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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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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.

a) Untersuchungen Band I.

b) Naville: La succession des Thoutmès d'après un mémoire 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.

Berlin, Aug. 16. 1900.

James Henry Breasted.

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 context^a was misunderstood^b as literal. Brugsch's error was exposed by Maspero^c in 1880, and, although the error corrected by Maspero concerned only a single phrase, 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: 1) 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:

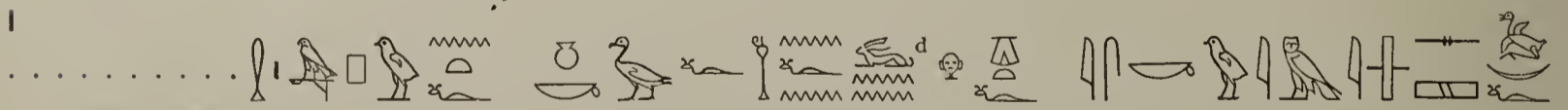


These will suffice to show the proper order of the lines. The question arises then: what does the narrative state when read in the proper order from the beginning on?

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^c 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:

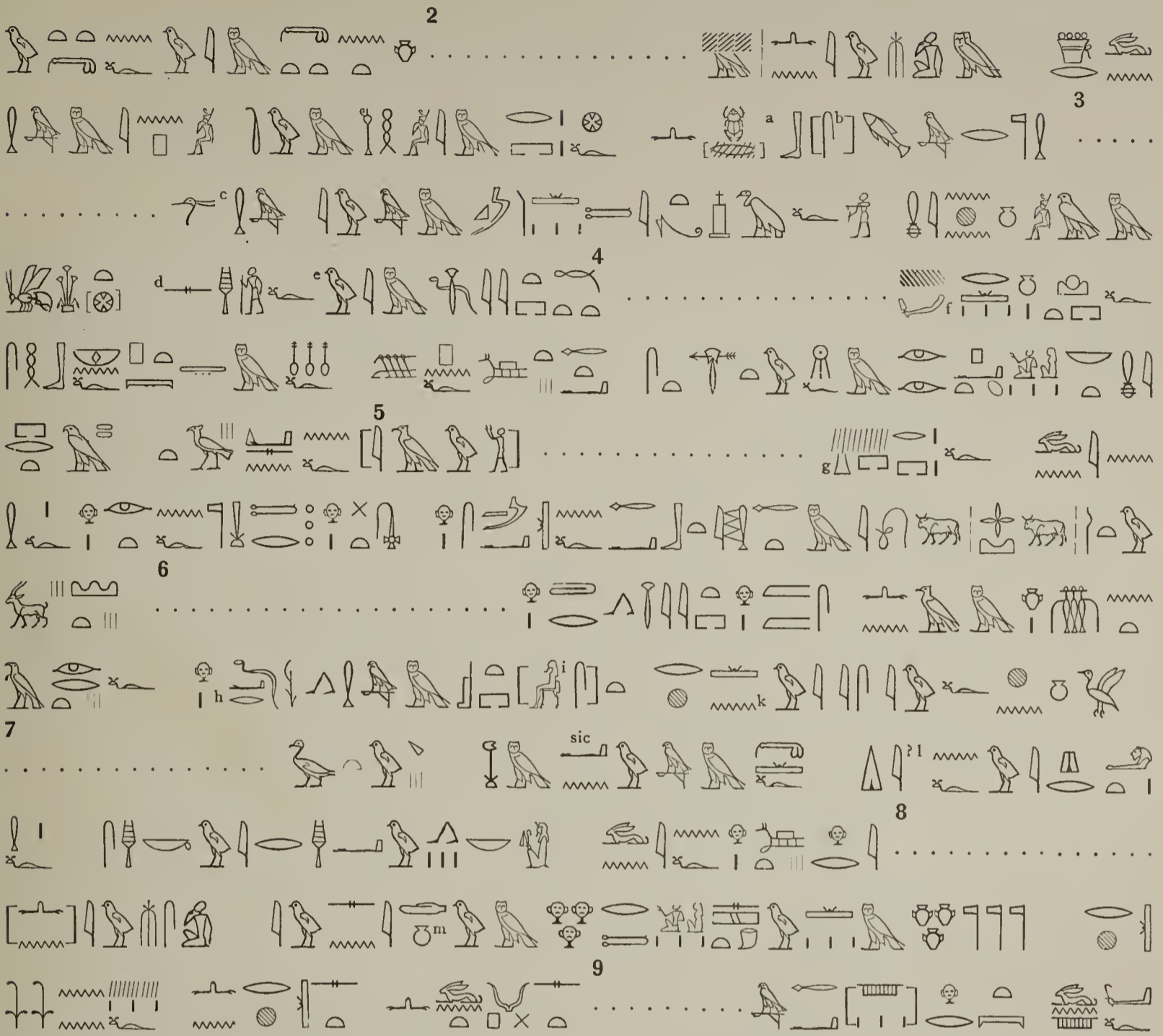





a) They should be shifted two lines to the right in Mariette's text; after making this correction I found that it had already been made by Brugsch in his *Thesaurus*.



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 Senwošret I on the leather roll at Berlin (see below, p. 11).




d) Rougé; omitted by Brugsch and Mariette.





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  is vertical (not horizontal); as Mariette and Rougé show.


c) So Brugsch and Mariette; Rougé has .







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

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


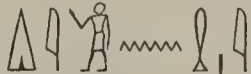
f) Omitted by Brugsch; not complete in the others.


g) So Brugsch and Mariette; Rougé: .

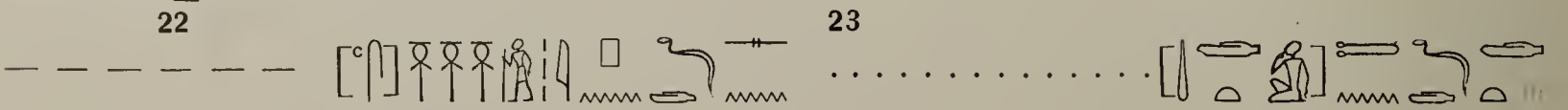
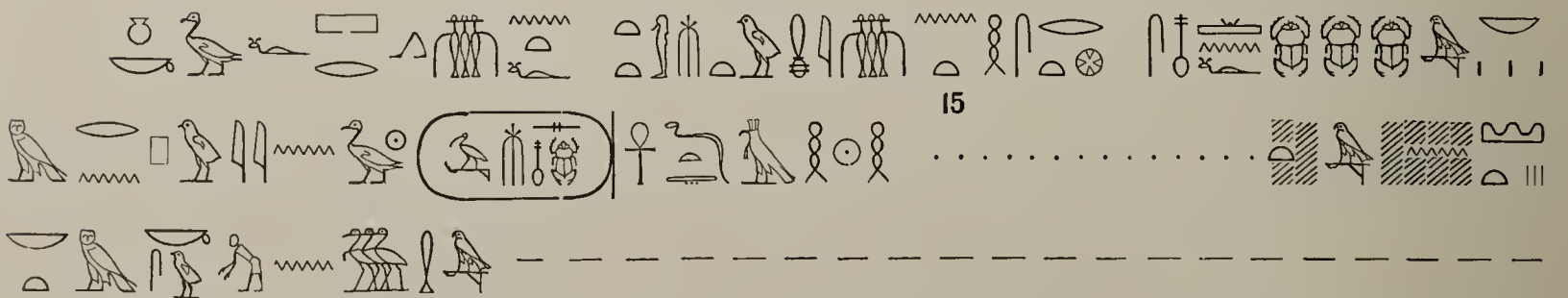
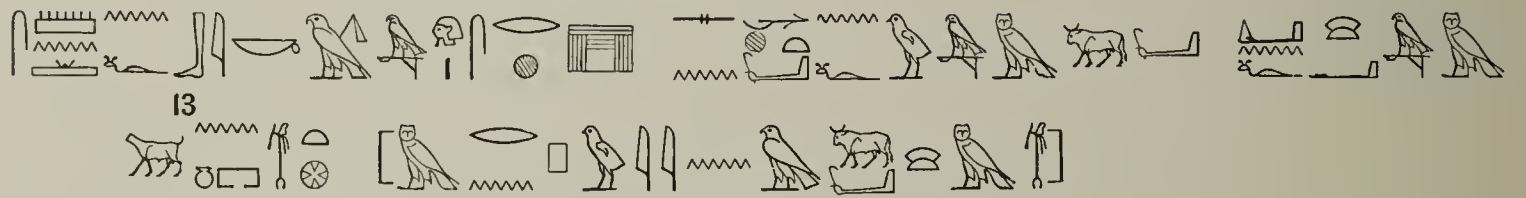
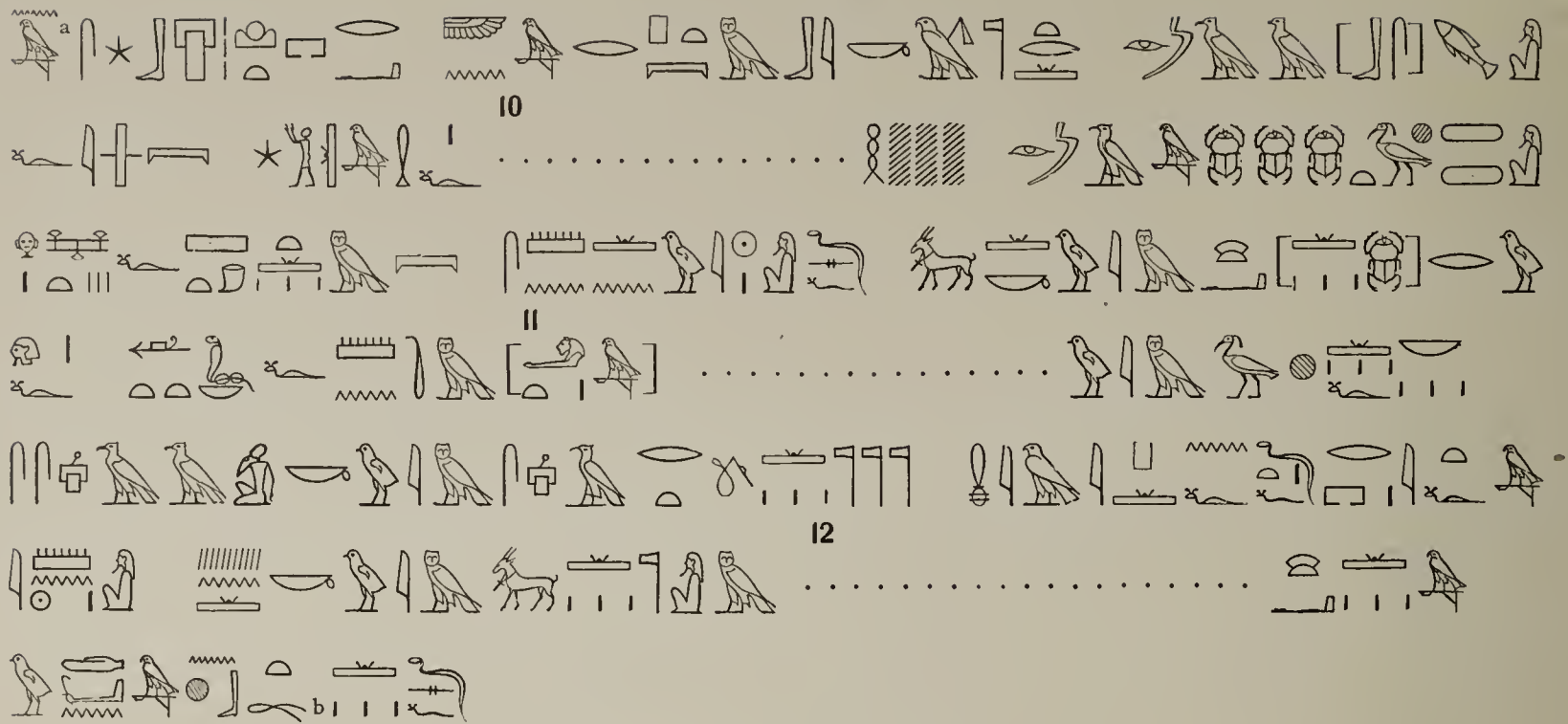
h)  is omitted by Brugsch and Mariette, and supported only by Rougé.



i)  is also possible, but in that case the  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 .

k) So all texts.

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

m) So Rougé; Brugsch and Mariette .



- 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 .

Fourth Name⁽⁴¹⁾ [in this my name:] King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: *Mn-hpr-R^c*.

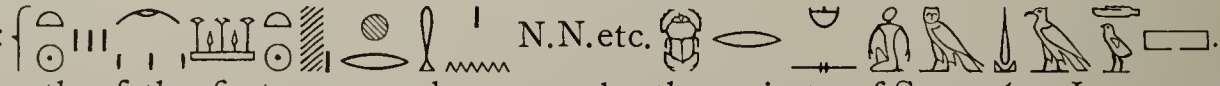

Fifth Name. I am his son who came forth from him, a likeness fashioned like the Pre-sider over Hesret (Thoth); he made beautiful all my forms, in this my name: Son of Re: Thutmose, Beautiful of Form, Living for ever and ever.

15. [There come to] me [the princes] of all countries, bowing down because of the fame of my majesty. — — — — —

Here follow seven lines in which the king repeats the hackneyed, conventional phrases 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.

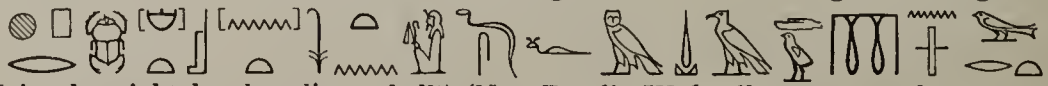

“These Companions⁽⁴²⁾, they said:” **23.** this word which has been spoken to us, which we have heard in the court L. P. H. May thy nostrils be rejuvenated with satisfying life; may thy majesty abide upon the great throne. The oracle⁽⁴³⁾ of the god himself is like the word of Re at the first beginning. 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

(1) 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^b begins:  N.N.etc. . “In the year 3, 3rd month of the first season, day . . . under the majesty of Senwosret I, occurred the sitting in the audience hall”^c. After this, precisely as in our inscription there follows a speech

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.

c) This was the regular form for recording a sitting of the king before his court e. g. the sitting of Thutmose I at the coronation of Hatshepsut:  “Occured the sitting of the king himself in the right hand audience hall” (Nav. Derelb. III 60, ll. 10—11; where the passage has been misunderstood; hence omission of gen. ). The *d3dw* hall seems to be a hall of audience; the false doors presented to *Šhm-t-n-nh*, the physician of King Sahure, were brought to the *d3dw* hall to be inspected by the king (Mariette, *Mast.* pp. 203—204, D 12). It is quite likely that the sitting of Thutmose III also occurred in this hall.

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 Senwošret I in the Sinuhe story (Cairo Ostrakon. Mém. de l'Inst. Ég. Tome II 1886 Pl. I); and again of Amenhotep II (Rougé, Insc. Hiér. 178, l. 3): "I was a youth in the nest, when he gave me the two halves (Egypt)."

(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, ÄZ 1898, p. 71 n. 3).

(5) *n* "not" is used here in the sense of "not yet"; such particles as "yet" were not expressed in Egyptian; there was no particle like the Hebrew טרם "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, before the swaddling clothes were loosed for me."^a Similarly:

"He ruled his city when small, before he was loosed from(?) the swaddling clothes".^b 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")^c. 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.

(6) *bs* is a technical term meaning to install or induct, followed by *r* introducing the place or the office. In the Canopus inscription it is regularly used of the induction of the priests into office, thus: "The priests whom the king inducted into the temples"^d (l. 14). Similarly of Berenike: "She was installed to be ruler" (l. 23).

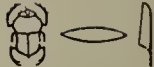


(7) It is not probable that any adjective like *tpj*, belonging to *hn-ntr* is lost at the beginning of l. 3. At any rate Mariette's text which is careful in the spacing, shows plenty of room at the bottom of l. 2 for after if it had been in the text and the entire text is careful to avoid such divisions at the ends of lines.



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

b) Said of Khnemhotep at Benihasan (Newberry Benihas. I, pl. XXVI, ll. 184f.). The passage from the leather roll for the first time explains the Khnemhotep passage; probably an *m* has dropped out before *mtš* (the final *m* is also an error, one of the many scribal errors in the Khnemhotep text).

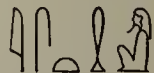

c) So Brugsch (Gesch. 365), where the office is rendered: "Seher des Gottes"¹

d) Greek: γεγεννημένους ἱερεῖς.

(8) *km3* is here undoubtedly with the meaning "form", as in the Kubbân stela:   "Hprj in his real form" (cf. the same phrase frequently with  *jr* instead of *km3*). But *tj't* is superfluous and troublesome, for the phrase would make very good sense without it.

(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 *Jn-mwt.f* 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  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.w*) and create his terror in the hearts of the Trogodytes (*Jn.w*) and *Mntj.w*, as a reward for this monument, beautiful, enduring, and excellent, which he has made for thee". Before the *Jn mwt.f* is the text: . In the tomb of Seti I, the *Jn-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 *Jn-mwt.f* before king Set-nakht pouring a libation over an offering table. In all examples, he wears a panther skin and the so-called royal side-lock, but in this example he wears also the royal uraeus on his forehead. In view of the fact that the *Jn-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

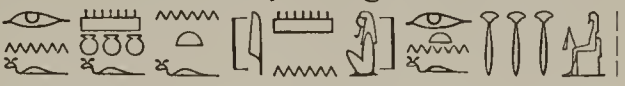
(9b) This comparison is common, e. g. almost verbatim on the great Sphinx-stela:  . "Behold his majesty was a youth like Harpekhrot in Chemmis" (l. 4).

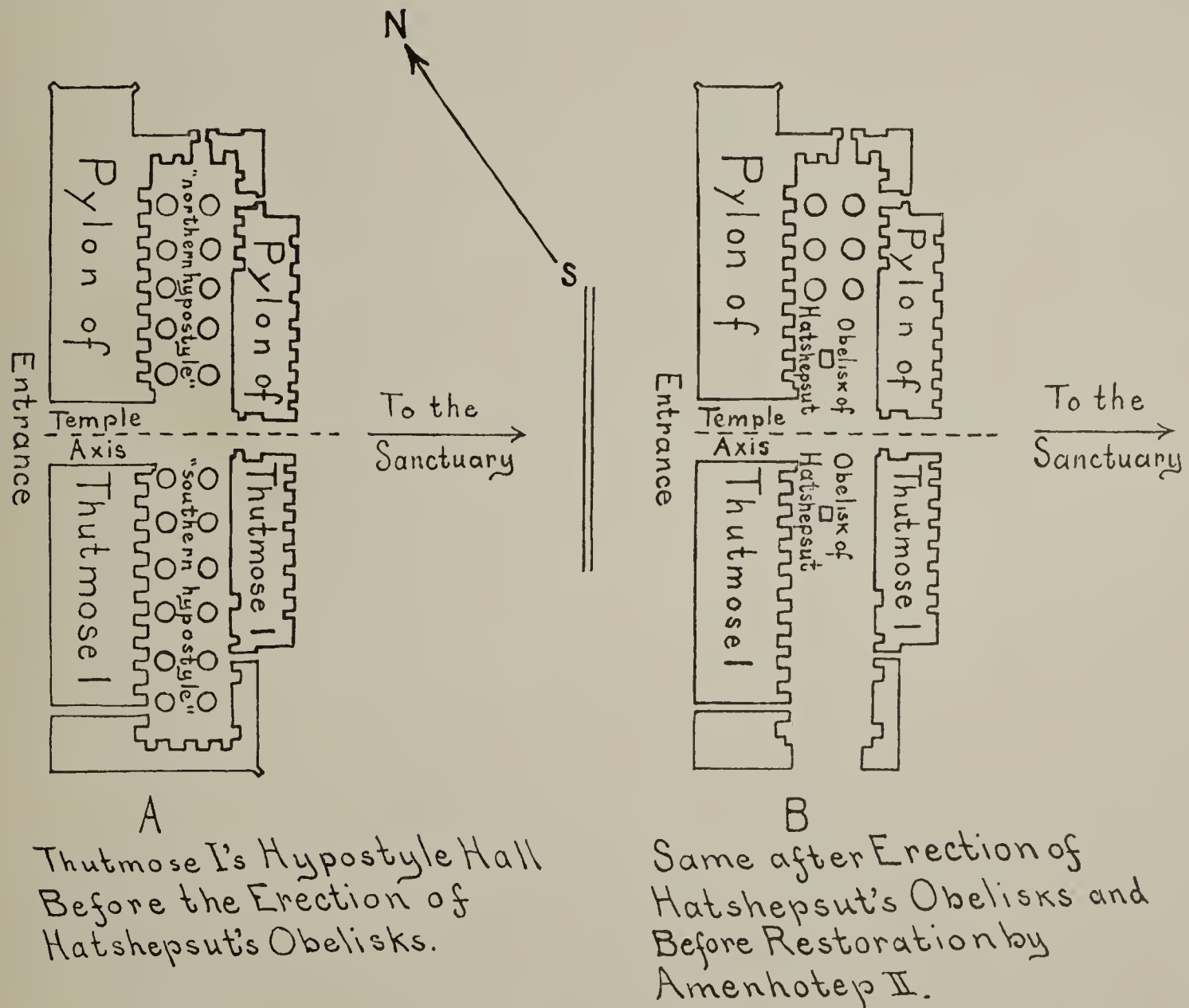
(10) It is important to decide to whom the pronoun "he" refers. In spite of the intervening lacunae it is clear that this pronoun belongs to the series of pronouns (3 m. s.) beginning at l. 1 (5 times), continuing through l. 2 (once) and the following phrases (l. 4). "his horizon", "he made festive", "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"^b 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, l. 2): . "He 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^b (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 colonnaded 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* (l. 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 Derelbahri 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.

(14) The lacuna perhaps contained the statement that: the god arrived at "the altar(?) of his temple", for the fragmentary signs before "temple" as copied, apparently show the base of , but is   possible? Rouge saw  .

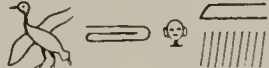

(15) Who is "his majesty"? This is the most important question in the whole inscription. Remembering that the entire narrative is being told in the first person by Thutmose III, who everywhere refers to himself as „I”, "me" and "my majesty"; remembering that he again refers to himself as "me" in the 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.^c 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.

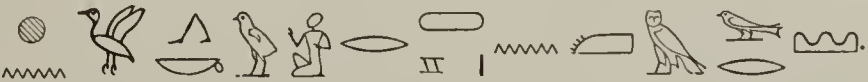
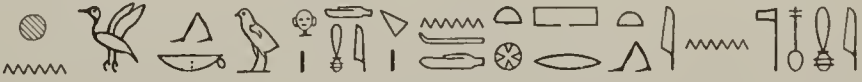
c) It should be also noted that this would be the *only instance in the king's address* where he refers to himself in the *third person*, if we refer "his majesty" to Thutmose III.

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.

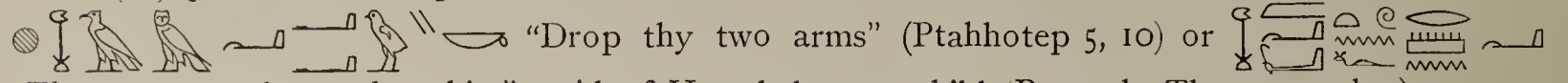
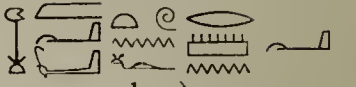
(16) There is a reference to making a similar circuit in the coronation ceremonies of Hatshepsut (Nav. Derelb. III, pl. 64):  "this making the circuit on [both] sides"; but unfortunately the relief scene is destroyed. Making the circuit of a building or hall was a common ceremony of the kings; cf. the old title  applied to the kings, and for the usual festal circuit, Pap. Harris VII 7.

(17) This rendering is open to slight question. It is grammatically faultless but the orthography of *hntj'w* without the plural strokes is a difficulty, and I am not acquainted 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.

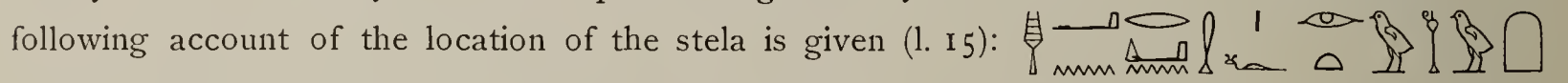

(18) The lack of a subject with *rḥ'n wj* (supported by all texts) is syntactically not unparalleled, and there can be no question who is meant in view of the following *jw'f* referring to Amon, who is indicated throughout the inscription by the simple pronoun (3. m. s.).


(19) *lyn* is a poetic word meaning "to stop" literally "to alight". It is used by Sinuhe in the narrative of his flight: . "I stopped at the lake of *Km-wr*" (l. 21). It is 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): . "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 § 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) *s3t'w* 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' t'f* "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;^a 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) *sh'kwj* "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):  "His 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^b 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, l. 5) he speaks of his mortuary temple behind the so-called Memnon colossi as:  "equipped with a 'Station of the King', wrought with gold and many costly stones". As the determinative of *sh'kw* shows, the "Station of the King" is here the stela^c 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, l. 8):  "He (the god) placed his majesty (the king) before him".


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 *hn-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, l. 8):  "The majesty of this god marveled".

(25) This sentence is very doubtful; "they substituted (*jdñ*) me" (in the place of Thutmose I) is very tempting, but this leaves *s'st3'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 protégé. 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  *st* "them" is "mysteries" or the lost noun in the preceding clause.

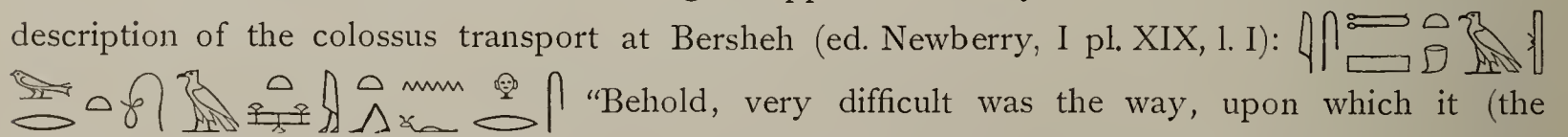
(27) The restoration is to be safely based on the parallelism.

(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

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).^c What the kings did on this visit to Heliopolis is clearly shown by the visit of Piankhi^d 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 proceeded 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 acquiescence 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) *šmn* 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.

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" (*In-utr*). 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 Ahmose 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 Mutnozmet^b 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 occasion of some great feast, the priests make all preparations beforehand for the public installation of Thutmose III. They station^c 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 unsuspecting 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 oracle^d 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.^e Thutmose I^f perforce withdraws, and the reign of Thutmose III begins.

a) See 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 l. 7, but distinctly referred to by the courtiers in their response (l. 23; see §§ 19 & 43).

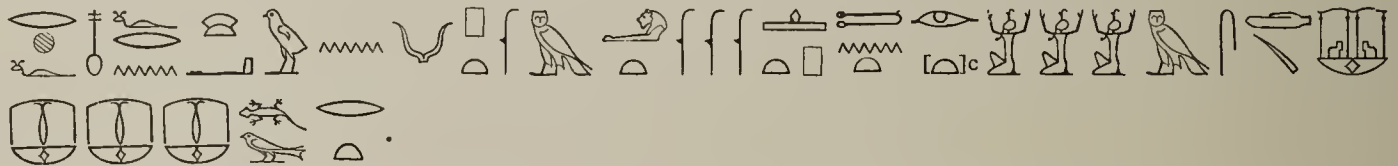
e) Just as in the account of Hatshepsut's coronation (§ 36); the splendid imaginary account of the conferring of Thutmose III's names is but a veiling of the more prosaic reality, like the attribution of the whole coronation to the god. The actual form of announcing the names is preserved to us in the 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 reign alone; 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 necessary 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,^a so that this cannot be interpreted as merely a poetical designation of the beginning of her reign.^b On the contrary, although the fact has not before been noticed, Thutmose I is stated to have deliberately selected New Year'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."^d





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 epithet:  {  "great in peaceful years" (Petrie, Royal-Tombs, pl. IX, 1; again without *wr* 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."^e 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 1, whereas the word "day" occurs twice in the neighboring lines, (27 & 29), both times written  with the disk at one side to make room for 1,


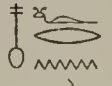
a) Nav. Derelb. III, pl. 63.

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  can only mean: "his festival day of coronation" not "the festival day of her coronation".

thus proving that | has not been omitted by an error of Carter's in copying our passage. For Carter's sketch has  with \circ directly 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.^a (Base Insc. North side, l. 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.^b 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.

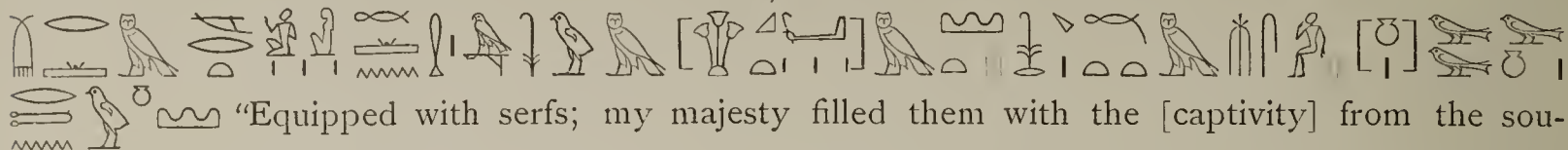
Of the subsequent course of the complicated family struggle for the throne our document says nothing. By determining for us however the fact and the manner of Thutmose III's overthrow of Thutmose I, as we have seen above (pp. 14—15), our document shows that the succession of Thutmose III at Thutmose 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 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.

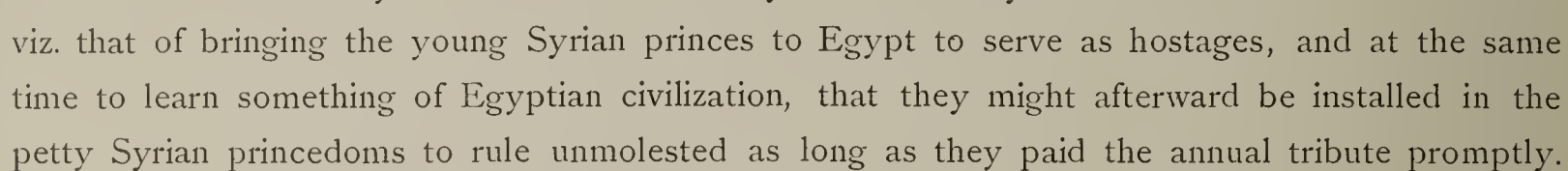
b) The same conclusion was reached by Sethe on entirely different evidence.

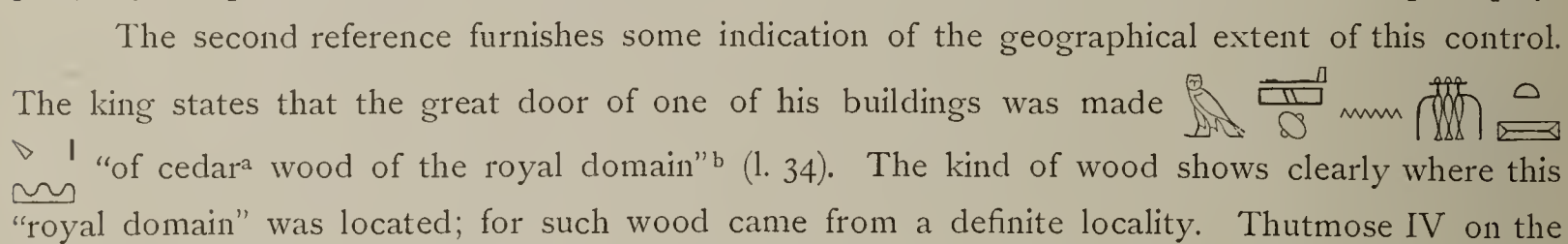
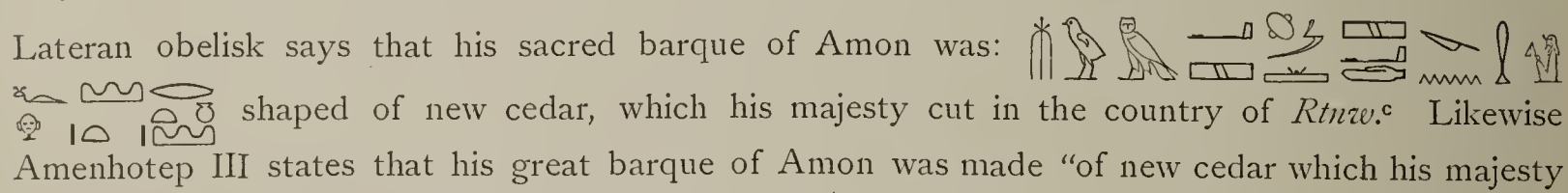
c) The record of feasts and offerings (LD III 30b) on the back of the *south* wing of the VIth Karnak Pylon is in unbroken continuation of the Annals, which are usually supposed to be concluded on the back of the *north* wing. The Annals are little more than a long introduction to this record of offerings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

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*" (ll. 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 principedoms 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

 "of cedar^a 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:

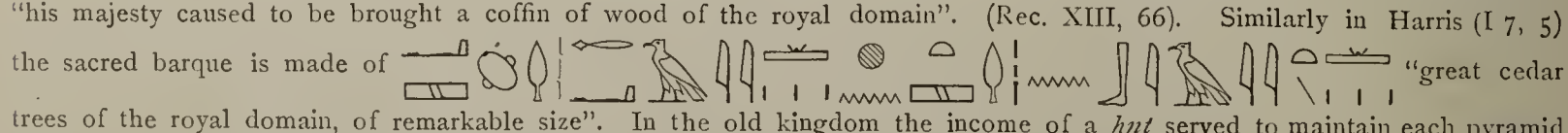
 shaped of new cedar, which his majesty cut in the country of *Rtnw*.^c Likewise Amenhotep III states that his great barque of Amon was made "of new cedar which his majesty cut in *T3-ntr*  "which was dragged over the mountains of *Rtnw* by the princes of all countries". These passages clearly place the 'š-wood district in the mountains of Syria. The wood for these barques regularly came from this region^d and

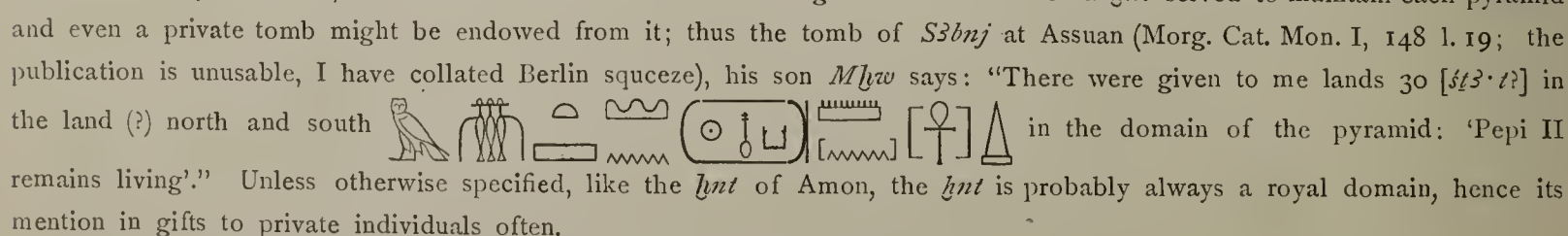
unreadable; hence Naville's remark (Derelb. III p. 17): "it seems to be that of Thutmose I"; but Mariette and Dümichen both read Thutmose II.

a) 'š- was probably a general designation for the pitchy wood of coniferous and similar trees, prevailingy cedar. 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) *Hnt* denotes a domain belonging to the royal house. It was prevailingy 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 *hnt* served to maintain each pyramid and even a private tomb might be endowed from it; thus the tomb of *S3bnj* at Assuan (Morg. Cat. Mon. I, 148 l. 19; the publication is unusable, I have collated Berlin squeeze), his son *Mhw* says: "There were given to me lands 30 [*šš'it?*] in the land (?) north and south

 in the domain of the pyramid: 'Pepi II remains living'." Unless otherwise specified, like the *hnt* of Amon, the *hnt* 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 Amon-barque 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).

Addenda.

1. Since writing the above commentary, I find an important passage illustrating the priestly 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 *hn-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 (*smn*) 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 cubits^l 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) Δ 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.

e) 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: [*sm3w3 ïrt·n ït·*]f. Suggested by Sethe.

h) Apposition with "father".

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

k) Suggested by Piehl.

l) Over 51 feet.

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

n) Perhaps read *gmj·t* "that which was found" instead of *p3j·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. 1) that the columns *originally* erected by Thutmose I were of cedar^b! 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 l. 1, 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).

Florence, Oct. 17. 1900.

J. H. B.



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