F. Bilabel

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE AEGYPTENS HERAUSGEGEBEN VON KURT SETHE. II, 2.

A NEW CHAPTER

IN THE LIFE

OF

THUTMOSE III.

BY

JAMES HENRY BREASTED



LEIPZIG

J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG

1900

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ZUR

GESCHICHTE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE AEGYPTENS

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

KURT SETHE

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PROF. DR. KURT SETHE. J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG.

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II. BAND, HEFT 2.

PREFACE.

The excuse for taking up a subject apparently so threadbare, will be found in the following essay itself. A word regarding the point of view is however necessary. It seems to the author that Sethe's reconstruction of the early Thutmoside reigns^a, rests upon three basic facts which he was the first to recognize:

- 1) The instigator of the insertion of a royal name over another royal name is the king bearing the inserted name; hence
- 2) The systematic insertion of the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II together, over the name of Hatshepsut on buildings erected by her and Thutmose III, shows that Thutmose I and II reigned for a short time together, after the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III had begun.
- 3) The earliest monuments of Thutmose III show that he at first reigned alone, Hatshepsut being called merely "great king's-wife", until she later became king coregent with him.

These three fundamentals have not, in the author's opinion, been in the least shaken by the recent searching attacks^b which they have received, whatever slight modification of unessential details may have resulted.^c On the contrary, the attempts to explain, on any other basis, the phenomena presented, have signally failed.

Furthermore, although I had formerly placed interrogation points against several essential supports of Sethe's reconstruction, I was forced to remove them in view of the remarkable corroboration, which that reconstruction receives from the new document presented in the following essay. I can only hope that others may be able to accept the conclusions reached.

Berlin, Aug. 16. 1900.

James Henry Breasted.

a) Untersuchungen Band I.

b) Naville: La succession des Thoutmès d'après un memoire récent (ÄZ XXXV 30-67) and: Un dernier mot sur la succession des Thoutmès (ÄZ XXXVII 48-55).

c) For example, the disappearance of Thutmose I as ex-king in the relief at Derelbahri, due to the recognition of the base, showing that the figure is a statue (ÄZ XXXVII 53). The imperative necessity of a base was first recognized and called attention to by Sethe himself, and it was not discovered in the original relief until its absence in Mariette's publication had been particularly emphasized by Sethe. It was Mariette however who was responsible for the error, not Sethe, and the recognition of the error does not in any way touch the three fundamentals above stated.



I. Introduction.

The relations of the first four Thutmosides have been more searchingly examined and discussed than those of any Egyptian kings; the life of Thutmose III in particular, because of the great qualities it exhibits, the splendid achievements, associated with his name, and the far reaching importance of his conquests has been the subject of constant study, since Champollion's time. Notwithstanding this study, practically nothing is known of the great king's youth, his life previous to his coronation, the means by which he obtained the throne, or his relations with Asia previous to his protracted wars there. My excuse for taking up a subject apparently so fully exhausted particularly by recent discussions, is the existence of a hitherto unemployed document directly bearing on these questions, and furnishing us an entirely new chapter in the life of Thutmose III. I have said that the document has remained "hitherto unemployed", and it will be subsequently seen that this is essentially the fact; nevertheless, a passage in the document in which the king compares himself with the youthful Horus in the Delta marshes, was referred by Brugsch to Thutmose III's childhood, and together with the following contexta was misunderstood as literal. Brugsch's error was exposed by Masperoc in 1880, and, although the error corrected by Maspero concerned only a single phraze, leaving most of the inscription still to be explained, the document has ever since remained untouched, as if its content and significance had been finally exhausted. That this was hardly the case, apart from the above considerations, is further evident when we notice that Brugsch and Maspero both translated the inscription backward!d

The document to which I refer is a fairly well known inscription, the record of buildings and offerings of Thutmose III on the south wall of the chambers just south of the sanctuary at Karnak. It was published in 1875 by Mariette (Karnak 14—16); again more accurately but less completely by de Rougé in 1879 (Ins. hiér. 165—175); finally much better than his predecessors, by Brugsch in 1891 (Thes. VI 1281—1290). The cause of the error in the order of the lines was: I) the fact that the signs face backward; 2) the loss of the upper half of the vertical lines of the inscription, except lines 36—49, where fragments with the tops of these lines have

a) It was the following context which misled Brugsch, for he himself remarks that such comparisons were an "oft wiederkehrende Redensart junger Könige" (Gesch. p. 365).

b) Gesch. pp. 365 and 288-289.

c) Rev. Crit. 1880, I p. 107, note 1; and ÄZ 1882, p. 133.

d) Brugsch translated practically the entire inscription beginning with the last and ending with the first line (Gesch. 359-365); Maspero the last (really the first) few lines (ÄZ 1882, p. 133).

survived, though with lacunae between them and the lower halves of the lines. Because of these lacunae, Mariette failed to place correctly the fragments^a of the upper ends of the lines, and numbered^b the lines backward. This seems to have been accepted by Brugsch and Maspero without suspicion. But there should never have been any question regarding the proper order of the lines; let us take a few of the preserved beginnings (ll. 36—49) and connect them with the preceding ends of the lines:

These will suffice to show the proper order of the lines. The question arises then: what does the narrative state when read in the proper order from the beginning on?

A brief outline of the entire inscription will enable the reader better to place in its proper setting the introduction, which we are to study in detail. On the occasion of the completion of one of his great additions to the Karnak temple of Amon, not earlier than the year 15 (l. 17), Thutmose III held an audience and addressed his court, informing them that he owed his crown and kingdom to Amon, and that he had shown his gratitude by great buildings and sumptuous offerings (ll. 1—22). The court replied, acknowledging his divine call to the throne (ll. 22—24). All this is now recorded as an introduction to a threefold list of the king's benefactions to the god: 1) the buildings (ll. 25—36); 2) his offerings of the field, and the herd, and gifts of lands (ll. 36—41); 3) temple utensils, furniture and the like (ll. 42—48). A short peroration concludes the record (ll. 48—49).

II. Youth and Coronation of Thutmose III.

The facts regarding Thutmose III's earlier life are contained in his introductory address (ll. 1—22) and the reply of his court (ll. 22—25) the text of which is as follows:

a) They should be shifted two lines to the right in Mariette's text; after making this correction I found that it had already been made by Brugsch in his Thesaurus.

b) As far back as 1879 the admirable de Rougé had added the proper numbering to the lines in his publication of the text; Brugsch has it in his Thes. (1891); but Maspero still (1897) continues to number backward (Struggle of the Nations p. 254, n. 2).

c) The form of the narrative of this audience is exactly the same as that of the building inscription of Senwośret I on the leather roll at Berlin (see below, p. 11).

d) Rougé; omitted by Brugsch and Mariette.

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FFF BATTELLE BALTELLE BALLET

a) The long lacuna given here by Rougé is an error; there is just room for - between and as given by Brugsch and Mariette.

b) Brugsch restores —, but the lacuna after J is vertical (not horizontal); as Mariette and Rougé show.

d) Both Mariette and Rougé have ____ instead of ____, but elsewhere in the inscription, '/e' is without prefixed _______.

e) So Brugsch, but Mariette has which might be making passiv pseud, part, as in 1. 7: śhokwi; Rougé has only a lacuna.

f) Omitted by Brugsch; not complete in the others.

g) So Brugsch and Mariette; Rougé:

h) is omitted by Brugsch and Mariette, and supported only by Rougé.

i) is also possible, but in that ease the \triangle would more probably be on the back of the bird, thus: that is directly under [] (in the vertical column of text). The entire lacuna is however between [] and [].

¹⁾ The ? is from Brugsch; the others give without question; the form is good, see A A Market (Nav. Derelb. III, pl. 60, l. 8).

m) So Rougé; Brugsch and Mariette

MODELLE CAPITAL CAPITA

a) So Rougé; Brugsch and Mariette have ; the parallelism shows that R. was right.

b) Rougé and Mariette have X.

c) Lacuna omitted by Brugsch but shown by the others.

d) So Rougé; Brugsch and Mariette omit .

1 "(1). b my majesty is he; I am his son, whom he commanded that I should be upon his throne, while I was one dwelling in his nest (2). He begat me in uprightness of heart 2 there is no lie therein(3); since I was a stripling, while(4) I was a youth in his temple, before(5) occurred my installation⁽⁶⁾ to be prophet⁽⁷⁾ 3..... my majesty. I was in the capacity⁽⁸⁾ of the "Pillar of his Mother" (9a), like the youth Horus in Chemmis (9b). He(10) stationed me in the northern hypostyle⁽¹¹⁾ 4..... the splendors of his horizon; he made festive heaven and earth with his beauty; he received the great marvels(13); his rays were in the eyes of all his temple. His majesty(15) placed for him incense upon the fire and offered to him a great oblation consisting of: oxen, calves, mountain goats 6. [the god] made the circuit (16) of the hypostyle on both its sides; the heart of those who were in front did not comprehend (17) (lit. "grasp") his actions, while seeking my majesty in the [augus]t place. On recognizing (18) me then, he halted (19) 7..... [I threw myself upon] the pavement (20), I prostrated (21) myself in his presence; he set me before his majesty (22); I was stationed (23) at the "Station of the King"; he was astonished at $me^{(24)}$ 8..... without untruth. They $-\frac{1}{2}$ before the people, the mysteries in the hearts of the gods, who know these his -; there was none that knew them (26), there was none that revealed them 9......

[He opened for]⁽²⁷⁾ me the doors of heaven, he opened for me the portals of the horizon of Re⁽²⁸⁾; I flew⁽²⁹⁾ to heaven as a divine hawk, beholding his form in heaven. I adored his majesty 10..... I saw the glorious forms of the "Horizon God" upon his mysterious⁽³⁰⁾ ways in heaven. Re himself established⁽³¹⁾ me; I was ennobled with the diadems which were upon him⁽³²⁾; his serpent-diadem rested on 11 [my forehead]⁽³²⁾ [He satisfied] me with all his glories; I was sated with the nourishment⁽³³⁾ of the gods, like Horus when he counted his body⁽³⁴⁾ at the house of my father Amon-Re. I was [presented]⁽³⁵⁾ with divine honors in 12.... my diadems. His own titulary was affixed for me⁽³⁶⁾.

First Name. He established my hawk upon the standard⁽³⁷⁾; he made me mighty as a mighty bull; he caused that I should shine in the midst of Thebes 13 [in this my name: Horus: Mighty Bull, Shining in Thebes].

Second Name. [He caused that my kingdom should endure like Re in heaven, in] this my [name]: Uniter of the Two Lands^(38a): Enduring in Kingship like Re in Heaven.

Third Name. He formed^(38b) me as a hawk of gold⁽³⁹⁾; he gave to me his might and his strength; I was glorious with these his diadems⁽⁴⁰⁾, in this my name: 14 [Golden Horus: Mighty in Strength, Splendid in Diadems].

Breasted, Thutmose III.

a) Omitted by Brugsch; included by the others.

b) Dotted lines indicate loss; broken lines intentional omission. Smaller type indicates that the rendering is uncertain. Small numbers refer to paragraphs of the following commentary.

Fifth Name. I am his son who came forth from him, a likeness fashioned like the Presider over Hesret (Thoth); he made beautiful all my forms, in this my name: Son of Re: Thutmose, Beautiful of Form, Living for ever and ever.

Here follow seven lines in which the king repeats the hackneyed, conventional phrazes affirming his power, used by all the kings without distinction. He further announces in general terms his generous gifts of offerings and buildings, saying that he was crowned for this purpose by the god^a. Then the court responds.

"These Companions (42), they said:" 23...... this word which has been spoken to us, which we have heard in the court L. P. H. May thy nostrils be rejuvenated with satisfying life; may thy majesty abide upon the great throne. The oracle (43) of the god himself is like the word of Re at the first beginning. It is Thoth who makes the writing speak (44) 24..... rejoicing. Assigned to thee is his kingship; established (45) is thy coronation upon the throne of Horus; established are thy annals as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. He hath united for thee the Two Lands in peace, all countries in subjection, 25......"

Before we can fully understand the disjointed facts presented by this remarkable recital, it will be necessary to subject many of its words and phrases to a minute examination, and to compare them with their occurrences elsewhere, in order to determine their exact meaning and bearing in our inscription. After this we can proceed to a historical reconstruction based on the data thus obtained. The following commentary is however only intended to make the inscription historically available, and grammatical questions are only taken up where the translation might be called in question

(I) The inscription undoubtedly began with the date and the statement that on that day the sitting took-place; for the building inscription of Senwosret I preserved on the leather roll at Berlin's begins: \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\f

a) This seems to be the logical motive for introducing the account of the coronation; he is explaining his buildings and gifts as a debt which he owes Amon.

b) No. 3029; published by Stern, ÄZ 1874, pp. 86 ff. See Erman's interesting account and translation of the document: Aus den Papyri der Kgl. Museen, Berlin, 1899, pp. 59—63.

of the king, narrating that he was long ago in childhood designed for the throne by the god that he might erect monuments for him.

- (2) jmj sš f. The same phrase is applied by Inni (Rec. XII 107, l. 14) to Thutmose II at his accession on the death of Thutmose I: It is not uncommon, especially as here in connection with the coronation or succession of a young king. Thus of Senwośret I in the Sinuhe story (Cairo Ostracon. Mém. de l'Inst. Ég. Tome II 1886 Pl. I); and again of Amenhotep II (Rougé, Insc. Hiér. 178, l. 3):
 - (3) mm is supported by all the texts and seems to be used like im.
- (4) tjw = the particle tj and the absolute pron. 1 per. sing. w[j]. tj is regularly used to introduce a nominal circumstantial clause with a pronominal subject (see Sethe, $\ddot{A}Z$ 1898, p. 71 n. 3).
- in Egyptian; there was no particle like the Hebrew "not yet", but ____ alone could be so used e. g. "He (the god) exalted me to be lord of the two halves, as a youth, ___ sic __ sic __ "He ruled his city when small, before he was loosed from(?) the swaddling clothes." Both of these passages, like ours, refer to a given point in the early career not yet (___) reached; so in our inscription we cannot translate an absolute negative: "My installation &c, did not occur" (meaning: "I was not even made prophet"). It would be just as reasonable in the two illustrations just cited to render: the swaddling clothes were not loosed for him! The negation in our inscription therefore, is temporally relative to the preceding clause: "while I was a youth &c (before my installation occurred)". This shows that the installation did occur and that Thutmose III therefore served as "prophet" at some later time.
- (7) It is not probable that any adjective like tpj, belonging to hn-ntr is lost at the beginning of l. 3. At any rate Mariette's text which is careful in the spacing, shows plenty of room at the bottom of l. 2 for \mathfrak{D} after \mathfrak{T} if it had been in the text and the entire text is careful to avoid such divisions at the ends of lines.

a) Said of Senwośret I, Berlin Leather Roll, l. 10 (AZ 1874, p. 87).

b) Said of Khnemhotep at Benihasan (Newberry Benihas, I, pl. XXVI, ll. 184 f.). The passage from the leather roll for the first time explains the Khnemhotep passage; probably an m has dropped out before $m \not \in S$ (the final m is also an error, one of the many scribal errors in the Khnemhotep text).

c) So Brugsch (Gesch. 365), where the office is rendered: "Seher des Gottes"!

d) Greek: γεγενημένους ίεφεῖς.

- (8) km3 is here undoubtedly with the meaning "form", as in the Kubbân stela: (3) (4)
- (9a) jn-mwt:f. This priest is not well known. The title is of course taken from Horus who was the pillar or support of his mother during the mythic sojourn in the Delta marshes; hence the following reference to the youthful Horus in our text. The *In-mwt* priest appears at the final scene in the coronation ceremonies of queen Hatshepsut (Nav. Derelb. III pl. 63), where he merely leads in the queen. Again he appears twice at the mortuary offerings of the queen (Nav. Derelb. I, pls. 6-7). In the second representation (pl. 7) he stands with one hand extended forward and the other holding an unknown object as in the determinative in our text; the inscription states that he is performing the $\downarrow \bigwedge$ ceremony. In the Semnehtemple (LD III 53), he appears again in the same posture and costume in a scene where Dedun is crowning Thutmose III. He addresses Dedun thus: "Thy beloved son, Mn-hpr-R, may he assume thy seat, may he inherit thy throne, may he be king (stnj-bjtj!) in this land without his successor forever. Mayest thou put his fame $(b3 \cdot v)$ and create his terror in the hearts of the Trogodytes $(\mathcal{F}n \cdot w)$ and Mntj.w, as a reward for this monument, beautiful, enduring, and excellent, which he has made for thee". Before the $\mathcal{F}n$ mwt f is the text: Seti I, the Fn-mwt f appears twice: once before the king at an offering table and once before the mortuary statues of the king (Miss. II, 3rd part, pl. I).

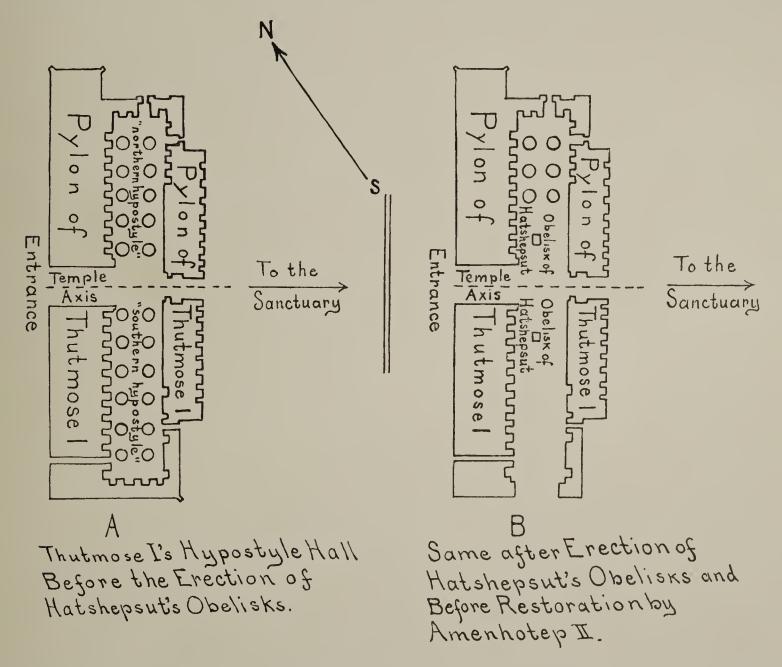
The most interesting example shows the \mathcal{I}_n -mwt-f before king Set-nakht pouring a libation over an offering table. In all examples, he wears a panther skin and the socalled royal side-lock, but in this example he wears also the royal uraeus on his forehead. In view of the fact that the \mathcal{I}_n -mwt-f appears in these examples only in royal tombs or in connection with royal mortuary service, and that in one case he actually wears the royal uraeus, the office may have been borne regularly by some member of the royal house. This would suit admirably the holding of the office by Thutmose III.^a

- (9b) This comparison is common, e. g. almost verbatim on the great Sphinx-stela: (1) (1) (1) (2) (2) (3) (4). (1) (4).
- (10) It is important to decide to whom the pronoun "he" refers. In spite of the intervening lacunae it is clear that this pronoun belongs to the series of pronouns (3 m. s.) beginning at l. I (5 times), continuing through l. 2 (once) and the following phrases (l. 4). "his horizon", "he made festive", "his beauty", "he received", "his rays", "to him" &c. These all refer to the god Amon; and this settles the important fact that it was Amon who stationed Thutmose in the temple
 - (11) The "northern hypostyle" where Thutmose was stationed is the northern half of a

a) There are undoubtedly other examples of this office which I have not seen, as I have not pursued the investigation far; hence the above is offered with due reserve.

b) It is this word "hypostyle" which was misunderstood by Brugsch as "Buto" and led him to the erroneous theory that Thutmose was banished thither in his youth.

colonnaded hall in the Karnak temple of Amon, the axis of which is roughly east and west. We are fortunately able to identify this hall. In an inscription on a column by the great obelisk of Hatshepsut, Amenhotep II says (Rougé, Insc. 187, 1. 2): The made it as his monument to his father [Amon] making for him the august columns of the southern hypostyle." This is, of course the southern half of the same hall, of which the northern half is mentioned in our inscription; that is, the colonnaded hall of Thutmose I between his two pylons. The condition of this hall at this time may be seen in the accompanying sketch plan (A).^a It then had ten columns in the northern half where Thutmose III



was stationed by the god, and twelve in the southern. All the columns in the southern half and the four southern columns of the northern half together with the roof, were removed by Hatshepsut in order to introduce and erect her obelisks (See plan B). She did not reërect

a) After Mariette's historical plan (Karnak, pl. 6b). B is from the same source (pl. 6c).

b) The erection of obelisks between two pylons in a hall joining them is architecturally a unique phenomenon, and might lead one to suspect that the outer pylon was a later construction erected after the erection of the obelisks. But the obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut leaves no room for doubt; for she says: "My heart led me to make for him two obelisks in the august colonnade (jn·t) between the two great pylons of the King Thutmose I" (LD III 24 d, w.). Both pylons in our figure are therefore the work of Thutmose I; and this fact will remain unmodified by the future clearance and exacter study of this part of the temple. The details of Mariette's reconstruction will doubtless be modified by such study.

the columns in the southern half and it is their reërection which is recorded by Amenhotep II in his inscription above quoted.^a But at the time of the coronation of Thutmose III the colon-naded hall is uninjured; whereas it could no longer have been used for such ceremonies in its roofless and unfinished condition after the erection of Hatshepsut's obelisks; while our inscription states distinctly that the procession "made the circuit of the hypostyle on *both its sides* (1, 6)". This indicates that the ceremonies narrated in our inscription took place before the erection of Hatshepsut's obelisks which occurred in the years 15 and 16,^b and corroborates the other indications of the inscription regarding the date of the events narrated in the king's speech.

- (12) It is clear that this lacuna narrated the approach of a splendid procession of the god, to await which the god has posted Thutmose in the temple. The lost words immediately preceding the preserved portion contained the idea: the god proceeded toward "the splendors of his horizon" viz. his temple. The following clauses describe in the usual phraseology the approach of the god's procession, as it neared the temple.
- (13) This short sentence is possibly the account of the reception of foreign products usually called "marvels", arrayed outside the temple as offerings to the god, which he receives on his way thither. Thus the products of Punt, Irem and the South in the Derelbaḥri reliefs must have been similarly arranged out of doors, for some of them are lying under the trees (Nav. Derelb., pl. 78). But it is also quite possible that we have in this sentence only a reference to the ceremonious honors which the god receives as he advances in procession to the temple.
- of his temple", for the fragmentary signs before "temple" as copied, apparently show the base of , but is possible? Rougé saw ...
- (15) Who is "his majesty"? This is the most important question in the whole inscription. Remembering that the entire narrative is being told in the first person by Thutmose III, who everywhere refers to himself as "I", "me" and "my majesty"; remembering that he again refers to himself as "me" in the same sentence with the second occurrence of "his majesty" (l. 7); remembering that he is a priest and has been stationed in the "northern hypostyle" and has afterward to be searched for, while "his majesty" is here represented as performing the ritual ceremonies; remembering that Thutmose III is, according to the inscription, later led to the "Station of the King", crowned and given his royal names, and that he could not therefore have performed the ritual ceremonies as king at this juncture; remembering these facts, it becomes evident that "his majesty" cannot refer to Thutmose III himself. By exclusion, therefore it is clear that "his majesty" is the king living and regnant at the time of Thutmose III's coro-

a) He could only reërect 8 of the columns as the southern obelisk base took up the space of 4 columns, as did the northern in the other half.

b) Not in the years 5 and 6 as stated in Maspero's history (II 244) thus completely inverting the order of events in the queen's reign.

c) It should be also noted that this would be the only instance in the king's address where he refers to himself in the third person, if we refer "his majesty" to Thutmose III.

nation. But we may go further than this. According to the inscription of Inni (Rec. XII p. 107, l. 16), the occasion of Thutmose III's succession was the death of Thutmose II. This second exclusion leaves Thutmose I as the only one who can possibly be referred to by the words, "his majesty", a conclusion which gives us two accessions of Thutmose III: one after Thutmose I living; and the other after Thutmose II deceased. Thus Sethe's shrewd conclusions, based on entirely different evidence, are brilliantly confirmed.

- graphy of *Intj'w* without the plural strokes is a difficulty, and I am not aquainted with any other example of "grasp" used figuratively for "comprehend"; although it corresponds exactly with the English idiom. Compare also German "fassen", "begreifen", Latin "apprehendere"; it is not an uncommon figure in many languages. The rendering is also in irreproachable harmony with the whole situation. The ranks of priests are drawn up in lines as the god is carried along seeking Thutmose III, and those in the front ranks who could observe the movements of the god did not comprehend his actions.
- (18) The lack of a subject with rh vi (supported by all texts) is syntactically not unparalleled, and there can be no question who is meant in view of the following jvi referring to Amon, who is indicated throughout the inscription by the simple pronoun (3. m. s.).
- (19) In is a poetic word meaning "to stop" literally "to alight". It is used by Sinuhe in the narrative of his flight:

 \[
 \text{M} \text{ A word particularly suited to an incident in a religious ceremony.} \]

 Thus Thutmose IV, conciliating the gods of the towns he passes on the way to his war in Nubia, says (Morgan, Cat. des Mon. I, p. 67, l. 16):

 \[
 \text{M} \text{ A word particularly suited to an incident in a religious ceremony.} \]

 "I stopped at the city of Edfu; the beautiful god went forth like Monthu". A similar meaning in our inscription is undoubted; the construction of the indirect object is lost in the lacuna in l. 7. It is difficult to determine which is the temporal clause: "he recognized me when he lighted [upon me]"; or "when he recognized me, he stopped [before me]". There is no doubt however that this clause records the conclusion of the god's search, when he discovers Thutmose III. What the god now does is unfortunately lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the next line (l. 7). But as the courtiers in their response to the king's speech refer distinctly to an oracle of the god (see below \(\xi \) 43), there can be little doubt that on halting before Thutmose III, the god delivered an oracle nominating him as king. In response to this oracle Thutmose III throws himself down before the god, as narrated immediately after the lacuna.
- (20) s3tw literally means "ground"; but it is the usual designation of a temple-pavement in the building inscriptions, e.g. that of Amenhotep III (Petrie, Six Temples XII, l. 3, et passim). The parallelism shows that we are to restore the general sense as in the translation.

- (21) h3m is used especially of the arms dropped prone in the attitude of respect, e. g. "Drop thy two arms" (Ptahhotep 5, 10) or "The arm was dropped to him"; said of Harmhab as a child (Brugsch, Thes. 1074, l. 3).
- (22) The pronouns (3 m. s.) beginning with "his" in jr'tf "his actions" (l. 6) throughout ll. 6 and 7 refer to Amon; hence it is the god who places Thutmose III before "his majesty". It is of course possible to understand "his majesty" as equal to "himself"; that is, the god places Thutmose III before himself; but as the god is regularly spoken of as "he, his, him" throughout the inscription (so in the very preceding phrase) and as Thutmose III is distinctly stated in the preceding clause, to have already thrown himself down "before" the god, it is almost certain that we are to understand that "his majesty" refers to Thutmose I. This conclusion is further confirmed by the syntax of the next phrase, explained in the next note.
- (23) śdic kruj "I was stationed", denotes that he is now given a new position; he has hitherto been standing in the "northern hypostyle" where the god before "stationed" him. Where the new position is, is indicated by the phrase: "at the 'Station of the King'". We are luckily able to identify the exact place designated by this term. In the Amada Stela, the following account of the location of the stela is given (l. 15): The following account of the location of the stela is given (l. 15): The first majesty caused that this stela should be made and set up in this temple in the place: 'The Station of the King'". The stela stands in the holy of holies "against the back wall" (Baedeker, p. 368), thus determining clearly the position of the "Station of the King". A duplicate of the Amada Stela at Elephantine uses the same words showing that there was also a "Station of the King", of course in the same place, in the Elephantine temple. In the building inscription of Amenhotep III (Petrie, Six Temples XII, 1. 5) he speaks of his mortuary temple behind the socalled Memnon colossi as: Coloss of the King', wrought with gold and many costly stones". As the determinative of de we shows, the "Station of the King" is here the stelac itself. This monument has survived, being the enormous stela lying overthrown some hundreds of feet behind the Memnon colossi. It is about 30 feet high and 14 feet wide and contains an inscription dedicating the temple to Amon. Judging from its present position and the analogy of the Amada stela, there is no doubt that it stood in the holy of holies against the back wall. — We have then in the temples at Amada, Elephantine, Thebes (behind the Memnon colossi) and Karnak a "Station of the King" in the holy of holies and marked in the case of the first three by a stela against the back wall, which contained the votive inscription dedicating the temple to the god. It was of course so called because it marked the place in the sanctuary chamber, before which the king stood, in the

a) Compare a similar action in the building inscription (Mar. Kar. 12, 1.8):

b) The upper portion of this stela is in Vienna (No. 141); it was published by Bergmann in Rec. IV 33 ff. The lower portion (containing the duplicate of the above words) is in Gizeh (No. 158); it is still unpublished, but I was able to use a copy kindly loaned me by Steindorff.

c) Cf. the two stelae in the same inscription (l. 22) written

performance of the sacred ceremonies of the ritual; hence its great significance in our inscription. It is at this place that the god now stations Thutmose III, thus practically installing him as king. Whether we understand hin-f in the preceding clause to be Thutmose I or the god, does not alter the undeniable meaning of the second member of the parallelism; but it is to be noted that syntactically s'h' kwj "I was stationed" is a pseudoparticiple belonging to "me" in the first clause and practically expresses the resulting condition, thus: he set me before his majesty (so that) I was stationed at the "Station of the King". If we think of Thutmose I as having taken up his position at this "station", it will be seen that the act of placing Thutmose III before Thutmose I would at the same time put Thutmose III at the "Station of the King"; and this is exactly in accordance with the syntax of the two clauses.

- (24) This clause is grammatically simple, but remains doubtful in meaning owing to the uncertainty in the subject, and in the meaning of the verb: we can refer it to the god and render: "he wrought a wonder for my sake", or "he was astonished at me"; or we can refer it to Thutmose I deposed by the act just narrated, and render: "he was astonished at me". But the admiration of the god is clearly expressed, in the record of a foundation festival (Mar. Karn. 12, 1.8):
- (25) This sentence is very doubtful; "they substituted (jdn) me" (in the place of Thutmose I) is very tempting, but this leaves \$\frac{3}{5}t\text{3}\cdot\text{2}\cdot\text{w}\$ "mysteries" isolated and without construction. There seems to be an antithesis between: "in the faces of the people", and: "in the hearts of the gods". We may guess: They revealed(??) in the faces of the people, the mysteries in the hearts of the gods". "They", are doubtless the gods themselves, and in the "mysteries" there is clearly a reference to the plans of the gods toward their royal protegé. These gods play a prominent part in all the coronations preserved to us. In that of Harmhab "Nekhbet, Buto, Neith, Isis, Nephthys, Horus and Set" are mentioned (l. 16). In the coronation of Hatshepsut she is presented by Amon to all the gods (Nav. Derelb. III 56); the same thing occurs in the coronation of Amenhotep III (Gayet, Luxor, 73 [66], fig. 190). They predict a magnificent future for the new ruler; these plans are the "mysteries" of the gods. The same thing was doubtless designated by the last noun in the next clause: "who know these his (Amon's) —?" This conclusion is further supported by the fact that on her way to Heliopolis, Hatshepsut receives the most splendid promises from all the gods, exactly as these "mysteries" are here mentioned just before Thutmose III visits Re.
- (26) This clause is concessive and we are to understand "although" before it: "although there was none who knew them &c." The antecedent of Δ st "them" is "mysteries" or the lost noun in the preceding clause.
 - (27) The restoration is to be safely based on the parallelism.
- (28) without any determinative, is a doubtful writing for Re. It looks as if some verb for flying might be in it, in corrupted form, to which is determinative.
- (29) To fly to heaven is the usual expression indicating the death of a king, but this is of course not the case here, where the king himself narrates the incident to his court! Its connection becomes clear by a comparison of the other coronations. The third incident in the Breasted, Thutmose III.

series of reliefs recounting the coronation of Hatshepsut represents her as making a journey to the north (Nav. Derelb. III 57). This journey is primarily in order to visit Heliopolis, there to be acknowledged and crowned by Atum, as is shown by the fact that the inscription recounting it is terminated by a relief in which we see her crowned in Atum's presence.^a The same incident occurs in the coronation series of Amenhotep III.^b It is not distinctly mentioned in the coronation of Harmhab unless we see it in the journey "down stream" from Thebes (l. 22); but the acknowledgement of Re is implied at the close of the narrative (ll. 25–26).° What the kings did on this visit to Heliopolis is clearly shown by the visit of Piankhid to the shrine of Re, which was likewise solely actuated by the desire to be acknowledged as king by the ancient state-god. He went through the preliminary ceremony of purification as did Hatshepsut before her coronation (Nav. Derelb. III 56; also Amenhotep III, Gayet, Luxor 75 [64] fig. 186) and as Re himself had once done (l. 102) He then proceded to the sanctuary, broke the seal of the holy of holies, opened the doors of the shrine and saw the god. This was exclusively a royal privilege, so that when he had again closed and sealed the shrine with his own seal, he commanded the priests that no other king should be permitted to break the seal. The acquiesence of the priests was his recognition as sole legitimate king and such recognition was an indefeasible title to the kingship. This is acknowledged by the priests when they address the king as "Horus, beloved of Heliopolis" (l. 105), and in the prayer on his behalf as king (l. 103). This custom was of course in accordance with the state fiction everywhere recognized in the royal titles, that the king is the son of Re. The visit to Heliopolis was simply the visit of the newly crowned son to obtain the recognition of his divine father, the ancient state-god.

We might therefore expect a similar visit by Thutmose III at his coronation. But by a superb stroke of imagination quite in accordance with the remarkable character of the man, the new king is not content to visit the earthly dwelling of the sun-god, but the god opens the gates of the heavens and thither his newly-enthroned son flies, to behold the splendors of his father, to be crowned and recognized there as king, and to receive his five royal names (See below).

- (30) "Mysterious" does not fully translate this word; it also means "difficult" and "inaccessible." A concrete example of its meaning as applied to a way or a road is to be found in the description of the colossus transport at Bersheh (ed. Newberry, I pl. XIX, l. I): \(\) "Behold, very difficult was the way, upon which it (the colossus) came." This is the road across the desert back of Amarna, and down the face of the cliffs to the plain and the river (Petrie, Amarna, Map. pl. 34). The mysteries, uncertainties, and difficulties of a mountainous and desert road are in our text transferred to the celestial road of the sun-god.
 - (31) smn is the word regularly used in the coronation scenes for establishing as king:

a) Nav. Derelb. III 57—58 which is here so badly destroyed that it must be supplemented by the corresponding scene in Luxor (Gayet 73 [66], fig. 191 and 74 [65] fig. 188) where the fact that it is a coronation scene before Atum is also made certain by the inscriptions.

b) See preceding note.

c) The lack of express mention of the visit to Re is another evidence to the fact that Harmhab owed his crown exclusively to the priests of Amon; it was of no political importance.

d) Great inscription, ll. 101-105.

thus of Hatshepsut (Nav. Derelb. III, pl. 64) Horus says:

- (32) These two sentences describe the act of putting the crown upon his head. That this act was performed by the gods before the actual formal coronation in presence of the court, is a fiction accepted also in the coronation of Hatshepsut (Nav. Derelb. III p. 4), where the goddesses Nekhbet and Buto, appear bearing the two crowns of North and South.^a The same is true of Amenhotep III (Gayet, Luxor 75 [64] fig. 184 incomplete! = LD III 75c), and of Harmhab (ll. 17–18).
- (34) This is a reference to some unknown incident in the Horus-myth, possibly the \(\bigcup_{\infty}^{\infty} \). Of course the introduction of Amon-Re into the Horus-myth is absurd.
- (35) Some verb with the meaning "present" or the like must be restored here, but I cannot recall such a verb ending in n.
- (36) wd means "to affix" a name; compare the "affixing" (wd) of Hatshepsut's name to buildings and seals (p. 20) or again:

"I landed (lit. I drove in the mooring stake) at Abydos, I affixed my name at the place where Osiris Hntj-jmntj' w was" (Stela. Brit. Mus. 574, Publ. Sharpe I 79 and Piehl Insc. III, XV—XVI, I have collated with Berlin squeeze 1067). — Where the royal titulary was affixed is explained by the Hatshepsut passage below (p. 20). Having crowned him and proclaimed him king, Re now confers upon him his five names. These are said to have formed the titulary of Re himself; the same statement is made in the coronation of Harmhab; it is quoted below. This conferring of the royal names by the gods took place in the other coronations also. In Hatshepsut's series there is a scene^b (Nav. Derelb. III p. 4) now almost totally destroyed, representing the reception of the names conferred upon her by the gods. The fragmentary inscription shows only the third and fourth names, thus:

which are written by Śfly t-b wj and Thoth. The actual conferring of her names is narrated in the account of her coronation before the court. The passage still awaits explanation and as it is important for our own inscription we will reproduce it here (Nav. Derelb. III 62, ll. 31—35):

a) It is also referred to by her father in announcing her coming coronation (Nav. Derelb. III 60, 1. 7).

b) This scene is omitted in Amenhotep III's coronation at Luxor.

c) The plural strokes are a mistake; "her dignity of king" is a common expression in these texts, und as the dignity is a royal one, the word is often determined with the double crown, e.g. pl. 60, ll. 2 & 4; without the crown in the example quoted above.

"His majesty commanded that the ritual-priests should be brought, to proclaim^b (?) her great names for receiving her dignity of king, and (for) affixing on buildings and on every seal of the Unitress of the Two Lands - - - - They proclaimed (?) her royal names since the god had caused it to be in their hearts to make her names according to the form, in which he had made them before."

The priests therefore declared the form of the names which was to be engraved on monumental works and on official seals. Similarly in his coronation announcement, Thutmose I prescribes the form of name to be used in the ritual and the oath (ÄZ 29, 117). — The compiler of Hatshepsut's coronation record is now struck with the incongruity of having the priests prescribe her names when this has ostensibly already been done by the god! Hence he adds the naïve explanation that the god revealed to the priests the same names which he had before conferred. The four names themselves now follow and they are accompanied by a further assurance (Nav. Derelb. III pl. 63)

In the same way the coronation of Harmhab was the occasion of declaring his royal names; for his inscription says: "Let the great name of this Good God be made, and his titulary like (that of) the majesty of Re, as follows:" (the five names follow). These words conclude the rejoicing addressed by the gods to Amon. The actual official proclamation of a king's titulary was worded in practically the same way, for in his coronation proclamation (ÄZ 29, 117), Thutmose I says: "Let my titulary be made as follows:" (the fivefold titulary follows).

It will be seen that the Egyptian term technically designating the fivefold titulary and names was ; more rarely ; more rarely upon it (the monument) was of such and such work, and throws further light on the phrase: "for putting on buildings" in Hatshepsut's

a) The on the back of has been misread as above it in the publication, and the determinative is given as how, but is an impossible form for dj "give"; there is no doubt about the proper reading as given above, for it occurs in our inscription (l. 12) used in the same way, of affixing the titulary or name; see the other example above, p. 19.

b) This word is used four times in this text (twice above and twice in 1. 22), but I do not know it elsewhere.

c) Lit. "her names of king".

d) See also Lefebure, Sphinx I, 100-101.

e) Brugsch, Thes. V, 1077, l. 19; I have collated the original at Turin and the Berlin squeeze (No. 1253) which is more clear than the original. Brugsch's text is very inaccurate; there is no lacuna before say as he indicates.

f) See Lefebure Sphinx I, 100.

g) E. g. l. 34 of our inscription.

inscription quoted above. Although the full rn-ver contains five names, only the first four of these are really conferred at coronation, for the fifth is the name which was already borne by the incumbent before his accession. Hence Hatshepsut records only four names as conferred by the gods at coronation, whereas the inscriptions of Harmhab and Thutmose III give all five as received at coronation. The conferring of these names in our inscription is accompanied by full explanations of their meaning which are of unusual interest and show what was, at least at this time, one of the functions of these names. Each statement that the god gave the king some desirable quality: strength, beauty, durability or the like is followed by the same words: by this his (the king's) name of "Strong, Beautiful, Enduring" &c. The m in this reiterated phrase: m rn'j pwj introduces the instrument and should be fully rendered: "by means of." Hence the means, by which the god endowed the king with the said quality, was the name indicating it. It would carry us too far from the proper subject of this essay to adduce the considerable cognate material; the same usage in the pyramids and other religious texts is of course well known. But it should be noted that our inscription offers the real explanation and etymology of the names, which are therefore not to be compared with the absurd etymologies of early names often given in Ptolemaic texts.

- (37) It would seem that srh may also be used loosely to designate the royal titulary as a whole; thus in the coronation of Amenhotep II as described by Amenemhab (l. 39): "NN is established upon the throne of his father, $\frac{0}{2}$ he assumed the srh, i. e. his titulary. On srh, see also Schaefer ÄZ 34, 167.
- (38a) On the reading of see Piehl, PSBA XX, 198—201; Daressy, Rec. XVII 113, and Naville, ÄZ 36, 132—135, where it is shown to be *nbtj*, probably meaning the "wearer of the two diadems", which is practically the same idea as that of the old rendering.
- (39) This phrase shows that in is not merely a standard, but that we are correct in rendering: "Golden Horus."
 - (40) On this phrase see Thoth's words in Hatshepsut's coronation quoted below (p. 22, note b).
- (41) It is not safe to attempt a restoration here, as the exact rendering of $Mn-hpr-R^c$ is uncertain.
- (42) The speech of the king is followed by the reply of the courtiers exactly as in the building inscription of Senwośret I (ÄZ 1874, 85 ff. II l. 1). In this reply the courtiers revert especially to the king's account of his accession.

a) Brugsch noted this in his translation long ago; it is remarkable that the inverted order of the names in his residering did not suggest to him the proper order of the lines of the inscription.

b) See the interesting essay by Lefebure, "importance du nom chez les Égyptiens", Sphinx I, 92—112, to which the material from our inscription may now be added.

c) Hatshepsut: Naville Derelb. II, 48; Amenhotep III: Gayet. Luxor 63 (71) fig. 202. The text can only be reconstructed from both combined.

d) Derelb.: \triangle tn.

- on the day of the feast. On the oracle by which the god designated Thutmose III as king on the day of the feast. On the day of the feast. On the oracle which charged Hatshepsut to make her Punt expedition (Nav. Derelb. III, 84, 1. 5): On the oracle which charged Hatshepsut to make her Punt expedition (Nav. Derelb. III, 84, 1. 5): On the oracle of the god himself. There cannot be much difference between ndw-t-r3, and tp-t-r3, in these two passages. It can hardly be an accident that Thutmose III makes use of the very same expression (only using the verb instead of the noun) in the Wadi Halfa inscription of the year 23; On whom he (Horus of Bhn) has assigned his inheritance, being a body which he begat; on whose behalf he uttered an oracle that his coronation should be established for him [as] king upon the Horus-throne of the living" (Il. 3—4). This oracle is lost in our inscription in the lacuna at the beginning of 1. 7 (see above § 19, p. 15).
 - (44) See Pap. Ebers, I 8.
- (45) This sounds as if it were the reply to the official announcement of coronation, so similar is it to the actual form employed by Thutmose I in his coronation announcement: "Behold this royal edict is brought to thee to inform thee,b that: \(\) \(

In attempting to reconstruct the events which are less narrated than suggested in the above document, it must be remembered that half of every line in the king's address and the response of the court, is lost. Imagination must therefore build carefully upon the facts furnished by the fragmentary lines remaining. Furthermore, remarkable as are the facts narrated in our fragmentary document we must bear in mind, that we have a not less remarkable record of the coronation of Harmhab, in which he narrates his past as a state official, without the slightest reluctance. Three basic facts are unquestionably furnished by our inscription, which must form the foundation of any reconstruction. In inverted order they are as follow:

- 1) No one familiar with the other coronation stories (Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III, Harmhab) will doubt for a moment that the king's narrative concludes with his succession to the throne.
- 2) A careful study of the event as narrated shows clearly that another king, not Thutmose II, was present and officiating as king until succeeded by Thutmose III.
 - 3) Before his coronation, Thutmose III had been a priest in the Amon-tempel at Karnak. cThutmose III was the son of a woman named Isis, who was not of royal blood; hence

a) Unpublished; I am indebted for it, to a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Steindorff.

b) ÄZ 29, 117, restored from the duplicate in Berlin (No. 13725, unpublished), which I have collated. — The passage in our inscription is probably slightly different from the similar phrase in the words of Thoth at the coronation of Hatshepsut:

"Established for thee are these thy diadems" (Nav. Derelb. III, 60) where śmn "established" means set on the head. The same in Harmhab (l. 18).

c) As Sethe has exhaustively examined the documents of this period we shall be brief and refer to his data. Lest there should be any confusion between fact and theory, the theoretical statements in the following reconstruction (in the remainder of this chapter) are all printed in Italics, unless expressly stated as only probable.

d) See Sethe ÄZ 36, 29-30.

whoever may have been his father, he had no legitimate claim to the throne. In early youth he entered the temple of Amon at Karnak as priest and became a "prophet" (hn-ntr). He now married the powerful princess of the royal blood, the daughter of Thutmose I, Hatshepsut. Her father was ruling only by right of his marriage with the royal princess Ahmose, the mother of Hatshepsut, and at this juncture Almose died.^a In spite of his obscure birth, Thutmose III's union with Hatshepsut now gave him a better claim to the throne than that of Thutmose I. The fact of Thutmose III's claim is of course evident; and that his marriage with the daughter of the reigning king was the basis of his claim, is rendered almost certain by the parallel case of Harmhab, whose union with the royal princess Mutnozmetb is referred to as occurring at the coronation. His succession was thus rendered legitimate. Thutmose III lost no time in pressing his claim, and in this he had managed to gain the favor of the Amonite priests who supported his cause. It was through them indeed that he finally gained his object, by a dramatic coup unparalleled in Egyptian history, and furnishing an unexpected proof of the power of the Amonite priesthood already at the close of Thutmose I's reign. On the occassion of some great feast, the priests make all preparations beforehand for the public installation of Thutmose III. They station him in the northern wing of the first colonnaded hall in the Amon-temple probably in his usual place among the lines of priests ranged about the hall for the coming ceremonies. The splendid procession, with the god borne along in his shrine, moves toward the temple, amid the acclamations of the people. The king, Thutmose I, probably entirely unsuspicious of the surprising developments in store for him, raises the censer before the god, offers the sacrifice of cattle at the altar, and proceeds with the duties of the ritual incumbent upon the king. Meanwhile the god in his shrine makes the ceremonial circuit of the hall, all the time searching for Thutmose III, and on finding him, the wily priests, who bear the shrine, halt. The god then utters an oracled proclaiming Thutmose III king, and immediately proceeds to station him in the place ceremonially reserved for the king in the duties of the ritual, while Thutmose I looks on in astonishment. The five names of the king's official titulary are now announced. Thutmose If perforce withdraws, and the reign of Thutmose III begins.

a) Sce Sethe, Untersuchungen I 20.

b) She is not mentioned by name in the coronation inscription of Harmhab, but is called "his (Amon's) august daughter" (l. 15); but as the inscription occurs on the back of a group representing Harmhab and Mutnozmet, there can be no doubt who is meant in the inscription.

c) The inscription of course attributes all this to the god, precisely as in the case of Harmhab; but through this transparent phraseology, the real conditions and the real actors are unmistakable.

d) Lost at beginning of 1. 7, but distinctly referred to by the courtiers in their response (l. 23; sec §§ 19 & 43).

e) Just as in the account of Hatshepsut's coronation (§ 36); the splendid imaginary account of the conferring of Thutmose III's names is but a veiling of the more prosaic reality, like the attribution of the whole coronation to the god. The actual form of announcing the names is preserved to us in the coronation announcement of Thutmose I (ÄZ 20, 117).

f) This fact bears powerfully upon the question of the insertion of Thutmose I's name over that of Hatshepsut. Thutmose III could not possibly insert over Hatshepsut's name the name of Thutmose I, whom he had dethroned, upon buildings with which Thutmose I had nothing to do.

III. Hatshepsut and Thutmose II.

There is no trace of Hatshepsut at Thutmose III's coronation. He begins his difficult reignalone; as Sethe on the basis of other evidence has shown. Hence the data of our inscription, as every reader will see, are in irreconcilable contradiction with the account of Hatshepsut's coronation given in her Derelbahri inscriptions; and it is therefore neccessary to determine which of the two documents is to be accepted. There is no more deadly means of testing the historicity of a document than a comparison of its dates with those of external sources known to be authentic and accurate. The application of this test to Hatshepsut's coronation record produces a very conclusive result.

Her coronation by her father before the assembled court is said to have occurred on New Year's Day. The first of Thoth is mentioned, so that this cannot be interpreted as merely a poetical designation of the beginning of her reign. On the contrary, although the fact has not before been noticed, Thutmose I is stated to have deliberately selected New Years's Day as an especially fitting day for the coronation. The statement is as follows:

"He recognized the advantage of a New Year's Day coronation, at the beginning of the peaceful years, and of passing millions of years, with very many śd-jubilees."

As Naville's rendering of the passage is totally different, we must examine it carefully. He translates it (Derelb. III p. 7 ll. 3) as follows (regarding it as a temporal modification of the preceding context): "in the festival day of her coronation; when the first day of the year and the beginning of the seasons should be united, when should be given her millions of Sed periods in great number." Sethe has already shown that this rendering of the second clause is impossible (ÄZ 36 p. 67 note); further the term "peaceful years" is very old. It occurs on first dynasty vessels, found by Petrie at Abydos, in the title or ephitet: " " " " " " " " " " " " " great in peaceful years" (Petrie, Royal-Tombs, pl. IX, I; again without wer in pl. IX, 2); the singular of rnp-t is troublesome, but it is doubtless a loose writing for the plural in this archaic orthography. The third clause is not of moment for our discussion and we confine ourselves therefore to the first clause. There are several serious objections to Naville's rendering: does not mean "in" with nouns of time, but "until"; () (which I read (), producing (), Naville reads "day." It is clear however that () does not mean day, in spite of the well known phrase hrw-nfr "a festival day." For it has no I, whereas the word "day" occurs twice in the neighboring lines, (27 & 29), both times written () I with the disk at one side to make room for I,

a) Nav. Derelb. III, pl. 63.

b) Sethe (ÄZ 36, p. 67 note); this actually happened in Ptolemaic times, see Brugsch, Thes. 1125, below.

c) Publication shows which is certainly an error for .

d) Nav. Derelb. III, pl. 62, ll. 33-34.

e) Even accepting () as = "day", the rendering is incorrect; for () has a following and and can only mean: "his festival day of coronation" not "the festival day of her coronation".

thus proving that I has not been omitted by an error of Carter's in copying our passage. For Carter's sketch has with orderectly in the middle. Moreover is the usual construction of nfr with a following noun (see Sethe Verbum II § 761, 4. 901) and this alone is sufficient to show that it is not an adjective belonging to a preceding noun. It is therefore certain that Thutmose I is affirmed to have selected Newyear's Day for Hatshepsut's coronation, because of its auspicious character. This has of itself an artificial sound, which awakens suspicion. But as a matter of fact: did Hatshepsut actually reckon her regnal years from Newyear's Day to Newyears Day? The record of her erection of her Karnak obelisks over 15 years later shows unequivocally that the beginning of her regnal year falls somewhere between the first of the 6th month and the 30th of the 12th month, and not on Newyear's Day. (Base Insc. North side, I. 8). The whole coronation inscription therefore, false in its date and contradicted by our inscription, is unquestionably an artificial product later fabricated like the birth reliefs, to give color to the queen's pretensions. Hatshepsut therefore did not succeed Thutmose I, and only eventually gained the throne, after her great husband had succeeded in thrusting her father aside, and had himself ruled alone for some time. This result is again in striking corroboration of Sethe's reconstruction.

Of the subsequent course of the complicated family struggle for the throne our document says nothing. By determining for us however the fact and the manner of Thutmose III's overthrow of Thutmose I, as we have seen above (pp. 14-15), our document shows that the succession of Thutmose III at Thutmose II's death, as narrated by Inni, is a second accession of Thutmose III; proving the correctness of Sethe's contention that the ephemeral reign of Thutmose II falls within the reign of Thutmose III, which it therefore interrupts for a short time, probably within the period from the 6th to the 8th year of Thutmose III. All this is long since past when Thutmose III addresses his court rehearsing the manner of his coronation, and he of course ignores it as an illegal interruption of his reign, and regards only his first accession as the legitimate beginning of his reign. The vexatious rule of Hatshepsut is also ignored by the king in all his description of his own power (ll. 15-23). This brings up the question of the date of our document. A safe terminus a quo is furnished by the reference to offerings of the 15th year (l. 37). The Asiatic campaigns, which began in the year 22-23, are still in the future, for the Annals are really the record of the feasts and offerings c resulting from the resources acquired on these campaigns, and our document is a similar record for the period before the campaigns. These form a safe terminus ad quem. When we remember that Hatshepsut's latest date is her 16th year, we are probably not too bold in concluding that the king delivered his remarkable reminiscent speech after her death, at some time between the year 16 and the year 22.

a) Sethe has rendered almost certain, and in view of the facts furnished by our inscription, I think we may now regard it is as entirely certain, that Hatshepsut assumed the regnal years of Thutmose III, when she gained the throne. With this reckoning, which began the regnal year on the 4th of the 10th month, the poetic version of a coronation on New year's Day could not be made to agree.

b) The same conclusion was reached by Sethe on entirely different evidence.

c) The record of feasts and offerings (LD III 30b) on the back of the south wing of the VIth Karnak Pylon is in unbroken continuation of the Annals, which are usually supposed to be concluded on the back of the north wing. The Annals are little more than a long introduction to this record of offerings giving the source from which they came. The record of the Karnak buildings begun after the beginning of the wars is on a broken stella published by Mariette (Kar. 12).

IV. Relations of Egypt and Syria Before the Wars of Thutmose III.

Our inscription contains nothing later than the year 22; hence two references which it offers throw important light upon the relations with Syria of which we know practically nothing during this period in the reign of Thutmose III preceding his Asiatic campaigns.

It will be necessary, in order to understand the data of our inscription to briefly outline the course of the Asiatic wars before Thutmose III's accession; especially so, because the material for this period contains a number of significant facts not hitherto noted. The Syrian conquest, although so much was left for Thutmose III to do, was much further advanced when he began his campaigns, than has heretofore been supposed. In the first place the final struggle with the Hyksos concluded some 50 years before the accession of Thutmose III had been a very decisive preliminary trial of strength between the rising New Kingdom and the forces of Asia. The final seige of Avaris had lasted years, so long that a rebellion of one of the still unreconciled local princes, arose in far upper Egypt,^a which forced Ahmose to leave Avaris temporarily, and possibly even to raise the seige for a time, to be resumed after he had proceeded southward and quelled the rebellion. The stubbornness of the Hyksos defense at Avaris is continued by their equally stubborn defense at Sharuhen, in southern Palestine, whither they retreated (l. 15).^b For six years they sustained the persistent seige of the indomitable Ahmose, but were finally forced to abandon their stronghold and again flee; this time still further northward; whither they were pur-

a) The story of the seige of Avaris in the inscription of Ahmose, son of Abana (LD III, 12 a ll. 8—14) at El Kab, is interrupted (l. 11) by a battle which took place in solution of Ahmose, son of Abana (LD III, 12 a ll. 8—14) at El Kab, is interrupted (l. 11) by a battle which took place in solution of Avaris. Because of the demonstrative before of the demonstrative is not evident. There can be no doubt that km·t means here as always elsewhere, "Egypt" (see Piehl, PSBA XV, 256 f.); the demonstrative becomes clear when we render with the following adjective: "in this southern Egypt"; "this city" is then of course El Kab where the inscription is. The whole phrase can be properly rendered only in a language like Greek or German thus: "in diesem südlich von dieser Stadt befindlichen Ägypten". The writer uses both demonstrative and adjective to make it clear that he is not speaking of "that northern Egypt". This rebellion is of course similar to the two later ones narrated in the same inscription (ll. 19—24).

b) The inscription does not mention the Hyksos and of course does not refer to their retreat to Sharuhen, but the sequence of events is too clear to be mistaken.

c) LD III, a. l. 16 has "5" which has been generally accepted; two other independent sources (Champollion's text Not. Descr. I, 656, l. 141; and Brugsch's translation, Gesch. p. 232) have "6". I have collated the entire inscription with the Berlin squeeze (No. 172) and repeatedly examined the numeral; it is clearly and unmistakably "6". The correctness of the rendering of III as "for 6 years" rather than "in the year 6" has been clearly shown by Piehl (PSBA XV, 258). To his remarks, which are confined to the rendering of III, we may add that m is the regular preposition for "during" or "for" with periods of time; e. g. in the career of Bokenkhonsu (Bib. Ég. IV 284—288) each period of years, "during" which he held his successive offices, is introduced by m "during".

sued by Ahmose at least as far as Phoenicia.^a This was all achieved late^b in the reign of Ahmose, so that he probably was not able to accomplish much more in Syria before his death; particularly in view of the fact that after his Asiatic war he was obliged to make a campaign far into upper Nubia and to subdue two rebellions in Egypt itself.^c But the spectacle of an Egyptian army beseiging an Asiatic city for six years, and finally capturing and plundering it, must have produced a profound impression among the petty dynasts of Syria.^d Concluded by a campaign into Phoenicia, Ahmose's Asiatic war therefore well paved the way for the operations of his successors.

No record of Amenhotep I's war or wars in Asia has survived, but there is little doubt that he successfully continued the conquests of Ahmose, enabling his successor Thutmose I already in his second year and before his own Asiatic campaign to boast that his dominion extended from upper Nubia on the south to Euphrates on the north. Such a boast could certainly not be based upon the known extent of Ahmose's conquest. Hence it was that Thutmose I on advancing into Asia, was able on his first, and as far as we know his only campaign, to carry his arms into Naharin and to set up his boundary tablet on the banks of the Euphates. Even Thutmose II during his ephemeral reign of two or three years at most was able to reach Niy on the Euphrates. Thus it becomes evident that the subjugation of the country as far as the

a) Inscription of Ahmose-pen-Nekhbet of El Kab of which we possess three originals:

^{1.} Statue base belonging to Mr. Finlay (ÄZ 1883 pp. 77-78);

^{2.} Statue base in Louvre (Leps. Ausw. XIV A; Prisse, Mon. Eg. IV);

^{3.} Ahmose's tomb wall at El Kab (LD III 43 a, lower left hand corner; Sethe, Untersuch. I, S5, collated with copy by Lepsius and a squeezc).

I have collated all these.

b) This is shown by the fact that in his 22 nd year (highest known date) hc is using oxen in his quarry operations, which he had captured on his campaign in Asia. (Two inscriptions in Turra quarry Champ. Not. Descr. II, 488 = Ros. Mon. stor. I, 15 = Vyse, Operations III, 99 = LD III 3a; the second, LD III, 3b).

c) Ahmose, son of Abana ll. 16-24.

d) This is strikingly shown in the case of Sharuhen itself; when the great revolt broke out in the 22 nd year of Thutmose III. from Yeraza to the Euphrates, Sharuhen would not join the revolt. It had received one lesson, and was too uncomfortably near Egypt to risk another. This is what is meant by the obscure references to fighting there (LD III, 31b ll. 9—12) occasioned by the revolters trying to force Sharuhen into the rebellion.

f) When we note that when Syria was once stirred into general revolt again, it took ten years of fighting (8 campaigns) on Thutmose III's part to penetrate to the Euphrases, it will be evident that much campaigning must have preceded Thutmose I's invasion of Naharin, to enable him to reach and subdue it in one campaign.

g) Mar. Dcrelb. 7 = Düm. Hist. Ins. II, 17 = Sethe, Untersuch. I pp. 40 and 102 = Nav. Derelb. III, 80. Sethe was the first to note the meaning of the inscription. Since Mariette and Dümichen's time the name of the king has become

Euphrates had already been effectually accomplished at the accession of Thutmose III. How far it had been organized into the loose system of dependencies later constituting the Egyptian empire in Asia, and how fully Egyptian authority may have been recognized as far north as Naharin, are questions which our scanty material will not permit us to answer; but two data in our document afford some light upon them. The lands with which the king endowed Amon are said to be:

"Equipped with serfs; my majesty filled them with the [captivity] from the southern and northern countries, with children of the princes of *Rtnw*" (Il. 39—40). This would indicate that some of Syria at least was already under the system later outlined in the Annals viz. that of bringing the young Syrian princes to Egypt to serve as hostages, and at the same time to learn something of Egyptian civilization, that they might afterward be installed in the petty Syrian princedoms to rule unmolested as long as they paid the annual tribute promptly.

The second reference furnishes some indication of the geographical extent of this control. The king states that the great door of one of his buildings was made in "of cedara wood of the royal domain" b (l. 34). The kind of wood shows clearly where this "royal domain" was located; for such wood came from a definite locality. Thutmose IV on the Lateran obelisk says that his sacred barque of Amon was: if the country of Rthrave. Likewise Amenhotep III states that his great barque of Amon was made "of new cedar which his majesty cut in T3-ntr if the mountains of Rthrave by the princes of all countries". These passages clearly place the 's-wood district in the mountains of Syria. The wood for these barques regularly came from this region and

unreadable; hence Naville's remark (Derelb. III p. 17): "it seems to be that of Thutmose I"; but Mariette and Dümichen both read Thutmose II.

a) 's- was probably a general designation for the pitchy wood of coniferous and similar trees, prevailingly codar. Hence Spiegelberg's identification with cypress may be quite possible (Rechnungen 54 ff.). Hence also the attempt to define it more closely in the text cited by Brugsch, W. B. Suppl. 282. See Müller, Stud. z. Vorderas. Gesch. II, 18 n. 3.

b) Unit denotes a domain belonging to the royal house. It was prevailingly a wooded domain furnishing an income in timber. Thus, in addition to our above passage, D'w states in his tomb (VIth dyn.) that he requested from the king materials for the burial of his father and "his majesty caused to be brought a coffin of wood of the royal domain". (Rec. XIII, 66). Similarly in Harris (I 7, 5) the sacred barque is made of "great cedar trees of the royal domain, of remarkable size". In the old kingdom the income of a Int served to maintain each pyramid and even a private tomb might be endowed from it; thus the tomb of Sibnj at Assuan (Morg. Cat. Mon. I, 148 1. 19; the publication is unusable, I have collated Berlin squeeze), his son Mbw says: "There were given to me lands 30 [13:17] in the land (?) north and south "Pepi II remains living"." Unless otherwise specified, like the Int of Amon, the Int is probably always a royal domain, hence its mention in gifts to private individuals often.

c) Marrucchi, Gli Obelischi Tav. II, east side, left side-line.

d) The narrative of Unu-Amon (Golénischeff, Rec. XXI) concerning his voyage to Phoenicia for wood for an Amonbarque in the time of Smendes distinctly states that it had been customary to bring wood for this purpose from this region for generations before (II, 4-5).

the exact locality is defined by Seti I in his Karnak reliefs, where he represents the "princes of Lebanon" cutting down 's-wood trees "[for] the great barque of the 'Beginning of the River'". Ramses III brought 's-wood for his great sacred barque (Harris I, 7, 5) from a domain which must have been in the same region, and the unfortunate Unu-Amon, the messenger of Smendes and Hrihor made his ill-starred voyage thither to bring 's-wood for the same purpose. That the home of 's-wood was on the Syrian mountains is also in harmony with the not infrequent phraze: "cedar of the top (?) of the terraces", that is, of the slopes of the Syrian mountains. Like Ramses III (infra p. 28 n. b) Thutmose III therefore, maintained a forest domain in the Lebanon region, and it is exceedingly probable that during the period preceding his Asiatic wars, the authority of Egypt was recognized as far north as the Lebanonregion. It is significant that he immediately marched thither on his first campaign after the fall of Megiddo, and built a fortress there. How much further north the recognized sway of Egypt extended at this time, it is impossible to say. The long period of inactivity in Syria during the dominance of Hatshepsut in Egyptian affairs is doubtless responsible for the vast revolt involving all the Asiatic conquests from the Negeb to the Euphrates, which cost Thutmose III seventeen campaigns and nearly twenty years of constant warfare to subdue.

a) Champ. Not. Descr. 87—88 = Champ. Mon. 290, 2 = Ros. Mon. stor. 46, I = Guieysse, Rec. XI, 56—57 Read: "[Inspection of the chiefs of] Lebanon, who are cutting down ['š- trees for] the great barque of the 'Beginning of the River'." All the great barques of the Beginning of the River" (Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Ramses III &c) are made of 'š-wood and there can be no question about the restoration in Seti I's case. His inscription continues: "likewise for the great flagstaves of Amon" and in the Inni passage (l. 8) quoted below such flagstaves are of 'š-wood.

b) Eg. Inni (1. 8, Rec. XII 106) and often. It is an error to suppose that this designates the wood as coming from the Punt-terraces (Spiegelberg Rec. XX 52). Htjw was a term applied to any mountainous or hilly slope rising in terraces, and was not confined to Punt, as is usually supposed. Thus in Wadi Maghara the assistant treasurer Hpj was sent with a royal commission "to the malachite terraces" (LD II, 116a). Again in another tablet in the same place (Birch, ÄZ 1869 p. 26; very corrupt, but may be emended from the preceding example). It is evident therefore that the mountain slopes of Sinai were also called htjw. Hence it is only logical to conclude that the occurrence of terraces as the source of 's-wood does not show that s-wood came from the Punt terraces, but that the terraces mentioned are to be identified with the known source of 's-wood viz. the Lebanon slopes.

Addenda.

- office held by Thutmose III before he was king. The High Priest of Memphis, Ptahmose states on his Florentine statue (Schi. Cat. No. 1505, p. 200): "He (the king) appointed (rdjnf) me to be (r) High Priest of Memphis and to the function of 'Pillar of his Mother'" (This explains the difficult phrase discussed above in § 8 (p. 12) and at the same time disposes of the conjecture (§ 9a) that the office of jn-mwt·f may have been confined to the royal family. The passage reinforces the reality of Thutmose III's priestly office, which he must likewise have received by royal appointment, having been promoted from !n-ntr to jn-mwt·f; for the latter office is the higher in rank as is shown by its being held by the High Priest of Memphis.
- 2. My attention has been called by Sethe to an article by Piehl on the colonnaded hall, which we have discussed above as the place where Thutmose III was stationed by the god. This essay^b, which I much regret having overlooked, offers new material on the history of the hall. It consists of an inscription of Thutmose I^c recording the renewal^d of the two northernmost columns in the northern hypostyle; and of another inscription^e of Thutmose III recording the erection of four columns in the same hypostyle. As the latter inscription is important to our discussion I will append a translation, as follows^f:

"He (Thutmose III) made (it) as his monument to his father Amonre, erecting for him [4 columns] of sandstone [set up (śmn) in] the hypostyle, as [a renewal of that which] his [father had made]^g, the Good God^h, Lord of Offering (viz. Thutmose I), shapedⁱ of cedar. My majesty [added]^k 4 columns to the two in the north side, together 6; wrought with established with 2 and that which was brought because of the fame of my majesty, being impost of all countries, which my father Amon Re assigned to me; shaped of sandstone. The height thereof was made 30 cubits¹ on both sides of the great august portal^m throughout. They illuminated Karnak like of sandstone, painted with figures of my father Amon, together with figures of my majesty and figures of my father, the Good God (viz. Thutmose I). Behold, as for that which wasⁿ

a) \triangle is omitted in the publication; I have collated the original.

b) Actes du 6 me congrès international des orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide, IV me partie, section 3, pp. 203-219.

c) In the "northern hypostyle" on the northernmost column in the western row. Piehl p. 208.

d) Renewal because the phrase in the inscription: "which his majesty found", indicates that they were already there, and that Thutmose I was renewing two of his own columns.

c) In the "northern hypostyle" on the southernmost survivor of the eastern row of columns. Piehl p. 203.

f) Everything in smaller type is uncertain.

g) Supply in the lacuna: $[sm3wj \ irt \cdot n \ it] f$. Suggested by Sethe.

h) Apposition with "father".

i) 3kh; it refers to "that which his father had made".

k) Suggested by Piehl.

¹⁾ Over 51 feet.

m) This must be the northern portal; see plan, p. 13.

n) Perhaps read $gmj \cdot t$ "that which was found" instead of $p3j \cdot t$; and the same in the inscription Piehl p. 210. Suggested by Sethe.

going to ruin among them, my majesty established it with sandstone, in order that this temple might be established . . . 3 like the heavens abiding upon their four columns, as a monument, great, excellent and splendid for the Lord of Eternity, of granite, ivory, of sandstone silver of the Beautiful-faced (Ptah). I swear as [Re] loves me, [as my father Amon favors me^a, I made it] anew in the north side, being an increase of that which my father had made".

It will be seen (from l. I) that the columns originally erected by Thutmose I were of cedarь! The subsequent history of the hall is as follows. Before Thutmose I's reign ended, he was obliged to replace the two northernmost columns by stone ones. This is the only alteration in the hall of which we know, before Thutmose III's time; and as we have shown (pp. 12—14) it was completed and in use at his accession. Then came the removal of the columns for the insertion of Hatshepsut's obelisks as explained above (p. 13)c. This left only four of Thutmose I's old wooden columns still standing, north of the northern obelisk. Thutmose III then replaced these with sandstone columns like the two before inserted by Thutmose I and then still standing at the extreme north end of the hall; thus making as Thutmose III says "together 6". The south side of the hall was still without its columns, and these were finally erected of stone by Amenhotep II.

a) The usual form of the royal oath; see e. g. Hatshepsut's obelisk inscr. base, north, ll. 2-3.

b) There seems to me, no other possible explanation of the phrase: "shaped of cedar". To what else can it apply in 1. I, beside the columns, the *only* monuments mentioned in the context? It is of course well known that Egyptian columns were originally of wood. Petrie found them in XIIth dynasty houses at Illahun, and the fact that they have never been found in temples has of course no significance in view of the perishable nature of the material. Practically the same thing is true of Greek temples, in which wood was originally the material of the columns. May we conjecture that the total disappearance of old and middle kingdom temple colonnades may be due not only to rebuilding in the new kingdom but also to the fact that many were of wood(??).

c) We can of course suppose that she removed also all but the two northernmost columns of the northern hypostyle, and hence, the restoration by Thutmose III. Piehl's conclusion apparently is that Thutmose I erected in all only two of the columns in the northern hypostyle, but this does not agree with our coronation inscription, in which the hall is roofed and in use at the accession of Thutmose III (infra p. 14).

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