

Year 23, 1st month of the third season, day 21, the day of the feast of the true new moon.³⁵ Appearance of the king at dawn. Now a charge was laid upon the entire army to pass by . . . (85) His majesty set forth in a chariot of fine gold, adorned with his accoutrements of combat, like Horus, the Mighty of Arm, a lord of action like Montu, the Theban, while his father Amon made strong his arms. The southern wing of his majesty's army was at a hill south of [the] Qina [brook] and the northern wing was to the northwest of Megiddo, while his majesty was in their center, Amon being the protection of his person (in) the melee and the strength of [Seth pervading] his members.

Thereupon his majesty prevailed over them at the head of his army. Then they saw his majesty prevailing over them, and they fled headlong [to] Megiddo with faces of fear. They abandoned their horses and their chariots of gold and silver, so that someone might draw them (up) into this town by hoisting on their garments. Now the people had shut this town against them, (but) they [let down] garments to hoist them up into this town. Now, if only his majesty's army had not given up their hearts to capturing the possessions of the enemy, they would [have captured] Megiddo at this time, while the wretched enemy of Kadesh and the wretched enemy of this town were being dragged (up) hastily to get them into their town, for the fear of his majesty entered

²³ Three days after the arrival in Yehem. See n.18 above, n.35 below.

²⁴ An impersonal expression for the beginning of the day with the king's awaking.

²⁵ The standard of Amon led the way. See it thus leading the way in the time of Ramses III, in the Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu, I. The Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* (OIP, vni, Chicago, 1930), Pl. 17.

²⁶ From the pass on to the Megiddo plain.

²⁷ "Horn." This was the Asiatic wing. Why they were drawn up opposite the mouth of the pass and yet had not held the pass against the thin Egyptian line is inexplicable.

²⁸ The Qina is still represented by a brook flowing south of Megiddo.

²⁹ The preceding verb means "summon," rather than "cry out." Therefore, we should have Thut-mose's rallying cry to his army behind him. When he said: "They are fallen!" he was anticipating the fall of the Asiatics, because they had failed to guard the pass.

³⁰ It was noon, and the shadow clock should be turned around. The Egyptian van thus reached the Megiddo plain seven hours (see the next note) before the rear of the army emerged and Thut-mose could go into camp.

³¹ Presumably seven hours after the turning of the sun, although this is not certain.

³² Pharaoh.

³³ These brief notations, without true sentence form, probably derive from the army's daybook. The royal enclosure was doubtless an elaborate pavilion such as that shown in scenes of Ramses II's campaigns, e.g. A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Aegypten* (Tübingen, 1923), 635.

³⁴ Faulkner suggests that this is the equivalent of "The coast is clear."

³⁵ Borchardt's date for the battle is May 12, 1468. However, this rests on his understanding of "the true(?) new moon." In addition, Faulkner points out that "day 20" seems to have dropped out since the departure from Aruna (n.23 above).

[their bodies], their arms were weak, [for] his serpent-diadem had overpowered them.

Then their horses and their chariots of gold and silver were captured as an easy [prey.⁸⁶ *Ran\|s*] of them were lying stretched out on their backs, like fish in the *bight of a net*, while his majesty's victorious army counted up their possessions. Now there was captured [that] wretched [enemy's] tent, which was worked [with silver],...

Then the entire army rejoiced and gave praise to Amon [because of the victory] which he had given to his son on [this day. They *lauded*] his majesty and extolled his victories. Then they presented the plunder which they had taken: hands,⁸⁷ living prisoners, horses, and chariots of gold and silver and of *painted wor*. (90)

[Then his majesty commanded] his army with the words: "Capture ye [effectively, my] victorious [army]! Behold, [all foreign countries] have been put [in this town by the command] of Re on this day, inasmuch as every prince of every [northern] country is shut up within it, for the capturing of Megiddo is the capturing of a thousand towns! Capture ye firmly, firmly!..."

[Orders were issued to the com]manders of the troops to *pro*[vide for their divisions and to inform] each [man] of his place. They measured [this] city, which was corralled with a moat and enclosed with fresh timbers of all their pleasant trees, while his majesty himself was in a fortress east of this town, [being] watchful [enclosed] with a girdle wall,... *by its girdle wall*. Its name was called "Men-kheper-Re-is-the-Corral-ler-of-the-Asiatics." People were appointed as sentries at the enclosure of his majesty, and they were told: "Be steadfast, be steadfast! Be vigilant, [be vigilant]!" . . . his majesty [Not one] of them [was permitted to go] outside from behind this wall, except to come out *at a \noc* on the door of their fortress.³⁸

Now everything which his majesty did to this town and to that wretched enemy and his wretched army is set down by the individual day, by the individual expedition, and by the individual [troop] commanders.⁸⁹ . . . They [are] set down on a roll of leather in the temple of Amon today.

Now the princes of this foreign country came on their bellies to kiss the ground to the glory of his majesty

3« "As a go-fand-take]."

³⁷ Cut off from the fallen foe as tokens of battle accomplishment.

³⁸ The besieged Asiatics were permitted only to appear if Egyptians called them out? Alternatively: "except to come out to surrender(?) at the door of their fortress." The siege lasted seven months (Barkal Stela, p. 238 below). Further information on the siege is given on a stela from the Ptah Temple at Karnak (Sethe, *op.cit.*, 767): "My majesty returned from the foreign country of Retenu on the first occasion of the victories which my father Amon gave to me, when he gave me all the countries of Djahi, gathered together and shut up in a single town. The fear of my majesty pervaded their hearts; they were fallen and powerless when I reached them. There was no lack of runaways among them. I corralled them in a single town. I built a girdle wall around it, to cut them off from the breath of life."

³⁹ "On the day in its name, in the name of the journey, and in the names of the commanders of [troops]." In the Theban tomb biography of "the Army Scribe" Tjaneni, who served under Thut-mose III (Sethe, *op.cit.*, 1004), we read: "I was the one who set down the victories which he achieved over every foreign country, put into writing as it was done."

and to beg breath for their nostrils, because his arm was (so) great, because the prowess of Amon was (so) great [over (95) every] foreign [country]⁴⁰... [all] the princes whom the prowess of his majesty carried off, bearing their tribute of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise, and carrying grain, wine, and large and small cattle for the army of his majesty, with one gang of them bearing tribute southward.⁴¹ Then his majesty appointed princes anew for [every town]...

[List of the booty which his majesty's army carried off from the town of] Megiddo: 340 living prisoners and 83 hands; 2,041 horses, 191 foals, 6 stallions, and . . . colts; 1 chariot worked with gold, with a *body* of gold, belonging to that enemy, [/] fine chariot worked with gold belonging to the Prince of [Megiddo] . . . , and 892 chariots of his wretched army—total: 924; 1 fine bronze coat of mail belonging to that enemy, [/] fine bronze coat of mail belonging to the Prince of Meg[iddo, and] 200 [leather] coats of mail belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; and 7 poles of *meru-wood*, worked with silver, of the tent of that enemy.

Now the army [of his majesty] carried off [cattle] . . . : 387 . . . , 1,929 cows, 2,000 goats, and 20,500 sheep.

List of what was carried off afterward by the king from the household goods of that enemy, who [was in] Yanoam, Nuges, and Herenkeru,⁴² together with the property of those towns which had made themselves subject to him . . . : . . . ; 38 [*maryanu*] belonging to them,⁴⁸ 84 children of that enemy and of the princes who were with him, 5 *maryanu* belonging to them, 1,796 male and female slaves, as well as their children, and 103 pardoned persons, who had come out from that enemy because of hunger—total: 2,503—apart from bowls of costly stone and gold, various vessels, (100) . . . , a large *a\unu-yax* in Syrian work, jars, bowls, *plates*, various drinking vessels, large kettles, [* -j-] 17 knives—making 1,784 *deben*;⁴⁴ gold in discs, found in the process of being worked, as well as abundant silver in discs—966 *deben* and 1 *\idef*** a silver statue in the form of . . . , [a statue] —, with head of gold; 3 walking sticks with human heads; 6 carrying-chairs of that enemy, of ivory, ebony, and *carob-wood*, worked with gold, and the 6 footstools belonging to them; 6 large tables of

⁴⁰ On the surrender, see also the Barkal Stela (p. 238).

⁴¹ Toward Egypt.

⁴² Elsewhere in the Temple of Karnak (Sethe, *op.cit.*, 744), Thut-mose III states that he presented to Amon "three towns in Upper Retenu—Nuges the name of one, Yanoam the name of another, and Herenkeru the name of another—taxed with annual dues for the divine offerings of my father Amon." "Upper Retenu" properly stands for the mountain territory of north Palestine and southern Syria, and Yanoam seems to have been in the Lake Huleh area. The three towns would then be somewhere in that area. See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London, 1947), 1, 168* ff. We do not know what is meant by "that enemy" being in these towns. The dedicatory inscriptions translated under D below suggest that Thut-mose had time for a campaign in the Lebanon while Megiddo was under siege.

⁴⁸ The *maryanu* were the warrior or officer class in Asia at this time, cf. p. 22, n.2. "Belonging to them" refers to listed individuals in the lost context above (474 are missing from the total), and probably includes the women of the Asiatic princes.

⁴⁴ About 435 lb. Troy of metal value (probably reckoned in silver) in the listed pieces.

⁴⁵ About 235 lb. Troy. Uncertain whether of silver only, or of the combined value of gold and silver.

ivory and *carob*-wood; i bed belonging to that enemy, of *carob*-wood, worked with gold and with every (kind of) cosdy stone, in the manner of a |er|er" completely worked in gold; a statue of that enemy which was there, of ebony worked with gold, its head of lapis [lazuli] . . . ; bronze vessels, and much clothing of that enemy.

Now the fields were made into arable plots and assigned to inspectors of the palace—life, prosperity, health!—in order to reap their harvest. List of the harvest which his majesty carried off from the Megiddo acres: 207,300 [+ x] sacks of wheat,⁴⁷ apart from what was cut as forage by his majesty's army, . . .

C. THE BARKAL STELA

In his 47th year, Thut-mose III erected at Gebel Barkal near the Fourth Cataract a granite stela summarizing some of the achievements of his reign. It was published, with photograph, transcription, and translation, by G. A. and M. B. Reisner in *ZAcS*, LXIX (1933), 24-39, Pk. ^{in v}. Only that part of the text which deals with the first campaign is translated below. Another extract will be found below under the eighth campaign.

I repeat further to you—hear, O people! (19) He⁴⁸ entrusted to me the foreign countries of Retenu on the first campaign, when they had come to engage with my majesty, being millions and hundred-thousands of men, the individuals of every foreign country, waiting in their chariots—330 princes, every one of them having his (own) army.

When they were in the Qina Valley and away from it, in a tight spot, good fortune befell me among them, when my majesty attacked them. Then they fled immediately or fell prostrate. When they entered into Megiddo, my majesty shut them up for a period up to seven months, before they came out into the open, pleading to my majesty and saying: "Give us thy breath, our lord! The countries of Retenu will never repeat rebellion another time!"

Then that enemy and the princes who were with him sent out to my majesty, with all their *children* carrying abundant tribute: gold and silver, all their horses which were with them, their great chariots of gold and silver, as well as those which were plain, all their coats of mail, their bows, their arrows, and all their weapons of warfare. It was these with which they had come *from afar* to fight against my majesty, and now they were bringing them as tribute to my majesty, while they were standing on their walls, giving praise to my majesty, seeking that the breath of life might be given to them.

(24) Then my majesty had administered to them an oath of *fealty* with the words: "We will not repeat evil against Men-kheper-Re, who lives forever, our good lord, in our time of life, inasmuch as we have seen his power, and he has given us breath as he wishes! It was his father who did it—[Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands]—it was not the *hand* of man!"

⁴⁶ An unknown object of wood.

⁴⁷ Something like 450,000 bushels.

⁴⁸ Amon-Re.

Then my majesty had them given leave to (go to) their cities. They all went on donkey (back), so that I might take their horses. I took captive the townspeople thereof for Egypt, and their possessions likewise.

D. FROM A DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION

In the Temple of Karnak Thut-mose III recorded the offerings and feasts which he established for the god Amon-Re in return for his victories. An extract from the beginning of this text gives further information on the first campaign. Perhaps during the seven months' siege of Megiddo, the pharaoh had been able to send a detachment north and establish a fortress outpost somewhere in the Lebanon. The text appears in Lepsius, *op. cit.*, 30b, and in Sethe, *op. cit.*, 739-40. It is translated in Breasted, *op. cit.*, §§548-49.

. . . in the country of Retenu, in a fortress which my majesty built through his victories, a central point of the princes of Lebanon, of which the name shall be "Men-kheper-Re-is-the-Binder-of-the-Vagabonds."

Now when he landed at Thebes, his father Amon was [*in joy*]_____My majesty established for him a Feast of Victory anew, at the time when my majesty returned from the first victorious campaign, overthrowing the wretched Retenu and extending the frontiers of Egypt, in the year 23, as the first of the victories which he decreed to me.

SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGNS

Thut-mose III conducted at least sixteen campaigns into Asia in a period of twenty years. Some campaigns involved difficult fighting, some were mere parades of strength to organize the new empire. The records of some campaigns consist simply of statements of "tribute" to Egypt—from Retenu, Djahi, and Cyprus; from Nubia, Ethiopia, and Punt; and from Naharin, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylonia. Obviously, some of this was truly tribute from conquered countries, but some of it consisted of gifts from distant and sovereign lands. This translation includes only those campaigns having greater interest.

For Thut-mose III's Hymn of Victory, see pp. 373-375 below. For a legend about the capture of Joppa under Thut-mose III, see pp. 22-23 above.

A. FIFTH CAMPAIGN

By his fifth campaign, in his 29th year, Thut-mose was moving as far north as the towns of Tunip and Ardata, somewhere in north Syria. From the "Annals" in Karnak: Sethe, *op. cit.*, 685-88; bibliography on 680. Translation in Breasted, *op. cit.*, §§454-62.

(3) Year 29.¹ Now [his] majesty [was in Dja]hi, destroying the countries which had been rebellious to him, on the fifth victorious campaign. Now his majesty captured the town of *Wartet*.² . . . List of the plunder which was taken from this town, from the garrison of that enemy of Tunip: 1 prince of this town; 329 *teher*-

¹A date isolated in broken context on the Armant Stela (p. 234 above) gives: "Year 29, 4th month of the second season, day . . ." which would correspond to the earliest month dates in the first campaign. The Egyptian campaigning season normally fell just after the Egyptian harvest, but just before the Asiatic harvest, for maximum advantage to Egypt.

² Unknown, but apparently a garrison town for Tunip, which seems to have been in the north Syrian plain*

warriors;⁶ 100 *deben* of silver;* 100 *deben* of gold;* lapis lazuli, turquoise, and vessels of bronze and copper.

Now there was a seizing of two ships,... loaded with everything, with male and female slaves, copper, lead, *emery*, and every good thing, after his majesty proceeded southward to Egypt, to his father Amon-Re, with joy of heart.⁵

Now his majesty destroyed the town of Ardata, with its grain. All its pleasant trees were cut down. Now [his majesty] found [the] entire [land of] Djahi, with their orchards filled with their fruit. Their (7) wines were found lying in their vats, as water flows, and their grains on the threshing floors, *being ground*. They were more plentiful than the sands of the shore. The army overflowed with its possessions. . . . Now his majesty's army was as drunk and anointed with oil every day as if at feasts in Egypt.

B. SIXTH CAMPAIGN

In his 30th year, Thut-mose moved against the focal center of opposition to Egypt, Kadesh on the Orontes. The word "destroy," used with reference to this town, is not to be taken literally; Thut-mose may have done no more than destroy its food supplies. The record of the year is notable for the statement of the policy of holding the heirs of Syrian princes in Egypt. From the "Annals" in Karnak: Sethe, *op.cit.*, 689-90. Translation by Breasted, *op.cit.*, §§463-67.

Year 30. Now his majesty was in the country of Retenu on his majesty's sixth victorious campaign. Arrival at the town of Kadesh. Destroying it. Felling its trees. Cutting down its grain. Proceeding by passing Reyet⁸ and reaching the town of Simyra.⁷ Reaching the town of Ardata. Doing the same to it.

List of the tribute (10) brought to the glory of his majesty by the princes of Retenu in this year. Now the children of the princes and their brothers were brought to be *hostages*⁸ in Egypt. Now, whoever of these princes died, his majesty was accustomed to make his son go to stand in his place.⁹ List of the children of princes carried off in this year: 36 men; 181 male and female slaves; 188 horses; and 40 chariots, worked with gold and silver or *painted*.

c. SEVENTH CAMPAIGN

In his 31st year, Thut-mose captured the Phoenician town of Ullaza. He had now proceeded so far north that the control of the Sea was essential to the maintenance of empire. The record of this year tells of the Egyptian concern for holding the

³ A foreign word (perhaps Hittite) for chariot-warriors, cf. pp. 258, n.23; 263, n.12; and 469, n.10.

⁴ About 25 lb. Troy.

⁵ The loaded cargo-vessels were seized after the pharaoh had left for Egypt. Thus this does not state that he returned by water. See T. Saverby, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946), 34-35-

⁶ Unknown.

⁷ A town on the north Phoenician coast. Its location and that of Ardata are still to be established with precision.

⁸ Or "captives"; less likely: "to be in strongholds."

⁹ Elsewhere in Karnak (p. 242 below), Thut-mose III listed "the foreign countries of Upper Retenu, . . . whose children his majesty carried off as living prisoners to the town . . . in Karnak." The name given to this section of Karnak is unfortunately unreadable, cf. pp. 247, 248-49, 257.

Phoenician harbors. References as above: Sethe, *op.cit.*, 690-96; Breasted, *op.cit.*, §§468-75.

Year 31, 1st month of the third season, day 3.¹⁰ Summary of the plunder of his majesty in this year.

Plunder which was carried off from the town of Ullaza, which is on the shore of *Meren*: 492 living captives, [1] *commander* belonging to the son of the enemy of Tunip, 1 superior of the . . . who was there—total: 494 men—26 horses, 13 chariots, (12) and their equipment of all (kinds of) weapons of warfare. Then his majesty captured this town within a short hour, all its goods being an easy prey.¹² . . .

Now every port town which his majesty reached was supplied with good bread and with various (kinds of) bread, with olive oil, incense, wine, honey, fr[uit], . . . They were more abundant than anything, beyond the experience of his majesty's army, without equivocation. (15) They are set down in the daybook of the palace—life, prosperity, health! That the list of them has not been put upon this monument is in order not to multiply words and in order to put *their content* in that place [*in which*] I made [*them*]}³ . . .

D. EIGHTH CAMPAIGN

In his 33rd year, Thut-mose achieved one of his most ambitious campaigns, crossing the bend of the Euphrates and fighting against "that enemy of the wretched Naharin." It is not certain whether this opponent was the King of Naharin or was a lesser prince. We have four sources for the events of this campaign. On the campaign in general, see the discussion by R. Faulkner, in *JEA*, xxxii (1946), 39-42.

D.-A THE ANNALS IN KARNAK

The references are as above: Sethe, *op.cit.*, 696-703; Breasted, *op.cit.*, §§476-87.

Year 33. Now his majesty was in the country of Retenu.

Reach [ing the district of Qatna on the eighth victorious campaign. Crossing the Great Bend of Naharin by his majesty at the head of his army, to the] east of this water.¹⁴ He set up beside the stela of his father, (20) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Aa-kheper-ka-Re,¹⁵ another (stela). Now his majesty went north,¹⁸ plunder-

¹⁰ This would be the last day of Thut-mose III's 31st year. See n.16 on the first campaign above.

¹¹ Reading and location uncertain. Ullaza was a north Phoenician coast town. The Egyptians located a garrison here; cf. against n.28 below*

¹² "Being a go-and-take."

¹³ On the army daybook, cf. against n.39 of the first campaign.

¹⁴ Sethe's restoration, used above, depends upon several other contexts. In a broken Karnak inscription (Sethe, *op.cit.*, 188), there is reference to ". . . [the district of Qatna on the 8th victorious campaign." Qatna lay northeast of modern Homs. Part of the restoration depends upon the Hymn of Victory (p. 374 below): "Thou hast crossed the waters of the Great Bend of Naharin," and on an inscription on the obelisk now in Istanbul (Sethe, *op.cit.*, 587): "He who crossed the Great Bend of Naharin in valor and victory at the head of his army and made a great slaughter." The general sense of the restoration is probably correct. On Naharin, see A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1, 171* ff.

¹⁵ Thut-mose I (ca. 1525-1495 B.C.). Thut-mose III's 33rd year should be about 1458 B.C.

¹⁶ In Egypt this word would mean both "go north" and "go downstream." Since the Euphrates flows south, the direction is uncertain in the present context. See A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London, 1947), 1, 160* ff.